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NEW SERIES.

VOL. XXI.

Kirk's History of the Old Covenant.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXX.

HISTORY
OF
THE OLD COVENANT,

FROM THE GERMAN OF
J. H. KURTZ, D. D.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT DORPAT.

VOL. I.

TRANSLATED, ANNOTATED,
AND
PREFACED BY A CONDENSED ABSTRACT
OF
KURTZ'S "BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY,"

BY THE
REV. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, PH. D.,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATION;" TRANSLATOR OF "CHALYBÄUS'
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY," ETC., ETC.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is not only with the feelings common and natural in a Translator towards the original, or a writer towards his authorities, that we introduce this volume to the theological readers of Great Britain and America. A repeated perusal of its contents has convinced us that it is one of the best contributions towards the explanation of the Old Testament with which Germany has enriched our common theological literature. Comprehensive and trustworthy in its information, exhaustive in point of research and learning, fresh and vigorous in thought and style, throughout marked by sobriety and good sense; above all, thoroughly evangelical in its tone, it may safely be recommended as a text-book to the student. Even where we differ from our Author—as on some points, we frankly confess, is the case—his views deserve and require careful examination. In our days and circumstances a thorough and believing investigation into the claims and the teaching of the Word of God is more than ever necessary. Such studies will be materially aided by the fresh light which Dr KURTZ has been able to shed upon an important part of the Bible. It may be proper to add that the translation has been made from the *second* German edition (1853), and that the notes added by us have been rendered necessary by the progress of Biblical investigation since the date of its appearance. They bear chiefly on the *literature* of the subject, and have been supplied in view of the *minimum* necessary, not of the *maximum* desirable.

We have prefaced the volume by a condensed abstract of

Dr KURTZ's "Bible and Astronomy," a work in which he endeavours to harmonise the Biblical account of Creation and of man with the results of Astronomy and Geology, and which may, therefore, be regarded as strictly introductory to the "History of the Old Covenant." When we say that we have condensed 585 pp. of the original (4th ed., Berlin 1858) into 130 pp., the reader will understand, and, we hope, make allowance for the difficulty of our task. At the same time, we venture to think that we have not omitted any one part or argument likely to interest or to be useful to British readers. We have endeavoured to give all that is introductory to a "History of the Old Covenant," and that in the very language of the Author, though we have condensed his phraseology. We shall only add that Dr KURTZ's scheme, without committing ourselves to particulars, seems to us the only sufficient and satisfactory solution of the Geological and Astronomical difficulties connected with the Mosaic account of Creation.

May this work, in its present form also, aid those who make the Old Testament a subject of critical study—above all, may it be the means of laying open more of those hidden treasures which the Head of the Church has deposited in the Sacred Volumes!

ALFRED EDERSHEIM.

OLD ABERDEEN, *December* 1858.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY.

	Page
CHAPTER I.—BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE,	iii
§ 1. Origin, Purport, and Character of the Biblical Account of Creation,	iii
§ 2. Revelation of the Biblical Account of Creation, . . .	ix
§ 3. Prophetic Character of the Biblical Account of Creation, .	xvii
§ 4. Limit and duration of the Creative days,	xx
§ 5. Creation of Heaven and Earth,	xxiv
§ 6. State of the Earth previous to the Six Creative Days, .	xxvi
§ 7. The First, the Second, and the Third Creative Days, .	xxix
§ 8. The Work of the Fourth Day,	xxxi
§ 9. The Work of the Fifth and Sixth Days,	xxxvi
§ 10. The Primeval History of Man,	xxxviii
§ 11. Position and Task of the First Man,	xxxix
§ 12. The Tree of the Knowledge of God and Evil, . . .	xli
§ 13. The Formation of Woman,	xliv
§ 14. The Fall,	xlvi
§ 15. The Tempter,	xlviii
§ 16. Prospect of Redemption,	xlix
§ 17. The Morning Stars and the Sons of God,	liii
§ 18. Review of the Primeval History of the Earth and of Man, .	lv
§ 19. Continuation,	lix
CHAPTER II.—CONFLICT AND HARMONY BETWEEN THE BIBLE AND ASTRO- NOMY,	lxv
§ 1. The Doctrine and History of Creation,	lxv
§ 2. Creation of the World in Six Days,	lxvi
§ 3. The Creation of Light before the Sun,	lxviii
§ 4. The Creation of the Fixed Stars before the Earth, . .	lxxi
§ 5. The Creation of the Planetary System,	lxxiii
§ 6. The Celestial Worlds are inhabited,	lxxv
§ 7. The Angels as the Inhabitants of the Fixed Stars, . .	lxxvi
§ 8. Continuation,	lxxx

	Page
§ 9. Inhabitants of the Extra-Mundane Bodies of our Solar System,	lxxx
§ 10. The Incarnation of God in Christ,	lxxxii
§ 11. Continuation,	lxxxiv
§ 12. Continuation,	lxxxvi
§ 13. Continuation,	lxxxix
§ 14. Continuation,	xcv
§ 15. The Catastrophe of the End of the World,	xcviii
§ 16. Duration of the Present Course of the Earth,	c
§ 17. The Cosmical Consummation,	ci
CHAPTER III.—GEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE,	civ
§ 1. Survey of the State of Geological Science,	civ
§ 2. State of the Question,	cvi
§ 3. The Bible is not incompatible with any Geological Theory,	cvii
§ 4. The Bible does not teach that the Earth was formed in Six Days,	cxii
§ 5. The Bible does not advert to the Creation of the now petrified Organisms,	cxiv
§ 6. Death on the Pre-Adamite Earth,	cxvi
§ 7. Palæontology,	cxix
§ 8. Origin of the Petrified Organisms,	cxx
§ 9. Continuation,	cxxi
§ 10. The Flora and Fauna of the Primeval World,	cxxiv
§ 11. Continuation,	cxxvi
§ 12. Conclusion,	cxxix

I.—INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

The Old Covenant,	1
History of the Old Covenant,	2
Relation between the History of the Old Covenant and Sacred History generally,	3
Character of the History of the Old Covenant,	4
Holy Scripture,	13
Old Testament Revelation,	16
Sources and Auxiliary Sciences for the History of the Old Covenant,	24
Literature of the History of the Old Covenant,	44

II.—PREPARATORY HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

Prefatory Remarks,	55
The Creation and Destiny of Man,	69
The Fall and the First Promise of Redemption,	77
The Twofold Tendency manifest in the Primeval Race,	88
The Judgment of the Flood,	95

	Page
Noah and his Sons,	104
The Confusion of Tongues and the Dispersion of Nations,	108
Heathenism,	116

III.—HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

The Meaning, Purpose, and Goal of the Old Covenant,	125
---	-----

A.—THE SCENE OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

Boundaries and Name of the Holy Land,	129
The Jordan Valley,	132
The Western Highlands of Palestine,	140
The Sea Shore,	144
The Highlands East of Jordan,	145
Adaptation of the Holy Land for its Peculiar Purposes,	147
The Inhabitants of the Land of Promise before its Possession by the Covenant People,	150

B.—THE PEOPLE OF THE OLD COVENANT.

Descent of the Covenant People,	164
The Great Periods in the Covenant-History,	171

FIRST STAGE OF THE COVENANT HISTORY.

THE FAMILY.

Character and Import of this Stage in the History of the Old Covenant,	175
The Angel of Jehovah,	181

FIRST CYCLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY.

ABRAHAM.

Calling and Pilgrimage of Abram,	203
Abram in Egypt,	210
Abram and Lot. Melchisedec,	213
The offering of a Covenant-Sacrifice forms the First Stage of the Covenant,	224
Hagar and Ishmael,	229
Circumcision, the Second Stage of the Covenant,	231
Jehovah visits Abraham in the wood of Mamre,	239
Sodom is destroyed and Lot preserved,	244
Abraham and Abimelech,	249
Isaac is born. Ishmael is cast forth,	253
The offering up of Isaac,	258
Death and Burial of Sarah. Marriage of Isaac. Last days of Abraham.	272

SECOND STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY.

ISAAC.

The Sons of Isaac,	279
------------------------------	-----

	Page
The Pilgrim-Life of Isaac,	286
The Blessing of Isaac,	291

THIRD STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY.

JACOB.

Flight of Jacob to Mesopotamia,	307
Jacob's Sojourn in Mesopotamia.	311
Return of Jacob to Canaan. His Wrestling with Jehovah,	320
Jacob a Pilgrim in the Holy Land,	338
Commencement of the History of Joseph,	347
Incidents in the History of Judah's Family,	353
Joseph's Low Estate,	359
The Elevation of Joseph,	364
Joseph and his Brethren,	371

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE PASSAGES TREATED OF IN THIS VOLUME.

	Page		Page
Gen. i. ii.	69	Gen. xxiv.	274
Gen. iii.	77	Gen. xxv. 1—10,	276
Gen. iv.	88	Gen. xxv. 11—26,	279
Gen. v.	92	Gen. xxv. 27, &c.	282
Gen. vi.	95	Gen. xxvi.	286
Gen. vii. viii.	101	Gen. xxvii. 1—29,	291
Gen. viii. 20—ix. 17,	104	Gen. xxvii. 30—40,	299
Gen. ix. 18, &c.	106	Gen. xxvii. 41—xxviii. 10,	301
Gen. x. xi.	108	Gen. xxviii. 11, &c.	307
Gen. xii. 1—9,	203	Gen. xxix. 1—30,	311
Gen. xii. 10, &c.	210	Gen. xxix. 31—xxx. 24,	314
Gen. xiii.	213	Gen. xxx. 25, &c.	317
Gen. xiv. 1—16,	215	Gen. xxxi.	320
Gen. xiv. 17, &c.	218	Gen. xxxii.	323
Gen. xv.	224	Gen. xxxiii.	335
Gen. xvi.	229	Gen. xxxiv.	338
Gen. xvii.	232	Gen. xxxv.	342
Gen. xviii. 1—15,	239	Gen. xxxvii. 1—11,	347
Gen. xviii. 16, &c.	241	Gen. xxxvii. 12, &c.	250
Gen. xix. 1—26,	244	Gen. xxxviii.	353
Gen. xix. 27, &c.	247	Gen. xxxix. xl.	359
Gen. xx. xxi. 22—34,	249	Gen. xli. xlvii. 13—26,	364
Gen. xxi. 1—21,	253	Gen. xlii.	371
Gen. xxii. 1—19,	258	Gen. xliii.	375
Gen. xxiii.	272	Gen. xliv. xlv.	379

THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY,

BEING

AN EXPOSITION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE
BIBLICAL COSMOLOGY & NATURAL SCIENCE.

THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE.

§ 1. ORIGIN, PURPORT, AND CHARACTER OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.—GEN. I.—III.

THE Scriptures open with an account of the primeval history of the Earth and of Man. In respect of its important bearing upon Theology and science generally, its depth and comprehensiveness, its fundamental character and its wide application, probably few other portions of Holy Writ can bear comparison with it. It also presents a great many points to guide and aid us in our present investigation. This section of the Bible must, therefore, form our starting-point, to which in the course of our enquiries we shall again have frequently to recur. But for our present purpose we must first seek to gain a clear view of the character and import, of the origin, position, and object of this narrative.

Even a cursory perusal of these three chapters of Genesis will convince us that they consist of two distinct sections. The first of these—embracing chs. i. and ii., 1—3,—gives an account of the origin of the universe, or in the language of Gen. ii. 1, of the origin "*of the heavens and the earth, and all the host of them.*" The second section—from ch. ii. 4, to the close of ch. iii.,—is intended to detail the history of the Fall, its causes and consequences, its antecedents and results. It is because the results of the Fall are here mentioned, that this portion of Scripture forms the basis of all succeeding sacred history, while its account of the *causes* of the Fall, at the same time connects it with the

preceding section, which gives the narrative of the Creation. Addressing ourselves, in the first place, to those general questions which may be raised on both sections, we postpone the consideration of their mutual relation. (Comp. § 10.)

The first three chapters of Genesis partly treat of events which are beyond the range of human vision and recollection, and partly refer to that first and fleeting hour in the history of mankind, the nature and circumstances of which were entirely different from anything which man presently experiences or beholds. What view are we then to take of this narrative—is it a poetical fiction, a philosophical theory, a tradition, or a piece of history?

Poetical fiction under the form of a narrative (*i.e.* as the relation of what has taken place), is *pure* or *historical* fiction, according as the poet draws the materials entirely from his own mind or only recasts and transforms what has actually occurred. In either case the historical form serves chiefly as a *garb*; nor does the poet claim for his narrative that it should be regarded as a strict and faithful account of events.

We cannot see any reason why such compositions may not also proceed from a poet who writes under the direction of the Spirit of God, and hence obtain a place in the Scriptures. As an instance of this we mention the book of Job, where a historical or legendary subject is poetically elaborated so as to furnish a kind of basis or a framework in which to present the wisdom and knowledge derived by teaching from on high. But the narrative in Genesis is quite other than this. There the history serves not as the garb or frame, but constitutes the substance. Manifestly what is there recorded is presented as a faithful narrative of real events. This appears from the close of the first section, in ch. ii. 3, where the sanctification of the Sabbath-day is based on the creation in six days and the resting of God on the seventh day, which certainly implies that both these circumstances are to be regarded as historical realities. Again, the whole cast and connection of the second section proves that it is intended to describe something real, and is not merely a poetic fiction or a product of the imagination. All the subsequent books of the Bible which refer to these sections treat them in the light in which we have presented them.

We may, indeed, conceive that a writer, having other than

merely poetic objects in view, might, for their sake, seek to pass his poem as history. Thus, in the narrative of the creation, may not the circumstance that its close forms the basis for the law of Sabbath observance afford a *clue* to its real character? May some Jewish sage not have invented the first chapter of Genesis in order to trace this all-important institution to Divine authority, and, the better to secure this object, have represented his fiction as a historical reality?

This question of course implies that we regard the writings, the history, and the institutions of the Old Testament as of merely human origin. But if internal and external grounds, if the witness of the Holy Ghost and the results of study and investigation, have convinced us that another than man's spirit—even the Spirit of God—was concerned in the composition of these books and in the guidance of that history, we shall return an immediate and indignant negative to such a query. When we understand that the history, the teaching, and the prophecies of the Old Testament point to the incarnation of God in Christ, and that in Him they culminate and are fulfilled, we cannot fail to see how that event amply confirmed their truth. The Mosaic history of creation formed the foundation of that edifice which the apostles of Jesus Christ have completed. It is impossible to believe that the Divine building of Christianity could be founded on a delusion or an imposture, however well intended.

Like poetic fiction, *philosophical speculation* derives its origin, though in a different manner, from its author. Starting from some fact, of whose origin, import, or purpose, neither experience nor history can satisfactorily inform us, speculation attempts, by reflection or suggestion, to fill up the gaps in human knowledge, and not unfrequently presumes to claim absolute certainty for a process of thinking which is so liable to error. The supposition that our narrative had some such origin has this in its favour, that the origin of the world and of evil, of which it treats, have always been amongst the most important problems discussed by philosophy. But, irrespective of other circumstances, which go against this hypothesis, the fact that this record forms the basis of the whole history of redemption, and that its accuracy is confirmed in the New Testament, is sufficient to show that it must be far other and far higher than

merely the speculation of one who had revolved in his mind the great enigmas connected with the world and with life.

A *legend* is an orally transmitted account of something that has taken place. Its legitimate province are prehistorical times and events. The period of history commences whenever an eye-witness or cotemporary chronicles for the benefit of posterity what has occurred in his days. Any event not thus recorded, and only transmitted by word of mouth, is called a *legend*. But a legend may originate in one of two ways. It may either be traced by unbroken tradition to the time when the event had taken place—in which case it really embodies historical recollections, however these may, in the course of time, have been poetically adorned or transformed; or else the link of tradition has at some period been broken, and the popular mind, which has a “horror vacui”, and abundance of poetic invention about it, has supplied a fictitious commencement to that which has really occurred. Naturally, the next generation would then transmit the whole as a legend reaching back to the time when these events had taken place. The connection between our narrative and the other portions of revelation prevents us from viewing it as a legend in the sense just explained. But this objection does not apply to our first account of the origin of a legend. It is, indeed, absolutely necessary to regard the narrative as a *genuine* tradition, and as an *accurate* recollection of primeval times, which had not undergone such transformation as to impair its truthfulness. But the mere circumstance of being derived from tradition does not render this impossible. For, even if it were the case that a tradition so unadulterated and truthful were not to be found among other nations, even though they had been incapable of separating the historical underground of a legend from its popular, poetic, or philosophic adornments—we must still claim these distinguishing merits for our narrative, on the supposition that it was derived from tradition. When we bear in mind the special oversight exerted by Divine Providence, we can see no difficulty in concluding that it had watched over and preserved in its purity that tradition which was destined to form a part of revelation—until *he* should come whose it would be to insert it in the Scriptures, and thus to stamp it with Divine authority. But even this

hypothesis is not necessary. Granting that the original tradition had become enlarged and adorned among the Jews, yet the record in Gen. i.—iii. may be strictly truthful and reliable, since we know that those who were entrusted with the composition of the Scriptures were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and thus rendered capable of distinguishing between what was true and what was false, between what was genuine and what spurious, in those traditions which they were to present to the people as sources from which to learn the Divine counsel and the history of salvation, and which were thereby to be invested with Divine authority.

If, therefore, our narrative was derived from tradition, this tradition must have been pure and unadulterated, really the same as *history* (in the strict sense of the term), and differing from it only in this, that it came by oral transmission, and not from cotemporary chronicles. As yet we have not had materials to decide whether it really is traditionary, or whether the author of Genesis had derived his information from other sources. But a closer investigation must settle this enquiry in favour of tradition. Either the author of Genesis had found the substance of his narrative already in existence or it was revealed to him. The latter seems incredible, since the legends of other nations—in the east and west, in the north and south—however different in their religious spirit, agree so remarkably, and often so minutely, with the account in our narrative, that we cannot but trace all these notices to a common source. It can scarcely be supposed that these nations could have derived from the Jews the facts which they all record. Hence the substance of our narrative cannot, in the last instance, be traced to the author of Genesis, nor even to an Israelite, but must have been drawn from a source to which both the Jews and other nations had access, and which must belong to a period when mankind was not yet divided by varieties of abode and language, of race, of civilization, and of religion. The nations must, before they had parted into separate races, have derived from primeval times these common recollections and legends. At later periods this common heritage assumed different forms among the peoples, or through priestly tradition, according to the spiritual direction on which, after their separation, they had entered. Still, it always pre-

sented, in the marks of its common origin, the marks of the Father's house. Only among Israel, where means and capabilities existed for it, was the legend preserved in its pristine purity.

If we are to trace this legend to the period when peoples and tribes were still united, we feel not only at liberty but are even obliged to go back one or two steps further to the time of Noah, and thence to that of Adam. It is, in our opinion, more than likely that this tradition had been handed down from the very earliest time to that of the author of Genesis. But our record contains *two* sections, each forming a separate account, in which the same events are separately related, each in its own peculiar context. Does this circumstance imply that originally there had been two distinct traditions, derived from separate sources? We reply in the negative. At most we might infer that the original tradition has assumed a twofold form, perhaps when the book of Genesis was composed, but not that originally there had been two distinct sources of it. The Israelitish tradition was transmitted by Noah, and afterwards by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Even if this ray had, during the preceding period, been decomposed by the prism of oral tradition, the original unity would again be restored—possibly, though not necessarily, with the loss of some of the colours—in Noah and Abraham. After that the legend may have formed various concentric or eccentric circles, but this does not imply that they conflicted with one another or with the original tradition. On the other hand we may with equal propriety assume that the original legend had been preserved in its pristine form. If the former hypothesis be the correct one, the author of Genesis may really have drawn from two distinct traditions, in order to supplement the one by the other. In that case the more certain he felt that he had found in these sources, or taken from them, only what was true; the less would he care to conceal it that he had drawn from *two* sources. Or, if the second hypothesis be the correct one, we may well conceive that he himself had arranged the different phases of the one tradition into two distinct and mutually supplementary groups. The reason for such a procedure will be stated below, in § 10.

§ 2. *REVELATION OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

We have learned that the Biblical account in Gen. i.—iii. had been derived from a tradition handed down from primeval times to that of the author of Genesis, received by him under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and chronicled in Holy Writ to become the basis of sacred history and doctrine, thereby receiving the stamp of Divine authority. But here the question occurs, by what means had the first narrator attained his knowledge of the events described? Some of them were doubtless to be traced to the recollection of the first man; but others—and those the most important for our present purpose—must have been acquired in a different manner. The whole of the *first*, and part of the *second* section, treat of times and circumstances, of events and developments, which human eye had not seen, and which lie beyond human perception and recollection. To learn them, he required means and capacities other than those which man presently possesses for ascertaining what has taken place. On this subject Professor *Hofmann* has a theory of his own. “We regard the account of creation,” he observes, “as the expression of the knowledge which the first man had of what preceded his existence. Nor does this knowledge necessarily imply that a special revelation had been vouchsafed to him, if, indeed, the world, as it then was, lay before him with the distinctness and perspicuity which Scripture indicates. Just as, in our days, the natural philosopher, from the present state of the earth, gathers the history of its origin, so may the world as it then existed, and which the first man clearly and immediately understood, have opened to him an insight into a history of the manner in which all things had originated.” “The account of the creation is not offered to us either as the result of reflection or as the creation of fancy concerning the origin of the world, nor as a scientific investigation, nor as a revelation *compensating* for reflection or investigation—it is simply the recorded *intuition* of the first man, handed down by tradition.”

This hypothesis implies that the knowledge of the history of creation dates from *before the Fall*, and that man had at that period possessed, but since lost, the power of clearly and without

error recognising not only the essence of created things, as they then existed, but also the history of their origin, without being obliged as at present "to break and to cut them up in order to get at their core." As *Delitzsch* expresses it, "They were transparent to man, nor did he require to use violent means in order to investigate them." This view seems confirmed by what in Gen. ii. is recorded about man's original state. We are there informed that a mere survey of the animal world was sufficient to enable man to give to each animal its appropriate name, and that the first sight of woman plainly and unmistakeably disclosed to him her origin, being, and destiny. May we not then suppose that man had been capable in similar manner to learn the history of the origin of heaven and earth, of the sun and of the mountains, of plants and of animals? But a careful examination of the record in all its particulars—a review of statements not isolated but in their connection—will lead us to a different conclusion. God, indeed, left it to man to assign names to woman and to the animals, but *Himself* gave them to heaven and earth, to day and night. Why this difference? If the giving of names on the part of man was a revelation of man, *i.e.*, a manifestation of the knowledge he possessed of the nature of the objects to which he gave names, surely the giving of names on the part of God was likewise a revelation of God. And yet we are told that "revelation was not to compensate for reflection and investigation on the part of man." If man could, by mere intuition, have known the nature and history of those objects, why did God not leave it to man to assign names to them also? Besides, does the giving of names to the animals really imply that man, by an act of simple intuition, knew not merely their nature and character but also their origin and former development? Might not the former, without the latter, have afforded sufficient ground for giving those names? But even thus modified the view is not quite correct. The serpent must have been one of those animals to whom man gave names, since, according to Gen. ii. 19, 20, he had named *all the beasts of the field*. Yet it will scarcely be asserted that man had entirely understood or known the nature, position, or import of that animal. He had, at any rate, not understood *one* phase of its being—that "it was more subtile than any beast of the field." Had he from the first known it as the liar and

deceiver which afterwards it proved to be, he would not so readily have credited its smooth speeches.

But man had at the first glance perfectly known not only the present character, but also the origin and the future destiny of woman? The first point we admit; the second is, to say the least, doubtful.¹ But at any rate it seems to us arbitrary and unwarrantable from the circumstance that man was able to recognise the origin and nature of woman, to infer his capacity of recognising the origin and nature of all other objects. For, unlike the creation of all other beings, that of woman lay not beyond the sphere of his own existence, and her origin, although it took place while deep sleep had fallen on man, was not such as to require unlimited knowledge to divine it. On the other hand, we have proof that in his original state man had not known the origin and real nature of all that existed. Thus the tree of knowledge stood in the midst of the garden, and yet man could not recognise either its nature or purport. He knew not that he was not allowed to eat of it as of all the other trees in the garden; he understood not that to partake of its fruit would be to introduce death—till God had revealed it to him.

But even granting that before the fall man had been able by mere intuition to *penetrate* into the inmost depths of creation, and, through his knowledge of what existed, to understand the history of its origin, the text refers to other facts which, even with such powers, man could not have ascertained without a special revelation. Assuming man to have had such powers, we may, for example, conceive it possible that from what then existed he had inferred both the order of creation and the number of creative acts; but we can hardly understand how he could have known that there had been six creative days, and in what special manner the eight distinct creative acts were distributed over that period. Lastly, it is quite inconceivable how, from an intuition of the world, he could, without a Divine Revelation, have learned that God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.

The conviction of the fallacy of this theory is even more

¹ When we keep in mind that (Matth. xix. 5) our Saviour quotes Gen. ii. 24 as spoken by God, we shall feel disposed, with *Deitrich*, to regard them not as uttered by Adam, but as a remark of the narrator, meant to give a wider application to the words of Adam in ver. 23.

strongly impressed upon us, when, from a consideration of individual circumstances, we pass to that of the more leading traits of the narrative. Although at the close of the six days, God declared that all He had created was very good, we learn very soon that evil also already existed. For man was to learn both good and evil, yet without himself becoming evil. There must therefore have been some evil which he was to know and to overcome. Again, from the circumstance that his spiritual development, his power of self-determination, and the manifestation of his freedom and activity—in a word, his whole history, was to commence with this knowledge of, and victory over evil, we learn what importance attached to it in respect to man and his history. This antagonism between good and evil, which man was to know in order to remove it, must have been so wide in its bearings as to have extended to all objects around him, so that he could not have acted within the province assigned to him without coming into conflict with evil, and that there was not a direction in which he could realise the object of his being without at once feeling its contiguity. Acquaintance with this antagonism was therefore the necessary preliminary of all other knowledge. Before this had been attained, man possessed a knowledge of what existed, (and to it we trace his naming of the animals); but a genuine, deep, and accurate *knowledge*, a penetration into the depths of nature, into the mysteries of faith and life, into the relations between the present and the past, could only be attained when the antagonism between good and evil was rightly understood, *i.e.*, removed and overcome. *Before* that any real knowledge of things was impossible. The knowledge of good and evil was the condition of all other knowledge.¹

If by mere intuition of what existed, man could have learned to know its origin, he must from the first have discovered the origin and existence of evil. But irrespective of the fact that this would have rendered any trial of man unnecessary, let it be observed

¹ By the Fall man attained knowledge of good and evil, but not proper knowledge, since it was not got in the proper way. It was, so to speak, the reverse of the knowledge of good and evil which he should have attained. As he did not rightly apprehend what was good, so neither did he truly know what was evil. Only when through redemption he shall have attained a full knowledge of what is good, shall he fully know what is evil. The development of this twofold knowledge proceeds *pari passu*.

that neither in the first nor in the second section of our narrative do we find the slightest hint about the origin of evil, which, however, is assumed as already existing, and which was so soon to make itself felt. Had he been capable of penetrating by intuition into the inmost being of every object, and to descry the history of its origin, he could not have failed to discover the origin and the influence of evil. It is therefore impossible that the narrative of what took place before the creation of man could have proceeded from his intuition. The silence of the record about the existence of evil can only be explained on the ground that the narrative was *revealed* to man, and that the all-wise Teacher had seen fit for a time to draw a boundary line between what should be told him and what kept back. The narrative then, so far as it records what man had not seen and experienced, must have been communicated by God, who made known only so much of what had passed as at the time was necessary and profitable for man, leaving the filling up of the gaps and the explanation of the hints to a period when the pupil should have attained a more mature age.

We fully admit that, in his original state, man was called, and hence endowed with the capacity to understand the nature, relations, origin, and object of all that had been created. We infer this from his position, and from his calling to subdue the whole earth and all its creatures. For, in order to subdue, he must first have known them, and have understood what, whence, and for what purpose they were. Further, we admit that if by the Fall man's natural capacities had not been destroyed, and he placed in a totally different position, he would have attained that knowledge by immediate intuition, and that the inmost being of things would have been disclosed to his sovereign glance, without his requiring the scalpel, the hammer, the telescope, or the microscope—in a word, without those marvellous but feeble aids of which science at present makes use, in order, after all, to know only the outside of things. But we utterly deny that during the short period in which man continued in his unfallen state his *capacity* of knowledge had become fully *developed*, or that his *destiny* had, in this respect, been *realised*. Man was created both *perfect* and *good*, but his original perfectness was capable of and required development, since he was created a free and personal being, destined by his own free

decision to become what the Creator intended him to be—to develop the powers and talents with which God had endowed him, and thus to fulfil his vocation. As all his other talents, so his *capacity* for *knowledge* also required progressive development before it could ripen into full, all-comprehensive, and all-penetrating *knowledge*. This, the termination of his development, should not be expected at its commencement. Accordingly we read, in the first section of our narrative, that man was destined to subdue the whole earth and all that was upon and in it. But that this referred not to the commencement but to the completion of his development we gather even from the circumstance that “to replenish the earth” (Gen. i. 18) is mentioned as the condition and the foundation of *subduing* it. This view is further confirmed by the second section, which likewise describes the commencement, not the completion of man’s development. There it is said that man was to dress and to keep the *garden of Eden*, not the *whole earth*. His sway, which implied a knowledge of that which was to be subject to him, was to commence at one point, and thence gradually to extend over the whole earth.

That the view which we oppose is erroneous we also gather from the circumstance that, if consistently carried out, it would leave no room for the necessity of a Divine revelation; either before sin entered, or, if it had not entered at all, while the history before the Fall, as recorded in ch. ii., exhibits a continuous process of revelation, leading us to infer that such teaching must have been requisite. If our opponents are right, man required not Divine instruction and revelation to attain the object of his being. The Bible, on the contrary, represents man as destined, indeed, for high purposes, and hence as highly endowed, but as one whose capabilities had not yet been fully developed, and whose mission had not yet been realised. To attain these objects, Divine training, teaching, exhortation, and warning attended him in all his ways. True, revelation was not intended—either before or after the entrance of sin—to compensate for personal investigation and reflection, or to render these exercises unnecessary, but it was vouchsafed in order to direct them, to preserve them from aberrations, to strengthen, sanctify, and purify them, and, when necessary, to make up any defects or to supply any gaps. And such training was necessary, not only after but even

before the Fall, since man had not yet attained perfection, and was surrounded by dangers of the existence of which he was ignorant.

We now proceed to consider the other supposition on which *Hofmann's* theory is based, viz., that, before his Fall, man had known the history of creation as recorded in Gen. i. and ii. Even if this view were correct it could not invalidate our former conclusion that the narrative of the creation was derived from revelation, and not from the natural intuition of the first man. But we cannot admit its accuracy, since the history of the first man as described in chaps. ii. and iii. does not advert to such knowledge, nor indeed would it tally with the regular progress of his history. Chap. ii. describes the development of man under the guidance and revelation of God. When man was placed in the garden he was still without knowledge. This he was to attain in Eden. Plainly, it is impossible to suppose that when placed in the garden he had already possessed the grand and comprehensive knowledge embodied in Gen. i. This would not agree with the state of ignorance which the instructions given him by God imply. At that period man's consciousness was still a "*carte blanche*." We should, therefore, have to suppose that he had acquired his knowledge of the procedure in creation during his stay in the garden. But this, also, could not have been the case, since at that time his development tended exclusively towards *one* object, viz., preparation and training for the grand trial which awaited him. Everything which did not further that object would hinder and arrest his development, and every new information which did not contribute towards that preparation would only prove a foreign and disturbing element. But nothing that is recorded in Gen. i. could have contributed to prepare him for that decisive trial. Hence the events of which it treats could only have been learned after the Fall.

God placed man in the garden, where he was to undergo his decisive trial. He then imparted to him, step by step, the knowledge which he required to come to a proper decision, and caused him to pass through the necessary stages of preliminary development. At that period there was neither room, time, nor occasion for attaining such knowledge as is communicated in

Gen. i. Hence, if the first man possessed this information, he must have acquired it *after*, not *before*, his Fall. From Paradise man only carried with him the recollection of what he had there experienced, and of what God had there revealed to him. But of this the history of creation formed not part. The recollection of what man had experienced before the Fall was the nucleus of the tradition which after the Fall began to take form, and was orally transmitted to Noah, to Abraham, and to Moses. This tradition was enlarged by the addition of an account of what took place after the Fall, and of the history of creation—which latter could only have been communicated by revelation. It is more difficult to decide whether this revelation was made to the *first* man or to a succeeding generation through some man of God—such as Enoch, who “walked with God” (Gen. v. 22)—to whom, by Divine illumination, a glimpse of those events had been granted, even as, according to an ancient tradition, confirmed in the new Testament (Jude 14, 15), Enoch was honoured with a vision of the future judgment. We can only venture on a suggestion to which some probability may attach. A closer examination of the account of creation will convince us that all along it had a distinct and definite tendency, or at least led to a definite result, viz., to show that the Sabbath-day was of Divine institution, and specially designed for the worship of God. Since God had created during six days and rested on the seventh, man also was, according to the example and by the will of God, to labour during six days and on the seventh to rest from all his works. In our view, then, Gen. ii. 1—3 affords a clue to the occasion and the object of the revelation of the history of creation. If we enquire for a historical basis upon which to rest this view of the origin of our narrative, we find that in Gen. iv. 26, at the time when Enos the son of Seth was born, men began to call upon the name of Jehovah. The meaning of this expression is plain. It refers to the first institution of the regular, solemn, public worship of Jehovah. Instead of the former private, arbitrary, and irregular service, as, for example, in the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, we have now a common form of worship. But for such a purpose the first requisite was to fix a season for worship, and of this the Sabbath was the prototype and centre. Are we not, then, warranted in

suggesting¹ that the history of creation was revealed at that time for the purpose of becoming the basis and directory of this institution? But whether this revelation had been made to Adam, who was still alive at that time, or to Seth or to any other of his cotemporaries, must remain undecided.

§ 3. PROPHETIC CHARACTER OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

We have seen that what had taken place before Adam obtained self-conscious existence, must have been divinely revealed either to him or to some one of his descendants. But in what manner was this communication made to man? We conceive that the first narrator, whether Adam or one of his descendants, received it in a manner analogous to that in which prophets received their revelations. The peculiarity of prophetic vision consisted in this, *that the Spirit of God*, who knows neither past nor future, but to whom everything is eternally present—*partly and temporarily elevated the spirit of man*—who, though bound to time and space, is breath of His breath (Gen. ii. 7) and His offspring (Acts xvii. 28)—*above the limitations of time, and enabled him to share His power of beholding the past and the future as if it were present*. In short, we hold that man learned the history of creation in the same manner in which later prophets learned the developments and events of periods removed from their own time, viz., in spiritual vision afforded through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

This explanation has called forth considerable controversy chiefly at the hands of *Hofmann*, *Delitzsch*, *Richers*, and *Keil*. To the opinion of the first of these writers on the subject under consideration, we have already referred; the others hold that God had imparted to the first man by personal and oral instruction—as a father to his child, or as a teacher to his pupil—the knowledge of the history embodied in Gen. i. and ii. In dis-

¹ Let it not be objected that the passage refers to the worship of *Jehovah*, while in the history of creation only the name *Elohim* occurs. This difficulty is set aside by the *Jehovah Elohim* of Gen. ii. 4, &c.

cussing this question, we have to distinguish between a history written under Divine direction and one composed entirely by man. In the latter, man is left to his own experience, investigation, and criticism—in the former, he is aided by the knowledge and mind of the Lord. The source of all merely *human* history is *autopsy* or personal experience, whether on the part of the writer himself or of others, who have transmitted their investigations. But, as only that which man has actually experienced can form the subject of such a history, it can only commence at a point where the individual, or the race, has arrived at self-consciousness and knowledge of the world, and learned to observe and to reflect on what takes place. Again, it must *terminate* with the period in which the writer lives. But not only what the historian has derived from tradition—even what he himself has experienced, is doubtful and uncertain. For, tradition may in the course of time have undergone corruption, and one's own experience may not have been properly viewed or understood. Hence in *sacred* history, where not only the outward fact must be recorded, but also its real character and its bearing on the history of redemption understood, the historian required as much the assistance of the Spirit of God in detailing what men have experienced as did the prophets and apostles in tracing the *doctrines* of salvation. The Synagogue has therefore rightly characterised even the historical books of the Old Testament as prophetic. But as revelation never supplies what man could have discovered without its aid, we do not find in the historical parts of the Bible (always excepting Gen. i. and ii.) any hint that the writers had received the material of their narratives in a supernatural manner. Hence we conclude that the co-operation of the Holy Spirit consisted in this, that they were enabled to distinguish the true from the spurious in these traditions, and to understand the spiritual bearing of these facts.

But beyond the boundaries of human experience lies another development, and hence another history—on the one side embracing the *past*, on the other the *future*. For, when man commenced to observe and to construct history, himself and all around him were already existent. Nor does the current of development stop with the period in which the writer lives; the

thread is not cut short, but millions of hands and powers, belonging not to the visible only but also to the invisible world, continue it, and none of them knows what the general result will be to which each contributes his part. These two phases of history lie beyond human ken, which, bound to space and time, can only call the present its own. Only the Lord looks behind and before, beholding both the development which preceded the *first* appearance of man, and that which lies beyond the present generation. However different, these two histories are similar both as to the ground on which man is unacquainted with them, and the manner in which he may learn to know them. He does not know them because he is created; he may become acquainted with them since *God knows* them, and in that case he will have to learn them by *Divine revelation*. But how is this knowledge imparted? Only once—in Gen. i.—iii.—did God reveal to man what had taken place before his appearance; but very frequently did he communicate events yet future. In those cases it is generally stated in express terms, or clearly implied that the prophetic history of the future was derived from prophetic intuition. It is nowhere stated, hinted, or implied, that a prediction of future history was derived from Divine teaching, either by oral or inward communication. It seems, therefore, to be a law of revelation that the disclosure of the future is brought about by prophetic intuition. But as there is no essential difference in principle or otherwise, between a revelation of the future and one of the past, may we not assume that the latter had been communicated in the same manner in which we know the former has invariably been vouchsafed? This supposition is abundantly confirmed by the narrative under consideration. We notice in it a vividness of perception and a pictorialness of description which almost necessarily leads us to conclude that the writer relates what he had seen. Our opponents deny indeed that these characteristics apply to this narrative more than to others. Assertion must here be met by counter-assertion; perhaps neither the one nor the other statement admits of probation. We maintain, then, that the narrator was in prophetic illumination, raised to the height of Divine autopsy, had spiritually beheld what took place before man existed, and then translated into *words* his vision. He described that which, and in the

manner in which he had beheld it.¹ These were prophethistorical scenes, enacted before his spiritual vision, of which each represented a leading feature in the great drama, a principal phase in the development. One scene opens after the other, until, at the close of the seven, the historical succession in creation has been completely brought before him.

§ 4. LIMIT AND DURATION OF THE CREATIVE DAYS.

The first chapter of Genesis details eight acts of creation, each beginning with the words: "And God said, Let there be;" but only *six* creative *days* in which these eight acts had taken place. Each of these days commenced with a creative *morning*, marked by a Divine: "Let there be;" during the course of the day the command of the Creator then became an outward fact, while the recurrence of evening and morning formed a transition to another creative day.²

But here *two* questions will occur to the reader. Was the number *seven*—under which, by Divine revelation, the seer beholds the history of creation inclusive of the Divine rest at the close of it—essential and necessary or accidental and unimportant? In other words: might creation not have been represented under more or under fewer phases of development than these seven—was this arrangement based on *objective* truth, and does it represent what really took place, or was it only *subjectively* true, so far as *the vision of the prophet* was concerned? Even if the latter were the case, it would not necessarily take from the Divine character and authority of the narrative, just as similar circumstances do not detract from the value or impor-

¹ We scarcely anticipate the objection that the narrative contains also the report of the *words* of God which could only be *heard*, not seen. For this objection would apply to many other prophetic visions. Nobody would conceive that God spake in the anthropomorphistic and sensual manner implied in the objection. In the mind of the beholder the effects which are being produced by the Divine operation, appear as words spoken.

² We cannot admit the correctness of the common view that the expression "there was evening and there was morning", was meant to be a paraphrase for the whole day. The interpretation is ungrammatical and contrary to the sense of the passage. In this section where such emphasis is laid on the order of time and in this peculiar connection, the "*casu consecutivum*" can only denote *succession of time*, so that what precedes must be regarded as

tance of the predictions of the prophets. But the narrative embodies a fact, which of itself shows that the former of these views is the correct one. For it will be noticed that the arrangement of the week and the sanctification of the Sabbath was based on Gen. ii. 3—an argument this of which the force is indicated by such passages as Ex. xx. 9—11, and xxxi. 12—17, which inculcate on the people the duty of Sabbath-observance. If the arrangement of the creative acts had been merely subjective, unimportant and arbitrary, it could not have been the prototype and the occasion of a Divine law of such importance. This argument is not in the least impugned by the circumstance that the number seven seems to occupy an important place both in the arrangements of nature and in the laws of the human mind. Connected with this is a *second* question as to the precise meaning which we are to attach to the boundary lines of time as drawn in the narrative of creation. Are we to understand the *creative days* as natural ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, so that the process of creation, or rather of the restoration of the earth and of its whole organism, occupied precisely six times twenty-four hours—or are we to conceive that these

also preceding in point of time. “God said: Let there be light!—There was light. God divided the light from the darkness.—It became evening, it became morning.” Everything moves here in strict succession of time. It is, therefore, quite erroneous to infer that, because darkness had preceded light, the first day commenced with an *evening*. For darkness is designated not as *evening* but as *night*, and the expression, “*It became evening*”, implies that a day had preceded it. Hence the creative day cannot have commenced with the evening but with the morning. The general and long-continued misunderstanding of the passage arose from the circumstance that as the Hebrews, like most other nations of antiquity, commenced their day with the evening, it was thought that this practice must derive some support from the narrative of the creation. The idea is so far correct, but the social arrangement was based not on any of the first six, but on the seventh day. The work-day naturally commences with the morning, the day of rest with the evening. But since the Sabbath formed the standard, both for the civil and ecclesiastical division of time, and the Sabbath naturally commenced with the termination of the preceding work-day, the arrangement of all other days was made in accordance with it. Still the working day really commenced in the morning. This explanation, which we feel convinced is the only correct one, furnishes another proof that “the myth” about creation was not derived from the division of the week, but the latter from the “history” of creation. Since these remarks were first written, *Delitzsch*, against whom they were directed, has admitted, although on independent grounds, that the almost traditional common view is erroneous. Similarly *Hofmann* and *Nägelsbach* have shown its fallacy. May we then, with *Delitzsch*, hope that an error rebutted by “four independent witnesses” will for ever be set aside?

boundary lines existed only in the mind of the prophet and not in reality, that these days were *prophetic* days, *i.e.*, periods of indefinite duration?

We admit that in prophetic diction such periods *may* be designated as days. But on the other hand it is not necessarily implied that because the narrative itself is prophetic in its cast and origin, those days also *must* refer to so many periods of indefinite duration. As in the vision of Jeremiah the seventy years are real years, so in the narrative of the creation the six days may be *real* days. In all such cases the point can only be decided in one of two ways. Either the prophecy contains some points which remove the doubt (just as in Jerem. xxix. it is clearly indicated that the seventy years are not prophetic but real years), or the answer is to be derived from an investigation of what actually had taken place, *i.e.* in the case of a prediction from its fulfilment, and in that of the history of creation from the conclusions of natural science. It is too frequently assumed that the latter are in favour of interpreting these days as periods. It is said that *Astronomy* will not permit us to believe that all the host of stars and the planetary and solar heavens were formed in twenty-four hours, nor *Geology* that the primary and the stratified formations with all their organisms were formed in one day, or in six days each of twenty-four hours. According to *Delitzsch*, even natural philosophers, to whom Christianity is matter of heart and life, hold that "millions of years" (!) must have preceded the present formation of the earth. But such assertions must not deter us from impartially examining the narrative itself. How does the narrative regard those days? For if it furnishes data showing that they were regarded as natural days, our exegesis must not be discarded in favour either of Astronomy or of Geology.

We are fully convinced that if the record be impartially and critically examined, without any regard to other and foreign considerations, we can arrive only at one conclusion, *viz.*, that these six creative days were natural days. On the other hand, we are also convinced that natural science can be harmonised with this conclusion, and that even though we were to admit the extravagant assertion that millions of years must have preceded the present formation of the earth. *Delitzsch*, indeed,

maintains "that the narrative could not have been intended to limit the six days with the Sabbath which followed them to one ordinary week. The creative days must be creative periods—of whose length the writer himself had probably no distinct notion. He speaks of days of divine duration." But in ver. 5, where the enumeration of the creative days commences, we are distinctly shewn in what sense it is intended that the word "*day*" should be understood: God divided the light from the darkness, and called the light *day* and the darkness night. And it became evening and it became morning. Thus the *first* day closed, and merged into the second. We admit that the term *day* is here applied (not, indeed, in a different *sense*—but as among all nations) to various divisions of time. It first designates a day in the narrowest sense of the term, or that period of time which is bounded by light and darkness, while for the purpose of chronological numeration it next indicates an entire day, including night and the hours intervening between day and night. Hence the entire day, which is counted as the first, included the four divisions (day and night, evening and morning), which succeed one another. But it cannot be doubted that the division of time which is here designated as *day* was caused and bounded by the presence of *natural light*. Hence the evening which followed such a day, and the morning which preceded a new day, must similarly be regarded as parts of a *natural* and *ordinary* day; and the latter can only be measured according to the natural and ordinary standard, viz., the occurrence of a natural change of light and darkness (day and night).

It follows, then, that the creative days were measured according to the appearance and disappearance of daylight, the occurrence of evening and morning. This mode of measurement is implied in the narrative, and must apply to *all* the six days. It is another question whether the duration of each of these six days was exactly of twenty-four hours or not. Probably such was the case at least from the fourth day onward, since from that time the sun ruled the day and the moon the night, when in all likelihood the same order commenced which now prevails. But it is impossible to determine the duration of the first three days in which this arrangement did not yet prevail, and the duration of daylight and of darkness depended on laws with which at

present we are not acquainted. The record does not measure the duration of a day by hours, but by the four divisions of the day. Under all circumstances, then, we cannot doubt that the creative days were intended to indicate periods of time, of which each comprised a succession of terrestrial day and night. They had the same limits which a chronological day still has. The declaration of *Ebrard* that only "narrow-minded bigotry" could identify the creative with physical days, instead of interpreting them as symbolical, cannot shake these conclusions.

We have undertaken to show that the Biblical account of creation is compatible with Astronomy and Geology—a task rendered more difficult, or according to some rendered impossible, by our above remarks. If we have narrowed the basis on which to rear our arguments, we have at least given evidence of our desire to have no other foundation than that of truth.

§ 5. CREATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

The narrative of creation commences with the words: "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.*" If considered by themselves and irrespective of their relation to what follows, their meaning cannot be misunderstood. No truth is more plainly expressed in the Old Testament than this, that, both in respect of its material and its formation, the world had not existed from eternity, but that the God who alone is from everlasting, and who is the author of all things, had created it *in time* or rather *along with time*. This fundamental principle of the Old Testament creed is here placed at the very threshold of the record which is to detail both the primeval history of Israel and what had preceded it. This principle was distinctively Jewish—it formed the starting-point in the religion of Israel, and the basis and preliminary of their history. It established a line of distinction between the people of the Lord and the other nations of antiquity who deified nature and regarded the world as self-existent and eternal, who did not and would not know anything of a personal God, distinct from and above the world. The first sentence in the sacred records of Israel embodies a protest against the fundamental error of heathenism.

But there are some difficulties in the way of explaining those words when viewed in their connection with the description of the six creative days which immediately follows. They are frequently regarded as a kind of heading or table of contents of the whole chapter, as a summary statement of the details of the six creative days furnished in this chapter. In confirmation of this view it is argued that ver. 8 gives a special narrative of the creation of heaven, and ver. 10 of that of the earth. But the connection between verse 1 and what immediately follows renders this interpretation impossible. The word "*and*" ("and the earth was without form and void") with which the following sentence commences shews that both it, and, indeed, the whole chapter, is a continuation of the narrative which commences in ver. 1, and also renders it certain that the creation of heaven and earth which it records must be regarded as having preceded the six creative days. If ver. 1 were simply a heading or summary of this chapter, the narrative itself would commence with ver. 2, or with "*and*". But the commencement of a history could not be introduced by "*and*". Besides, such an interpretation might have given rise to the mistake that the expression "without form and void" referred to an eternal chaos, since the narrative itself would contain no mention of any creative agency but only of a transformation and arrangement of chaotic material already in existence. Thus the idea of a creation *out of nothing*, which is manifestly one of the fundamental principles of the Old Testament, would not be expressly mentioned, and that in a passage where one should naturally look for it—a silence which we would deem ominous.

But while we regard ver. 1 as an integral part of the history of creation, we shall not attempt to deny that there is a manifest difference, both in tone and style, between it and the narrative which follows. The pictorial element, which appears so strikingly in the rest of the chapter, is here wanting. From the absence of this we infer that ver. 1 did not form part of what had been seen in prophetic vision. From the first the seer beheld the earth already in existence, though without form and void. By and bye he perceives how the omnipotence of the Divine will gives to the earth, which as yet is shut up in darkness and void of life, its present form, and endows it with fulness of light and life.

This the seer beheld, and this he described. But whence this earth "without form and void?" Later heathenism, which had lost all belief in a living and personal Deity, regarded it as an eternal and uncreated chaos. To contradict this fearful mistake either the prophet, or a later writer—perhaps the author of Genesis—had prefixed the first sentence by way of introduction to, or of laying a basis for, the history of the six creative days. Hence ver. 1 is not a heading of, but an introduction to, the narrative that follows; not a statement of what was done during the six days, but of what had preceded them. However, while we distinguish between the first and the following verses, regarding the latter as derived from prophetic vision, and the former as the necessary conclusion of a pious mind, we do not thereby mean to say that part of this chapter is a Divine revelation, and part of it the mere expression of human opinion. We regard both as alike inspired, and as differing only in this respect, that the one was the result of *Divinely enlightened thinking*, the other of *Divinely enlightened vision*.

§ 6. STATE OF THE EARTH PREVIOUS TO THE SIX CREATIVE DAYS.

The connection between ver. 1 and the account of the six creative days may be explained in one of two ways. That verse may be regarded as referring to the creation of the *elements composing the original material* out of which the Creator, during the six days, formed the present earth. In that case the expression: "without form and void," of ver. 2, would indicate a temporary absence of light and life, and that the development had not yet been completed. Or ver. 1 may be understood as relating to a *primæval creation, complete* in itself, but which, by some catastrophe, had become desolate and dark (as described in ver. 2)—in which case the work of the six creative days would be a restitution or new creation of the earth which had become desolate. *The narrative before us does not decide this point.* The writer does not inform us whether the earth had been created "without form and void," or whether and by what process it had become such. Nor does it lie within his province to pronounce on that question, since, as a truthful witness, he only relates *what*

he has actually seen. To speculate upon or to explain this point is foreign to his purpose.

It has, indeed, been urged by some, that the expression "heavens and earth," in ver. 1, cannot refer to the unformed and elementary material of the world which could have been designated by the terms: "heavens and earth," only after it had been properly separated and fully moulded. But the remark is true only in part, nor is it sufficient to bear out the desired inference. The expression "heavens and earth" implies that these worlds had become formed and separated, although not that they had been fully moulded or perfected. This is proved by ver. 2, at least so far as the earth is concerned. For there our globe, while still waste and desolate, and before it had assumed its present form, is expressly designated as "the earth"—and rightly so, since it already existed as a distinct body, separate from all others. The same remark no doubt applies to the other heavenly bodies, although the narrative, which details only what more particularly refers to the earth, does not specially advert to them.

Another argument in favour of the *second*, and against the *first* of the above views, has been drawn from the words "*thohu vabohu*," ("without form and void"). The expression, so far as its etymology is concerned, is doubtful. In the other passages in which it occurs (Isa. xxxiv. 11, Jer. iv. 23), it certainly refers to actual *devastation* and *desolation*, succeeding a former state of life and fruitfulness, and not to any natural absence of life, not to a lower stage of development, in which life has not yet appeared. It has accordingly been inferred that in Gen. i. 2 it must also denote a similar state of matters. But this reasoning is not conclusive, since the Hebrew terms, like the English word "waste", may be so comprehensive as to indicate both ideas. *Delitzsch*, even while objecting to the rendering of the words by "devastation and desolation", felt that "both the meaning and the sound of these words in their assonance was designed to inspire terror." An interpretation according to which the *thohu vabohu* was merely indicative of the absence of form and order, would, in his opinion, not exhaust the ideas implied in its etymology. This sense of awe is increased by the mention of the darkness which brooded over the face of the

deep, and of the raging waters. "Darkness" (*choshech*), our author observes, "is the form under which Scripture presents and symbolises sin and evil, but especially Divine vengeance; darkness is the ungodly element which must and shall be overcome; in the new Jerusalem there is no night (Rev. xxi. 25; xxii. 5). '*Th'kom*' is the *deep* to which bounds were assigned when the earth was formed (Prov. viii. 27; Ps. xxxiii. 7; Job xxxviii. 8—11), and which are only passed when nature revolts against man (Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2); between the sea, death, and Hades there is some kind of connection (Job xxxviii. 16, &c.; Rev. xx. 13). The *raging waters* (*majim*) are a representation of the raging of the heathen; thence also arise the beasts or hostile powers which Daniel and the book of Revelation describe; from the face of the renewed earth the sea shall disappear (Rev. xxi. 1). It cannot be denied that all the expressions in ver. 2 (with the exception of the last clause) have their analogue in the kingdom of Satan." But all this, however true, cannot be regarded as a *proof* that in this passage also the writer had intended to attach to them the meaning of evil which they bear in the figurative language of later prophets.

It has also been argued that since the Lord is a God of light and life, only a bright world of life which reflected His own blessedness and holiness, and not a dark waste and a void chaos, could have proceeded from His creative hand. Even while in an imperfect state, it is said, any work proceeding from the hand of God would not correspond with the description in ver. 2, since, according to the measure of its development and capacity, it would necessarily reflect Divine harmony and order, Divine light and life. We might admit that the narrator had here purposely chosen indefinite terms, and yet, on other grounds, conclude that the language he employs, *rightly* understood, implies that a devastation had taken place. This reasoning is not without force. Although we cannot regard it as affording a satisfactory proof, it adds to the weight of other arguments in favour of this view.¹

¹ The assertion, so frequently made, that ver. 2 may or should be translated "And the earth *became* waste and void," is grammatically false. In that case the writer would have used the expression וַיִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ תֵּהוֹמָה וַיִּהְיֶה הַיָּם תֵּהוֹמָה, and not וַיִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ תֵּהוֹמָה וַיִּהְיֶה הַיָּם תֵּהוֹמָה, and to avoid all ambiguity he would have added the preposition אֲחֵרֵי after the verb וַיִּהְיֶה. *Drechsler* tries to show from the structure of ver. 2,

Let it be remembered that the narrator only described what he actually saw, without specially indicating in what light all this should be regarded, or in what relation ver. 2 stood to ver. 1. Readers might either understand his language as implying that in the beginning there had been an absence of light and life, in which case they would be led to believe in a chaos, or they might, in accordance with the later *usus loquendi* of the prophets, apply the terms to an actual *devastation*. But as ver. 1 excluded the idea of an eternal hostile chaos, they would have to fall back upon the second view, with the understanding that some hostile power had introduced desolation into what had originally been a fair, pure, and glorious handiwork of the Lord. This inference would be further confirmed by the circumstance, that in chap. iii. the existence and influence of such a hostile power is indicated. But as that chapter also did not remove the mystery connected with that enemy, both passages could only lead to further enquiry, and call forth a desire for more full instruction. We shall, for the present, leave this subject, with the remark, that Gen. i, taken by itself, neither proves nor disproves the view that the earth had been laid waste at some period between the first creation of heavens and earth and their restoration during the six creative days.

§ 7. THE FIRST, THE SECOND, AND THE THIRD CREATIVE DAYS.

The earth was waste and void, and darkness covered the deep. Left unrestrained and in wild confusion, the elements were mixed up, nor could the seer descry order or harmony, light or life. But this state was not to continue. Already he discovered the Spirit of God breathing into this waste the breath of life,

that it could not have been intended to describe the state in which, according to ver. 1, God had created the earth. Ver. 2, he remarks, consists of three parts—the earth was waste and void, and darkness upon the deep, and the Spirit moved over the waters. But as the copula “and” connects the first with the other two clauses, it would follow that if we were to interpret “God created the earth waste, void, and dark,” we should have to add that he created it with the Spirit of God moving over it. But this reasoning is not by any means conclusive, since it may be replied that ver. 2 does not inform us in what state God had *created* the earth, but only as to its *condition* after it had been created.

and moving over the waters. His breath would banish the waste and desolation; already the germs of life awaited the moment when, being set free, they should unfold. Then issued the word of Omnipotence, "*Let there be light, and it was light.*" Suddenly, liberated from its bonds, light breaks from the dense darkness around, the first token of life, and the condition of all further development. Light, the first creature of God, and the emblem of His own glory, bears the impress of being well pleasing in His sight; whoever sees the light, hails it as the messenger of Divine goodness. *God saw that the light was good.* The darkness which covered the deep had enshrouded the light; *but God separated the light from the darkness.* Thus the light attained liberty and independent existence. No longer is it enclosed by darkness; it exists *along* with and *superior* to darkness, over which it now rules, and to which it gives life. The light is called *day*, the darkness *night*. The work of the first day is finished. Even and morn come, and the first day being completed merges into the second.

A new day has broken. A movement in the waters which still cover the earth has been called forth by another creative word; they also are to bring forth what hitherto lay concealed in their depths. And God said, *Let there be a firmament* (expansion, "*rakiah*") *to divide the waters, and he called the firmament Heaven.* This was the sky, that pure and transparent expanse of air above us, the atmosphere with its inexhaustible springs of life and blessing, providing the necessary means of nourishment to every kind of living beings that were to appear on earth. This sky rests on the waters of the earth, and like a firm arch supports the oceans of heaven. Thus it divides the upper from the lower waters, the sea from the clouds which rise from it, that in turn they also may become a spring of blessing and fruitfulness to the dry land when it shall have been emancipated from the dominion of the sea.

The *third* day witnessed two consecutive and connected acts of creation—the separation of the sea from the dry land, and the clothing of the latter with vegetation. As on the first day the light was set free from the bonds of darkness, and on the second the sky, with its springs of blessing, its rain and fruitful seasons, was called from the chaotic waters of primeval earth, so the

creative word of the third day set free the earth from the dominion of the sea, which till then had engulfed and covered everything. For as the polar opposition and the reciprocal relation of light and darkness, of day and night, of earth and air, of sea and clouds, is the ultimate condition of life and prosperity, so also is the permanent distribution of land and water the condition of all further development on the earth, and a guarantee of the continuance and well-being of the creatures which inhabit land and sea. The dry land is the habitation of the noblest of God's creatures; therefore the creative word of Omnipotence liberated it from the dominion of the sea, and assigned to the latter its bounds. The tumult which now arises is described in Ps. civ. 5—9:—

“He hath founded the earth upon her bases,
 She is not removed for ever.
 The deep, as with a garment, hast Thou covered,
 The waters stood above the mountains.
 At Thy rebuke they fled,
 At the voice of Thy thunder they hasted away—
 The mountains ascended, the valleys descended,
 To the place which Thou hadst founded for them—
 Thou hast set a bound which they do not pass over,
 They do not return to cover the earth.”

When thus the water had been gathered and the dry land had appeared, Earth, which the breath of the Divine Spirit as He moved over the primeval waste, had endued with seeds and germs, in obedience to the creative command displayed its glorious vegetation in all the beauty of variegated colours, and with its precious fruits. Still, as the vegetable world clung to the soil, like a splendid robe covering its nakedness, it had not an independent existence of its own. Hence it originated on the same day which witnessed the liberation of the dry land, whose property, so to speak, it was.

§ 8. THE WORK OF THE FOURTH DAY.

Thus the formation of the earth, as *a globe existing by itself*,

had been completed. On the *fourth day* the relation between earth and the other heavenly bodies was fixed.¹

In the Rakiah or expanse of heaven the Word of the Almighty placed *sun, moon, and stars to divide the day from the night, and to be signs: both for seasons, and for days and years, and to be for lights, to give light upon the earth; the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night.* It has been matter of dispute whether these stars of the fourth day are to be understood as the whole starry heavens with their millions of fixed stars, their milky ways, and groups of stars, or only as the stars of our solar system. We have latterly seen cause to adopt the former of these views. Without repeating the arguments which we had formerly advanced for the opposite view, we may observe that any such distinction between our solar system and the starry heavens generally would imply astronomical distinctions which we are sure lay beyond the purport of the writer. The narrative has a purely religious aim, and professes not to treat either of Astronomy or of Geology. It brings before us, first, the relation between *God* and the world, then that between *man* and the other creatures (showing that he occupies the highest point in the scale of creation), and lastly, the typical relation between the creative week and the duties and occupations of life. The first of these objects is clearly expressed in the words (ver. 1): "*In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*" Each word in that verse has an important bearing upon our

¹ *Hofmann*, and after him *Delitzsch*, take a different view of the progress in the work of creation. They hold that on the fourth day the scale of creation rises, "since the heavenly bodies, separated from the mass, and passing on their immeasurable paths, constitute a higher stage than the plants which are rooted in the ground, while, on the other hand, they occupy a lower place than the creatures of the fifth and sixth days—animals and man—which are capable of voluntary motion." But we apprehend that such a view would make of our narrative a poor piece of speculation. For if the narrative is to be regarded as a description of what had really taken place, and the narrator as expressing the mind of the Creator, so that in His view the heavenly bodies occupy a position intermediate between plants and animals, the former having been created *before*, the latter *after* these heavenly bodies—natural science will urge against this supposed scale in creation arguments so powerful that the defender of the Bible will scarcely be able to make way against them. We shall, therefore, either have to give up this view, or else to admit that the narrative does not embody objective truth, but is a piece of speculation, and that one of second rate ability.

religious knowledge, both from the fundamental truths which it *affirms* and the dangerous errors which it *rebuts*. The simple statement of the fact might have been sufficient for the purpose which the narrative had in view. But if there had been no more than a general and abstract sentence, the important truths enunciated might—especially among Orientals, whose minds chiefly grasp and retain what is concrete—have been readily overlooked or passed by. Even on that ground, therefore, it was necessary to present them in a concrete form as a tangible and outward reality, thus impressing them on the mind of the reader. Still more was this requisite if the other objects of the narrative were to be carried out, and the cosmical and moral position of man to be impressed on the consciousness.

It was for these purposes that the seer, or rather the Spirit whose organ he was, detailed what took place during the six creative days. Hence, also, are we not warranted in putting into the narrative an astronomical distinction between the planetary heavens and those of the fixed stars to which no allusion is made. Such a distinction might, indeed, have been of importance even in a religious point of view, but if intended would no doubt have been plainly mentioned. We should the more readily have expected this, since such a distinction was made from the oldest time. But the circumstance that it is not expressed, nor even hinted at, shows that, however important at a later period and for other purposes, it lay beyond the aim of the narrator and the time. If ver. 16 speaks of *stars* generally, without limiting the term to any special kind of stars, even the fact that no emphasis is laid on it proves that the expression must not in any way be limited, but taken in its more wide and general acceptation. Nor is there any force in the objection that since sun, moon, and the stars of the fourth day are set in the Rakiah of the second day which sprang from the earth, they must be viewed as belonging to the earth, in a physical point of view. For it should be remembered that the definition of Rakiah as terrestrial atmosphere is that of natural science, while in common parlance the term was much wider, and embraced also what in modern times is called the cosmical ether. If, besides, we bear in mind that the narrative is not an astronomical or physical manual, we shall not deem it more strange that

scientifically inaccurate—or, if you choose, erroneous—terms should have been employed by the writer than we are in the habit of taking exception to such expressions as the “rising” or the “going down” of the sun. The seer simply described what he saw; and, no doubt he beheld the fixed stars in the same heaven as the planets. Nor can we admit the validity of the objection, that since the narrative manifestly treats only of the earth and of what bears reference to it, the stars of the fourth day must have been those of our solar system. This would oblige us to suppose that ver. 16 also refers only to such heavenly bodies as form along with our earth one physical system. Besides, there is not the least intimation that the sun and moon are only mentioned, because, in a physical and astronomical point of view, they form one system with our earth; nay, this view is entirely contrary to the spirit and tendency of the narrative. The latter takes no notice of any such physical connection, and only adverts to the circumstance that the *sun* gives light by day and the *moon* by night. This remark also applies to the stars (ver. 17)—and manifestly the fixed stars answer *that* purpose as much, and more, than the planets.

Again, since the narrative only records what sun, moon, and stars are in relation to the earth, without entering on the question of what they are in themselves, it is a grievous mistake to overlook the prophetic character of this vision, and to press the words as if they implied that the sun, moon, and stars, had been created, or called forth out of nothing, only on the fourth day, or after the earth had been fully formed. The record does not give any information either as to *what* these heavenly bodies are *in themselves* or as to the *period* and the *mode* in which they were created to be what they are *in themselves*. It is, indeed, true that the work of the fourth day, like those of the other days, is introduced by: “*God said: Let there be!*” But then the purpose which the stars are to serve—„to be for lights to give light upon the earth”—is immediately added. If formerly they *had not* been and *now for the first time* became such, the language of the narrative is completely vindicated, since the regulation of this relationship between the starry heavens and the earth is quite as much a creative act as that of the relation between light and darkness, or between the dry land and the sea. It is in this

sense that we are told that "God *placed* them in the Rakiah of the heaven." For as "rakiah" means the terrestrial sky, the stars, even though created before the second day, could not be regarded as in the rakiah, which was only created on the second day, and could only occupy a place in that sky after they had assumed a relation to the earth. Equally plain is the meaning of the expression in ver. 16, "God *made* sun, moon, and stars." He now first adapted them for the earth, and in relation to it they commenced only then to exist. But this does not imply that they had not been created long before that to exist *by themselves* and *for the purposes which they were to serve independently of the earth*.

The result of our investigations then briefly is, that vers. 14—19 refer to the starry heavens (including the fixed stars), but without necessarily implying that they were only created after the earth had been formed. The question as to the period of their creation we leave in the meantime unanswered. It yet remains to illustrate the relation between this event, the creation of heaven (ver. 1), the production of light, and the separation of the upper waters (ver. 7). *Ebrard, Nügelsbach, Rougemont, and Delitzsch*, regard these upper waters as the substratum of the heavenly bodies created on the fourth day; with this difference that the three first mentioned writers understand that the heavenly bodies of our solar system only were then formed, while *Delitzsch* extends the creative work of that day also to the fixed stars and the milky ways. This view we deem erroneous, since we cannot discover the slightest hint of any production of these heavenly bodies from the upper waters. Besides, it is opposed to later statements of Holy Writ, according to which the upper waters *still* exist (Ps. cxlviii. 4, civ. 5; Job xxvi. 8). If we were to assume that the heavenly bodies themselves were created on the fourth day, and not merely that then they began to exist so far as our earth was concerned, and that like our earth they were formed out of some existing material, we should expect to find some notice of this circumstance in ver. 1 and not in ver. 7. For the combination of elements which were afterwards separated into upper and lower waters is in ver. 2 called "earth," and not "earth and heaven." Hence they can only have served as substratum for the forma-

tion of the earth, and not for that of both earth and heaven. If, therefore, the heavenly bodies were formed from any substratum, this could only have been the heaven to which ver. 1 refers, and which existed before the six creative days had commenced. Lastly, the narrative furnishes direct information as to the relation between the lights created on the fourth day—more especially the sun—and the light created on the first day. *Light* (“or”) was created on the first day, the *luminaries* or light-bearers (“*maoroth*”) on the fourth day. Light was not originally confined to the sun. This arrangement only took place when the cosmical formation of the earth had so far proceeded as to render an antagonism of solar and planetary polarity possible. The former alternation of light and darkness, of day and night, must have arisen from telluric action and re-action which ceased when this antagonism became established. Farther details the narrative does not furnish.

§ 9. THE WORK OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DAYS.

So soon as the *cosmical* conditions of organic life were provided and the chaotic confusion of elements and forces had given place to a regulated and harmonic relation, the germs of life hid in the womb of earth were set free, and at the command of Omnipotence the most diversified degrees and stages of life made their appearance. Already on the third day had vegetation been called forth; on the fifth and sixth days the scale of creation ascended from the fish in the sea to the eagle which soars to the sky, from the worm which creeps in the dust to man who lifts his head to the stars, and represents the climax and completion of terrestrial life. The narrative introduces man as the last work, and—since there is manifestly a rise from the lower to the higher scale of being—as the highest in creation. This progress is *physically* represented in the fact that every higher stage of being includes all the lower, and at the same time exhibits some new development of life. Thus the purely cosmical elements form the basis of the peculiar life of the vegetable kingdom. In the animal kingdom we descry, besides the voluntary activity which is its peculiar characteristic, also numerous *involuntary*

functions which, properly speaking, form part of the sphere of vegetable life. Lastly, in man we discover besides the three lower stages of life—the *cosmical*, the *vegetable*, and the *animal*—a fourth and much higher, viz., the sphere of personality and of moral freedom—the *image of God* appearing in his creature.

The narrative portrays the work of creation as it were a pyramid, of which heaven and earth are the broad basis, and man the one top-stone. He is the representative of all former stages of existence, the unit in which the multicliplity of earthly creatures terminates. Although both the *turn* of thought and the *form* of expression is foreign to the narrative, yet it quite accords with its idea when we designate man as the microcosm and the centre of this world.¹ In verse 26, he is expressly set apart as ruler of all creation, of its varied forces and creatures. His calling and his endowments for it are expressly mentioned. He is the last and the most perfect being formed from that earth to which himself belongs, and whose every stage of life he includes in himself. Hence he is also qualified to be its representative, both so far as he is personally concerned, and in relation to every higher sphere of existence. But as the image of God, he is also of *Divine* origin, and hence above nature, and the representative of God to it, its lord and master, its priest and mediator. Creation having been thus completed, the record adds, "*And God saw everything he had made, and behold it was very good.*"

¹ Most apt is the saying of *Theodorus* (in Theodoret, Quaest. xx. in Gen.) "that God had created last σύνδεσμον πάντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον (man the bond and summary of all);" and not less beautiful and true that of *Augustine*, "Nul-lum est creaturæ genus, quod non in homine possit agnosci." Nay, the same idea is embodied and symbolised even in the apparently absurd Haggada of the Rabbins, to the effect that when Adam came from the hand of the Creator he was so big as to reach from earth to heaven, and from one end of the world to the other; but that when he sinned God had laid his hand on him, and he shrunk to his present size. The *name* of the first man also—*Adam*, from Adamah, earth—represents him, if we translate the idea into our own terminology, as the microcosm of this world. On this *Umbreit* well remarks, "The name given to man implied that he represented the whole earth, and as its lord and master comprehended it in his own form."

§ 10. THE PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF MAN.

The account of the six creative days closes with the rest of God on the seventh day, and with its being set apart, that in it man also should rest. Passing from this, we come upon a new portion of Divine revelation, of different tendency indeed, but no less grand, and in some respects even more important than the former. For centuries men have criticised and cavilled at what it relates; faith has been strengthened by it, true wisdom nourished, while unbelief has scoffed or been offended. On this foundation the whole building of revelation, fitly joined together, has grown into an holy temple of the Spirit. Here we behold the root whence salvation in Christ, with its blossoms in the Old, and its fruits in the New Testament, has sprung. If the first section forms the basis of history in general, the second (chaps. ii. and iii.) forms that of the history of redemption. The former indicates the position of God as ABOVE the world, as the Creator of heaven and earth, and assigns to each creature, but especially to man, his proper position and sphere in the general plan of the world. It also points out their proper development, even to its ultimate goal, but it does not detail the history of that development, as such a narrative would have destroyed the unity of its plan and execution. The second section presupposes the first, but has a totally different tendency. It brings before us God IN His world, as the Father and Instructor, who in love condescends to His pupil, and adapts Himself to his growing knowledge—who introduces and announces salvation. If the first section exhibits the work and purpose of God in creation, and the Divine destiny of man, the second describes man's free choice and development, and God's care, provision, and training, both before, during, and after that choice had been made. The central point of this section is chap. iii., which gives an account of the Fall as the root of all misery, the occasion of redemption, and the commencement of the history of mankind. It describes the trial of man's self-determination, which through his guilt led to such sad consequences, arrested his original destiny, and on the interposition of Divine grace, made a new development ne-

cessary, for which new means and powers had to be furnished. However complete in itself, the history of the six creative days is not sufficient to explain the fall, the guilt of man, or the grace of God. The history of this all-important event required a basis such as that furnished in chap. ii. There we are informed that man was formed of dust and ashes. While this shows the guilt and folly of his pride when *without* God he would attempt to become *as* God, it also explains how, in consequence of the curse attaching to sin, he was to return to the earth from whence he had been taken. The breath of God made him the personal, self-conscious, and free being, capable of, and requiring development, who for himself was to choose between good and evil, and was responsible for his choice. The garden of Eden, full of joy and delight, was the place where the trial and the fall occurred. From this place of bliss he was driven after the fall, to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. The command to keep the garden pointed to the existence of a hostile principle, against which man was warned. The tree of life, of which the fruits were not interdicted to man in his state of innocence, is interdicted after his fall. The tree of knowledge became the first and most direct medium of his development. The presence of other trees, with fair and delicious fruits, increased his guilt in eating from the only tree that had been forbidden him, since it appeared how easily he might have kept from it. The naming of the animals forms the introduction to the creation of woman, and the latter is again the condition of the first and of every subsequent development.

§ 11. POSITION AND TASK OF THE FIRST MAN.

The narrative now records in detail that creation of man which was only generally indicated in the first section. The dualism within him, in virtue of which he combines both a divine and an earthly nature, is now prominently brought forward. The Spirit of God who at first moved over the *thohu rabohu* had put into the earth the germs of all the diverse forms of life. Hence the production of the animal and vegetable kingdoms is not represented as, strictly speaking, an act of creation, but only as a

creative unfolding of germs already existent. We read, "Let the earth bring forth!" and as plants and animals thus appear as the individualised products of the life of the earth, so man also who is its highest and hence its unique product. Those creative powers which hitherto had manifested their productive agency on many different points were now concentrated in *one* point, to call the noblest of its formations into being, and this is most pictorially described when we are told that God himself formed man from the dust of the earth. But man is not merely the highest stage of animal life. The breath of Divine life is also breathed into him, so that while in part he is of the earth earthy, in part he is also the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28) and His image (Gen. i. 27).¹ Man is placed in the garden *to dress and to keep it*. Although it had formerly been said that every creature as it came from the hand of God was *very good*, this could only have referred to a relative, not to an absolute perfection. We hold that both man and nature did not by creation immediately attain *that* stage of which they were ultimately capable, but only *that* which was suitable to the circumstances and to the object in view. The Divine Spirit residing in man constituted him not only a personal and free being, but capable of moral and religious activity. Man could not, like a plant, have absolute perfection put upon him from without; by *free* determination and activity, he was to rise to that stage for which God had destined and endowed him. Accordingly, man was immediately put into circumstances in which he was freely to decide either *for* or *against* the will of God, and thus to choose his own direction.

But nature was not merely to be the abode of man; there he was also to exercise his powers, to make his moral decision, and to develope himself. Hence nature also must at first have only been relatively perfect, and capable of development, not for its own sake, but for that of man who, as its priest and mediator, its lord and master, was to conduct it to its ultimate stage of

¹ It must not be thought that an interval of time intervened between the formation of man from the dust and the breathing into him the breath of life, so that man had even for one moment been merely an animal differing only in degree, not in kind, from other animals. But there was a difference in regard to the origin of his twofold nature. Two elements—differing *toto coelo*—met at the moment when he was created; the form prepared from the dust and the Divine breath from above—the product of their meeting was man.

perfection. Man was destined to have dominion over the *whole* earth (Gen. i. 26). But of this a commencement was to be made in the spot where God had first placed him. He is therefore *first* called upon *to dress and to keep* the garden of Eden. This indeed is not a new task: the mission formerly indicated, that he should have *dominion*, is now only analysed into its positive and negative aspects. The object is still the same, only that now it has been limited by present circumstances. God himself had planted the garden, and *man* was to continue and to complete the work which God had begun. But certainly it was not intended that the activity of man should always be confined to Paradise; but rather, that in continually extending spheres, it should ultimately embrace the whole earth, and transform it into Paradise. Thus the *commencement* (the *dressing and keeping* of the garden) was to lead to the *goal* (man's dominion over the whole earth). But against what enemy was man to *keep* the garden? The command to keep is the negative aspect of dominion, as dressing is the positive. But hitherto we have only been brought into contact with the positive and beneficial—is there then some negative and hostile power already in existence against which man is to contend?

§ 12. THE TREE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Among the numerous trees in the garden, two are pointed out as unique in their kind and design. They are the *tree of life* in the midst of the garden and *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*. Where shall we find the key to the mysteries concealed under these names? According to the common interpretation of the tree of knowledge, it was a tree like others, in itself innocuous and harmless. It is said that man as a free creature required to obtain the means for free determination, that so it might appear whether he would submit to, or oppose the Divine will. Hence God uttered a prohibition—it might however, as well have been a command. That prohibition was connected with a *tree*, but it might as well have been attached to any other object, or to any other tree, since the only thing of importance was, that God should express His will, and man

either obey or disobey it. To obey was to do *good*, to disobey was to do *evil*. By his free determination man learned and experienced the difference between good and evil, and on that ground alone was the tree called that of the knowledge of good and evil. Such arbitrary conduct is attributed to the Almighty! In opposition to this view we maintain that it was not fortuitous when man's will was put to the test by a prohibition rather than by a command, and when, for that purpose, the fruit of that particular tree was selected. By its very *nature* and difference from other trees, by its essential relation to man, this tree must have been adapted to its peculiar purpose. We are prepared to maintain this, even though we should remain ignorant of the mode of this adaptation, and Scripture had not offered a clue to this riddle. As from its very nature the tree of life brought immortality, so this tree communicated knowledge. Considering first the name of that tree, we observe that it gives clear and unequivocal indication that *evil already existed* in creation. Of this we had formerly discovered some indistinct trace in the "thohu vabohu." If evil had not existed, it would have been impossible to know good *and evil*,—*i.e.* there could not have been a tree by which, in whatever manner Adam, in the exercise of his free will, should act, he would obtain the knowledge of good and evil. Further, it is plain that the two trees in the midst of the garden formed a contrast. The one tree was called, and therefore was a tree of life. In a certain sense the other trees also were trees of life. Their fruits "pleasant to the eyes and good for food," were given for nourishment, and by them the physical powers of man were strengthened or repaired. Still this one tree alone was called the tree of life. Its fruits absolutely secured the continued and unimpaired life of the body, while the fruits of other trees restored indeed the wasted powers of life, but in so limited a manner as not continuously to preserve the balance between waste and supply. That this view is correct is shown from Gen. iii. 22, where after death had been allotted to man, he was prohibited from approaching this tree "lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and *live for ever*."

Wholly different—indeed the direct opposite of it—was the *tree of the knowledge of good and evil*. It was not indeed ex-

pressely *called*, yet in reality it *was* a tree of death. For God expressly warned man, "thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof *thou shalt surely die.*" And yet God had planted it just as the other trees. Still, being called the tree of *the knowledge of good and evil*, man must by it have been destined to have attained the knowledge of a good and an evil which already existed. Again, it was a tree by which it should appear whether man would decide in favour of the good or of the evil which already existed in the place of his abode. Scripture characterises the want of experience and the inability of distinguishing between good and evil, as a mark of undeveloped childhood and innocence (Deut. i. 39; Jonah iv. 11; Isaiah vii. 15, 16). When compared with life in its present state, with its consciousness and its burden of guilt, this state seems indeed exceedingly favourable (Matt. xix. 14). Yet when contrasted with the original destiny of man—to know evil as something foreign, and to overcome it as something hostile—it must be regarded as an imperfect state which under any circumstances should not and could not have been continued. Hence in a certain sense the tree of knowledge, like that of life, is a tree of blessing: nay, one of life also. For the knowledge which this tree was to procure for man was just the manifestation of spiritual life. On the other hand, however, the peculiar benefit attaching to the tree of life was only to be experienced when its fruit was eaten. It must therefore not only by *design*, but by nature, have been a tree of life. But the tree of knowledge would only have become a tree of life if man had abstained from its fruit; otherwise it became a tree of death. Hence it was only in its *divine design* a means of blessing and of life, but *in its own nature* a tree of misery and of death. If not partaken of, it would become a source of knowledge, and this knowledge was life: if partaken of, it would likewise bring knowledge, but this knowledge was death.

Man, as a creature, could only attain to the knowledge of good and evil after, and if he had proved himself either good or evil before Him, who—having created him in His image, destined and made him capable to be good—gave him moral freedom by which it was also possible for him to become evil, since the decision was left in his own hand (1 Cor. xiii. 12). Hence we

must also retain the other meaning which attaches to the name of the tree of knowledge as a tree by which it was to be known whether man would choose good or evil.¹ But do these explanations answer every question or remove every difficulty? far from it! Many still remain, nay, almost more than we could find suitable language to express. But in its grand, childlike and holy simplicity, the narrative passes by such questions of the intellect just as a child moves among the riddles of nature and of life, as if they existed not. Ours it is here to put our hand upon our mouth and to take home the old saying—

*Nescire velle, quae Magister Maximus
Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.*

Yet withal we indulge the hope that later stages of revelation may lift the veil which as yet conceals those mysteries that surround the cradle of mankind. At any rate we are well assured that when faith shall have passed into vision, and our imperfect knowledge shall have ceased, these mysteries and all the other deep things of divine wisdom and mercy shall be opened to us. Meantime we gather from this narrative that the tree of knowledge was to offer man an opportunity when, in accordance with his nature as a free being, he was to take a step absolutely necessary for him, viz., to decide for or against the will of God. But the design of the tree of life would only have been realised if man had freely adopted what God originally appointed for him.

§ 13. THE FORMATION OF WOMAN.

Thus man was at least objectively placed in a position to take that decisive step by which from childlike ignorance he was to pass to a knowledge of himself, of the world, and of God: to learn good and evil, and from a state in which either of these was open to him, to attain either holiness or misery. This was

¹ It is part of the lying policy of the tempter to ignore this the most important meaning attaching to the name of the tree, and to lay exclusive emphasis on its other meaning (Gen. iii. 8). Thus only was he able to exaggerate and distort this meaning to a degree that what had been true became perverted into a lie of Satan.

the first step in that history which, as a free person, he was to bring about. But another development was still wanting, which man may indeed have desired, but which he could not of himself accomplish—we mean the creation of woman. Thereby the difference of sexes was first introduced. The human being first created was neither man nor woman, far less a compound of the two. Like the children of the resurrection (Matt. xxii. 30), Adam was without sex. Considered as an individual, the first man was indeed a man, and the woman is of the man, not the man of the woman. The main object which God seems to have had in view was, that the whole race should, in joy and in sorrow, in blessings and cursings, in its undeveloped and its developed state, form an organic unity. Therefore man was created as an individual unit, that from it the whole race should spring—in numbers sufficient to execute its mission—in order, as the apostle says (Acts xvii. 26), that “all nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth should be of *one blood*.” For this purpose both sexes had to be derived from the *first* man. Not only was all mankind to spring from one pair, but woman was to proceed from man, that in every respect the unity of the race might be preserved. Again as man was a *free* person, even this development could not take place without his consent and desire for it. Such longing was called forth in him when the various animals were brought before him (Gen. ii. 20), in whom he noticed the sexual difference, but amongst which he found none to be an help meet. God met this desire, when He took from man part of his body, and thence formed woman. Immediately on seeing her, Adam said: “This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.” This creative act forms the basis of *marriage* with its blessing: “Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.” Marriage was the condition, and the preliminary of all historical or free and personal development of man. It was therefore necessary that it should precede the free moral determination, either for or against the will of God, with which history was to commence. The decision to be taken would now be the decision of all his race—his victory, their victory, his fall, their fall.

§ 14. THE FALL.

All was now prepared for the trial which was to take place, when unexpectedly another being appeared to play an important part in it. It was the *serpent*, the most subtil of all beasts of the field. The tree of knowledge stood in the midst of the garden. Upon the one hand was the Divine prohibition, "Thou shalt not eat of it," and the warning "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." On the other hand was the suggestion of the serpent: "In the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Between these two stood man free to choose, and capable of enduring the *trial* which in the circumstances had become a temptation—but also left free to fall. God had in creation given him the power for victory, and expressly warned him against sin—he might therefore have overcome. But he might also neglect this admonition and follow the allurements of the tempter, he might become unfaithful to his destiny and choose contrary to the will of God. And man was misled. He succumbed where he should have conquered, and became a slave where he should have been triumphant. The tempter succeeded in implanting sinful lust into his soul; he breathed into him a breath, as it were from beneath, the opposite of that which in creation had been breathed into him. And now events on which a world's history depended, hastened to their dreadful issue. The woman looked upon the tree, and saw that it was good for food, and pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired because it made one wise. She took of its fruit and ate, and gave to her husband, and he also ate. "Then, when lust has conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." James i. 15.

God who had warned man, now appeared as the judge and avenger. The curse lights upon the serpent, which henceforth is to be cursed above all beasts of the field, trodden in the dust, hated of all creatures, and bruised by the seed of the woman. The curse lights upon the woman: in sorrow she is to bring forth children, and she is to be subject to her husband. The

curse lights upon the man: in the sweat of his brow he is to eat his bread, until he return to the earth from whence he was taken. Lastly, on account of man, the curse lights even upon nature, which is to be the abode of man: the ground is to bring forth thorns and thistles. Man is driven from the garden, cherubim with flaming swords prevent access to the tree of life, lest man put forth his hand and eat of its fruit, and live for ever. The trial and decision of man, but not his fall and rebellion, were necessary. But what had only been possible, now became actual. As the tempter had deceitfully promised, man's eyes were opened; but he only saw his nakedness. He knew what was good, but by the dreadful consciousness of having lost it; he knew what was evil, but in painful experience of the wretchedness which now had become his. He became as God; from having been his representative, he had assumed an independent position. He had constituted himself a god, he had become his own master; but this likeness to God made him exceedingly wretched and poor, instead of rendering him happy. By yielding to the will of the tempter, and rebelling against that of God, man became subject to *sin* and to *death*, which is the wages of sin. Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin—true freedom is only found in communion with God, the eternal type and source of all freedom. In virtue of his freedom, man might choose sin; but by actually choosing it, he lost all freedom of escaping from its power. Henceforth, man cannot save himself. With man, and on his account, nature, which was to be his abode, came under the curse of sin and the dominion of death (Gen. iii. 17, &c.; Rom. viii. 19, &c.). Through the connection and relation between spirit and nature, corruption passed from man into nature, where his lot had been cast. In virtue of the unity of the race, in and with Adam, all mankind fell, for at this time he still constituted the whole race. The poison which had entered the root would, when the tree sprung up, penetrate into every branch. Hence, as the race spread, sin and its wages death would only spread with it, and could never be checked or destroyed.

§ 15. THE TEMPTER.

New mysteries cluster about that portion of history which we have just detailed. Mysterious was the origin and nature of the serpent, equally so its appearance, its enmity to God, its relation to that fatal tree, and the curse with which it was visited. Was it no more than an ordinary serpent, such as may be met with on field or in forest? We cannot doubt that the serpent was the same animal which we call by that name. The term, the epithets, and the particulars connected with the curse, all point to that conclusion. But was it nothing else? did the manner of its appearance in that decisive moment, the refined treachery, the consummate cunning, the well-laid plans, not indicate the existence of some dreadful mystery which at that stage remained yet unrevealed? Are we not warranted in inferring the agency of some personal spiritual power, deeply interested in destroying the work of God, and arresting His counsel of love toward man, which made use for its own purposes both of the tree and of the serpent? The view expressed in the narrative as to the identity of the most subtil animal and a corresponding spiritual power—whatever the real connection between them may have been—would naturally be entertained by the first man, at least before the fall, since his mode of viewing objects was still direct and without the medium of reflection. But when, after the fall, evil became known, it must have been felt that the outward event was somehow connected with a hidden cause. We therefore conclude that even at that time it was known that an *evil spiritual agency* had been at work. We conceive that at an early period, besides the tradition of what had taken place, a traditional explanation of its origin existed. But while in heathen legend these two were mixed up and defaced, the author of Genesis has given the tradition in its original form, and without explaining its mysteries, perhaps as *Delitzsch* suggests, because their disclosure would not have been warranted at the time. „Besides the history must have been sufficiently intelligible to every one who had spiritual knowledge.” It follows that before man existed there was a personal evil being on the

scene of action, and as the narrative represents God as the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things in them, we cannot doubt that this power was a creature, and that like every other being it had been originally *holy*, but had fallen from its first estate and destiny, and by an abuse of its personal freedom *become* evil. Thus before man had appeared, a history of vast interest and of tremendous consequences must have been enacted. But on this subject we only gather further notices from later stages of revelation.

§ 16. PROSPECT OF REDEMPTION.

Mankind had entered upon a course in which, if left to itself, it must necessarily have been doomed to eternal destruction, and in which, unless God interposed, it could never have accomplished its original mission. But it was the good will of God to interpose, for "*He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world.*" To all appearance the design of the tempter had succeeded. His promise, "ye shall be as gods," was fulfilled in the deceitful sense intended. But the deceiver had only laid a snare for himself; as he had derided man, who was the image of God, so the Judge now derided him (comp. Ps. ii. 4). Unconsciously the tempter had predicted his own judgment and destruction. Foreseeing the fall, God had, before the foundation of the world, decreed a redemption whereby the words of the tempter acquired another meaning than that he had attached to them. In consequence of the fall, redemption took place when God became as man, in order that man, truly and in the proper sense, might become as God. Man, though fallen, was capable of being redeemed, he had not engendered evil in himself; it had rather been intruded on him from without, and by a seduction which he might and should have withstood. Sin has, indeed, penetrated and poisoned his whole being, and all the relations of life, but it still is something foreign to him. His being itself had not become sin, in him and in his descendants is left something that opposes evil, and does not find pleasure in it (Rom. vii. 15, 16), but rather accuses and punishes him on account of sin. And although fallen man delights not in God nor in His

service, he still feels within him a deep longing after something higher and invisible, which cannot be satisfied with anything this world offers. These two facts of his consciousness may be traced to the divine image within him, which as conscience repels sin, and as unsatisfied longing after communion with its Archetype goes out in cravings after God. For however weakened and darkened by sin, the divine image in man is not wholly destroyed (Gen. ix. 6, James iii. 9), and even after the fall, man continues the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28). So long as the faintest spark of this fire glows amid the ashes, it may, under proper treatment, and with fresh fuel, be again fanned into a bright flame. That longing within, that craving after restoration and redemption, also resounds throughout creation as the echo of the groaning and the longing of man. "For the earnest expectation of the creature travails with us until now" (Rom. viii. 19—22).

In virtue of the eternal counsel of God, and according to His mercy, the salvation long planned began immediately to manifest itself, and, as a new lever and regulator in the development of man, to operate upon his history. But even after his fall man has retained freedom of choice. As by his voluntary act he had become sinful, so also must he by free choice accept salvation. Neither the one nor the other could be forced upon him from without. When he made his first choice, and partook of the forbidden fruit, he had not thereby made a final decision, since the latter implies a full knowledge of the relations of an object, and a full development of all his powers. Hence the degradation consequent upon his fall was not absolute. It still admitted of regeneration through the imparting of new divine powers. But the second decision, which would devolve upon him when the offer of salvation was made, must be absolute and final. It issues either in faith which accepts that salvation, or in unbelief which determinately rejects it.

Even the first sentence pronounced upon man (Gen. iii. 16—19) afforded a glimpse of the mercy of God, who purposed to prepare him for salvation. Each sentence of the curse contains also elements of blessing. Woman was, indeed, to bear children in *sorrow*; but she was to bear them, and in the anticipation of the blessing implied in this, Adam called her *Eve*, *i.e.*, the

mother of all living. Thus this curse took up the former blessing: "be ye fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it," with the prospect of having it ultimately realised. On the development of one man into a race, connected by unity of origin, depended also the possibility of redemption, since the Saviour was to take upon Himself "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh." Again, labour in the sweat of the brow was really a palliative and antidote against lust. So also *death* itself, and man's expulsion from Paradise, was at the same time both a punishment and an act of mercy. Had man partaken of the tree of life, his *present* state of existence, with its wretchedness and misery, would have been perpetuated, and every possibility of getting free from the consequences of sin would have been taken away. The death of the body, which, without the intervention of salvation, would have been only a curse, and the commencement of eternal destruction, has through it become an invaluable benefit. For only through death can fallen man attain the resurrection and transformation of the body.

The first announcement of salvation upon which faith might be exercised, or against which unbelief might harden itself, was contained in the curse pronounced upon the tempter (Gen. ii. 13—15), "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." These words contain a promise to man, and in this respect they have been rightly designated as the proto-evangelium or first announcement of salvation. The narrative preserves the recollections and impressions of the first man, and presents them in all the simplicity which had at first characterised them. The first man regarded the subtil beast and the person of the tempter, whatever the connection between them be, as strictly identical. This seeming identity was kept up in the curse pronounced. In point of form it applies indeed exclusively to the serpent, but as it had been pronounced not for the sake of the serpent but for that of man, it was adapted to his mode of intuition in which the outward appearance and the spiritual principle were not yet distinguished. Man regarded the serpent as the seducer, and its curse appeared to him that of the author of sin: the destruction of the serpent by the seed of the woman, as deliverance from the power and the influence of

the author of sin. Here then the first promise immediately follows the first sin; by an act of divine retribution, he that was betrayed judgeth his betrayer; by an exercise of divine mercy healing balm was poured into the newly opened wound! But by the fall man has not entirely become the slave of him through whom he has fallen. There is indeed an element of opposition to God now in his nature; but also a principle hostile to the tempter. The latter—such is the meaning of the promise—was to obtain victory over the former. That communion with Satan into which man had been drawn was not to be lasting. It was not, as might have been anticipated, to issue in friendship, but, through divine interposition and aid, in enmity, and in a contest which would terminate in complete triumph over the tempter. Eve, the mother of all living, was to bear children, and the seed of the woman was to bruise the head of the serpent, *i.e.*, the race, *as a whole*, was to contend with the author of sin, and to destroy the kingdom which he had established. The continuance of sin was connected with the propagation of the race—for that which is born of the flesh is flesh. But this mystery of generation was also to become the medium of salvation—for that which is born of the Spirit is spirit (John iii. 6).

Still man can receive nothing except it be given him from above. Having, through sin, become flesh, it was plainly impossible that spirit should be born of flesh. Hence the Spirit from on high must descend into flesh, that thence He may exert His peculiar powers of producing and spreading a new life. But this could only be effected by Him, who in creation had breathed with the breath of life, the image of His being into man. Something higher and better was now required. The Divine Being Himself, the personal fulness of the Godhead, had to descend into human nature, in order to raise it to its original destiny, and to conduct it to its predetermined goal. But all this depended upon the development of one man into a race. As therefore through one man sin passed upon the race, so also (Rom. v. 17, 18), was it necessary that the new development, with its supernatural powers, should commence at one particular point in the natural development specially adapted for it, in order that, through spiritual generation and the new birth, it might thence extend over the whole race. When this place was found, it was

said, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God." (Luke i. 35.) From that first promise downward, the sacred history opens to our view an unbroken chain of descendants to whom it attaches, and which, under the continuous guidance of prophecy, extends to, and closes with, the second Adam, in whom all the promises are fulfilled. There the development which the fall had interrupted was to recommence and to be perfected; and as the Leader of the host in the contest between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, He was to secure for us an ultimate victory. Thus seducer and seduced have before them a long protracted contest, the final issue of which, however, is not doubtful.

§ 17. THE MORNING STARS AND THE SONS OF GOD.

Besides the account in Gen. i., and the hymn of creation, Ps. civ., we have another description of several points in the process of creation. In Job xxxviii. 3, &c., we read:

"Up, gird thy loins like a man.
 I will demand of thee, teach thou me.
 Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth?
 Declare if thou hast understanding.
 Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest,
 Who has stretched the line upon it?
 Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened,
 Who laid the corner stone thereof?
*When the morning-stars sang together,
 And all the sons of God shouted for joy?*
 Who shut up the sea with doors,
 When it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb,
 When I made the cloud the garment thereof,
 And thick darkness a swaddling band for it?
 And brake up for it my decreed place,
 And set it bars and doors,
 And said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther:
 Here shall thy proud waves be stayed?"

As the history of creation, this passage also describes the foundation of the earth, the formation of the atmosphere, and the

bounding of the sea—which had been described as created on the second and third days. But we come also upon a peculiar and distinctive element. When the Almighty founded the earth, the *morning stars* rejoiced, and the *sons of God* sang in praise of the divine wisdom and power then displayed. Hence the *morning stars* and *sons of God* must have existed before the earth was founded, *i.e.*, *previous* to the six creative days. But what are we to understand by these morning stars and sons of God? The former expression no doubt refers to those luminous worlds which adorn the vault of heaven. They are called *morning stars*, because to the sacred poet it appeared morning when God founded the earth. The songs of praise with which they greeted the morn of creation were that silent yet eloquent language with which, according to Ps. xix. 1, they still declare the glory of their Creator:

“The heavens declare the glory of God,
And the firmament sheweth His handiwork;
Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night sheweth knowledge.
It is not speech, it is not language,
Their voice is not heard:
Their sound goeth through all the earth,
Their call to the end of the world.”

Here we have what apparently contradicts the Mosaic account. For while according to the latter sun, moon, and stars were only on the fourth day placed in the sky, the book of Job describes them as existing before the foundation of the earth and as admiring witnesses of its formation.¹

But we have already seen that the fourth creative day does not treat of the creation of the stars in themselves, but only of their location with reference to the earth. The statement, therefore, that the stars had existed before the foundation of the

¹ *Delitzsch* and *Hofmann* attach no historical import to the passage in Job. Nor do we maintain that the writer had intended to describe in strict order of time the creative process. The only point to which we call attention is that the angels and morning stars already existed when God founded the earth. In this respect there, is a contrast between them and man, and this gives point to the query, “where wast *thou* when I laid the foundation of the earth?”

earth is not opposed to the account given in Genesis. The subject is viewed from two different points, but in a manner quite consistent. We conclude, then, that according to the Bible the stars had existed anterior to the earth. Equally clear is it that the expression "sons of God" refers to the angels who surround the throne of God to execute His behests (Job i. 6, ii. 1; Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 6, ciii. 21). They are called angels in virtue of their office as messengers; sons of God in virtue of their nature. These titles point to their superiority over weak and sinful man as being the holy inhabitants of heaven, the messengers of Omnipotence, and the reflection of Divine Majesty.¹

§ 18. REVIEW OF THE PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH AND OF MAN.

We now return to the consideration of some subjects to which formerly we had only alluded. When speaking of the fall, we learned that while the tempter appeared in the form of a serpent, and was cursed as such, he must have been a personal and spiritual being. Any doubt as to his nature, person, and character, is removed by clear testimonies of Scripture given at later stages of revelation. In John viii. 44 Christ calls the devil "a murderer from the beginning," since sin and death had by him been brought into the world. In Rev. xii. 9, he is called "the old serpent which deceiveth the whole world," comp. 1 John iii. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rev. xx. 2, &c. But if the serpent, through whom man was at first betrayed, stood in some close connection with the prince of fallen angels—whether as his instrument or representative—this circumstance affords a datum for ascertaining the *time of his fall*. Even at the commencement of man's

¹ Let it be borne in mind that angels are always called the sons of *God*, but not of *Jehovah*. The term *Elohim* designates the Divine Being as the fulness and source of life, of power, of blessedness, of holiness, of glory, and majesty. The term *Jehovah* describes Him as merciful and gracious, as the Saviour and Redeemer who humbled Himself in order to deliver fallen man from His ruin and to draw him upwards. The sons of *Elohim* are, therefore, those in whom shines forth, and who are the media of, His power and glory. The sons of *Jehovah* are those who receive and are the vehicles of His redeeming mercy. In this sense Israel is called the first-born son of *Jehovah*. (Ex. iv. 22.)

history this fallen angel appears already in full antagonism to God. *His* fall must, therefore, have preceded not only that of man but also his creation. Again, it seems probable that just as the trial of man's liberty formed the commencement of his history, so in the case of angels also, and that therefore the fall of angels had taken place very soon after their creation.

It is also of importance to inquire as to the *place* of their fall. It must have occurred in some particular locality, since even the idea of creature implies the notions of time and space. Again, in Jude 6, comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4, we are told that "the angels which kept not their first estate left their own habitation." Considering the essential connection between spirit and nature, we are warranted in supposing that the fall of the angels had left corresponding traces of ruin in that nature which had been assigned to them for their habitation, and that these traces must have been the more marked, the more important the position of the rebels had been, and the greater the consequences of their fall. These traces of desolation must belong to a period preceding the creation of man. Taking up the sacred narrative with these views, we come at the very outset upon the "thohu vabohu," that desolation, emptiness, and darkness which first broke upon the view of the inspired seer. May not this have been the desolation to which we have above alluded? We have already shewn that the words "thohu vabohu" in other passages refer to a positive devastation and desolation which had taken the place of former life and fruitfulness. But the circumstance that these words bear that meaning in other passages renders it probable that they do so in this passage also. Again, it cannot be doubted that the words "the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the raging deep," even irrespective of any parallel passage, apply more appropriately to a desolation which had taken place in creation, than to a work of God not yet completely finished and still devoid of light and life. Manifestly a Divine work, although unfinished, must in proportion to its completeness and capacity have reflected Divine harmony and order, Divine light and life. Any doubt then formerly remaining is now cleared away. Formerly we spoke of a desolation of which we knew not the author—now we are brought into contact with a destroyer for whom we cannot anywhere else find a correspond-

ing destruction. Formerly we were told of darkness, a raging chaos, desolation, and emptiness: *now* of a kingdom of darkness, of spirits of rebellion, confusion, and destruction. The two also coincide as to time since both had taken place before the six creative days.¹

Since the two events so perfectly coincide, we are not only warranted but almost forced to regard the "thohu vabohu" of Gen. i. 2 as the consequence of the fall of the angels. It is only thus that many other questions can be answered and many difficulties connected with the history of man removed. Even before man was created there had been an earth, and a history had been enacted upon it. The prophet who relates the primeval history beheld this earth desolate and void. But this state had been preceded by one of order and life, such as every work of God exhibits:—it was also succeeded by a creative restoration during the six days when light was called out of darkness, and order and life out of destruction and desolation. Our remarks have led us then to the conclusion that the angels who rebelled against God, who lost their principality and were obliged to leave their first habitation, had originally inhabited our earth. But as the fallen angels had before their rebellion had the same being and destiny as the other angels, their dwelling-places must also have been similar. In its original state our earth must, therefore, have resembled the other celestial worlds which we suppose to be the habitations of the holy angels. God restored life and harmony to our globe because in infinite mercy He had decreed that His great plan was not to be subverted, but that the world which had become subject to ruin

¹ The view here defended is very old. In the tenth century Edgar king of England said in confirmation of the law of Oswald, "As God drove the angels from the earth after their fall, whereupon it was changed into chaos, he had now placed kings upon earth that justice might obtain there." The same view has also been held in later times not only by Theosophists, such as *J. Böhme*, *St Martin*, *J. M. Hahn*, *Fr. v. Meyer*, *Hamberger*, *Roeholl*, and others, but also by such men as, *Reichel*, *Stier*, *Fr. v. Schlegel*, *G. H. v. Schubert*, *Knierel*, *Drechsler*, *Rudelbach*, *Guericke*, *M. Baumgarten*, *Lebeau*, *A. Wagner*, *Michelis*, *Richers*, *Rougemont*, and latterly also by *Delitzsch*. But we cannot discover any trace of it among the Fathers. They generally assert indeed that mankind had been created in order to fill the gap left by the fall of the angels, while many of them thought that the race was to increase until the number of the redeemed should equal that of the fallen angels. But we do not find that they had held that chaos had been the consequence of the fall of angels.

should again be raised, the destroyer be banished from it, and other inhabitants and another lord be given to it. From this we also infer that man, who had been substituted for Satan and his angels, was destined to complete their unperformed task, to restore the disturbed harmony of the universe, and to overcome and to judge the arch-destroyer and rebel. "Know ye not," says the apostle Paul (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3), "that the saints shall judge the world? *Know ye not that we shall judge angels?*" Man was thus to occupy a position in the universe to which all eyes must have been directed, and which perhaps in itself, and from the mission attaching to it, was the most important. At any rate it had acquired momentous interest on account of what had already occurred, and what was yet to take place on the earth. On the conduct of man, and on his decision, now depended the further development in the history of the universe. The rebels who had caused the former disorganisation, and who were now to be overcome, were banished from their original habitation, which was to be no longer conformable to their fallen state. Their element is darkness, waste, and desolation. Hence when God spake "let there be light," when His all-wise command changed chaos into harmonious order, and filled what had been desolate with new life, they had to flee away. But since only the beginning, not the full development of this new order had been brought about, the fallen angels still remained a power—vanquished, indeed, so far as the decree of God, but not so far as its execution by man was concerned. They had to leave their habitations, their property was given to another, but they might still urge claims which, though invalid, could only be finally set aside when their futility had been fully exposed, when at the judgment of the world, which, in a certain sense, was to be carried on throughout the course of its history, their cause had been wholly lost, and the purifying fires of the last judgment (2 Pet. iii. 10) had restored to them all that remained of dross in the world, to become their eternal prison and hell (Rev. xx. 9, 10). We can now understand both their interest in, and claims upon, the earth, and their hostility towards man, who had obtained the province taken from them, and was destined to execute that judgment upon them which the Lord had decreed. We can also perceive what importance attached to our earth, as

being the historical centre of the universe where the contest between good and evil was to take place, and the fate of the whole world to be decided; we also discern that in truth the perfection of the whole universe must have depended upon that of the earth. The close connection between heaven and earth, which Scripture throughout presupposes, is no longer unintelligible; not by accident or arbitrary appointment did our earth become the centre of the universe, the scene of that most glorious revelations, and even of the incarnation of the Son of God. From this point of view we can also understand how the incarnation of God was fraught with blessings not only to our poor earth, but also to the whole universe.

§ 19. CONTINUATION.

With the knowledge we have now acquired, we return to the consideration of the biblical account of the Fall, in the hope of gaining a deeper insight into its meaning. If we mistake not, we shall now be able better to understand both the temptation, its form, and mode, but especially the most mysterious parts of the narrative, viz., the tree of knowledge, and the nature of the serpent. It is obvious that man had to undergo a trial of his moral freedom, being capable of self-determination and self-development. But it is more difficult to understand why his trial should have taken the form of a *temptation*, why the divine will, which was to become the occasion for man's decision, should have been a *negative*, and not a *positive* injunction, a prohibition and not a command. In all the actings of God nothing is arbitrary, and something in the position of man must have rendered it necessary that his trial should take place in connection with a prohibition and not with a command. Every prohibition presupposes the existence of evil, whether in the *subject* to whom a thing is forbidden, or in the *object* which is forbidden. In the present instance it could not have been in the subject or in man, partly because he still remained in his original and undeveloped state, partly because in that case any trial would have been unnecessary and impossible. Sin must therefore have attached to something out of man—and yet all that God had created upon

the earth was very good. Whence, then, the evil? The tree of knowledge was a tree of the knowledge of good AND evil, and *not merely* of good OR evil: and whether man partook of it or not, he was through it to attain the knowledge of good AND evil. But if evil had not already existed, man would, if he had remained obedient, only have attained the knowledge of good. Again, why was it necessary that under all circumstances man should attain the knowledge of evil, since it apparently lay beyond him and beyond the sphere of his activity? God had planted the tree of knowledge as all the other trees. Why then did he warn against His own workmanship? The tree was a tree of death—for man was to die if he partook of it, and yet it was also necessary and useful, and that although man was destined for life and not for death. The tree was good, for God had created it; yet there was an element of evil about it since it might bring death. How to these things agree? *God tempts* no man to evil (James i. 13), and yet the trial of man became a direct temptation to evil. God cannot therefore have occasioned the wiles of the serpent. These must have sprung from the tempter himself, which God only permitted in view of the necessity of such a trial, in this respect only consenting to it. But whence this necessity? Why should the tempter have sought to lure man to destruction? Was it merely the general desire on the part of the evil one to have companions of his guilt, and to draw others into the same wretchedness which had become his? But if such had been the case, and if there had been no internal ground and special relation between the enemy and man, it would have been inconceivable that God should not only have permitted it, but opened the way for it. All these and similar difficulties are satisfactorily removed when we bear in mind that the fallen angels had formerly inhabited the earth, and that our globe which had been laid waste by their fall, had been restored by Divine mercy and omnipotence, and assigned to man as a place of abode and for discharging his peculiar mission. We now understand why Satan should have sought by all means to lead man into rebellion. It was from natural enmity, from hatred and envy, wrath and revenge against his favoured rival, who had obtained the habitation from which himself had been driven, and the principality which himself had lost; who had obtained

all that blessedness and glory, of which he was for ever deprived: nay, who was called to execute judgment upon him. His was the resistance of despair, the hope of madness, to regain the lost inheritance, and to escape the judgment of the great day for which he is reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness.

We can now also understand how God would allow the temptation, and even open the way for it, although in omniscience He foresaw the fall. God had destined man to possess and to rule over the earth, to restore the disturbed harmony of the universe, to be leader in that great and holy contest of created spirits which had been occasioned by the fall, to be the conqueror and ultimately the judge of the rebels. But as a free and personal being, man had by an act of his own to gain the position for which he was destined, and a title to the property and dignity for which God had designed him. He might also, in virtue of his freedom, make common cause with the enemy, instead of falling in with the plan of God, and like the Arch-rebel attempt to place himself upon the throne of God. God is just, even towards Satan, nor would he prevent him from attempting all in his power to maintain himself in opposition to God. Only when every thing had been attempted in vain, and Satan had become fully conscious of his absolute impotence, which could only end in defeat, even where apparently victory had been his—only then was he to receive his final doom. We now also perceive why the trial of man assumed the form of a temptation, and the first injunction to man was not a command to do, but a prohibition from doing. As evil already existed, and man did not occupy a neutral position towards it, but, as the very purpose of his existence was one of hostility towards sin, it was necessary that he should immediately, and of his own accord, take up a definite position towards the enemy. Further, we also understand the apparent difficulties about the tree of knowledge; how, although created by God, it is a tree of death; and how, after Satan had been obliged to leave his habitation, he should still have obtained in that tree a basis of operation from which to act against man. There must have been some connection between Satan and that tree, although God had allowed it to grow. Nor is it difficult to discover wherein it lay. By the rebellion of Satan, death and ruin had as cosmical agents

been brought into the primeval earth, which became "thohu vabohu". By the restoration of the earth during the six creative days, God imparted to the earth new cosmical powers of life. Man was now placed between good and evil, between life and death. They were, so to speak, set before him by the Creator that he might choose between them. The cosmical good which God had imparted when restoring the earth, was concentrated in the tree of life; the cosmical evil which originated in Satan, in the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which, however, was also fenced in by Divine warning. In this tree Satan had a part, for to him that death was due, which clung to the tree. On this account he endeavoured to make the tree attractive. But God also had a part in that tree. He had allowed it to grow, He had concentrated death in it, He had hedged it about by prohibition and warning.

To eat of the tree of knowledge, *i.e.*, to receive the cosmical evil into the physical organism, was to introduce *physical death*—it was to drink the *primal poison* in nature. To eat of the tree of life, *i.e.*, to receive cosmical good, would impart immortality to the body—it was the *primal remedy* in nature. And however powerful the one tree to destroy, the effects of the other tree were still greater, since, according to chap. iii. 22, even after man had eaten of the fruit of death, he would have still lived for ever if he had partaken of its fruit. The fatal tree was called that of the knowledge of good and evil. *If, at the suggestion of Satan, man should partake of its fruit*, he would experience in himself cosmical evil and its effect, death—and by contrast know the good of which he would painfully feel the want. *But if according to God's command he would refuse its fruit*, and instead of it take of the fruit of the tree of life, he would experience in himself physical good, and that as an everlasting power of life, and only know physical evil, as something without him, which had been overcome, and which, like Satan, its author, could have no further continuance upon the earth. But as cosmical evil originated in moral evil, or in Satan, and as the tree to which it clung had been surrounded by him with seductive attractions, while on the other hand the limitation of cosmical evil to the tree and the warning against it is traceable to moral good, *viz.*, to the holy will of God—this cosmical evil was, in

the peculiar circumstances of the case, fitted to become the occasion by which man would either decide for moral good or for moral evil. Thus the tree was also one both of moral good and evil, and of intellectual good and evil. But man decided for evil. By that act physical evil or death penetrated his body, and moral evil or sin his inward nature; he surrendered himself to the service of Satan. Death, which formerly had been bound to the tree, had now been set free by sin, and reigned along with it—Satan had gained a large field on earth.

And what of the tree of life? To this query chap. iii. 22, 23 gives the following reply: God sent man forth from the garden “lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat and *live for ever*.” Thus even after the entrance of sin and death, the fruit of the tree of life would have removed physical death from man. But it was capable of imparting only cosmical or physical life. To remove the power of sin or spiritual and moral death, it required another tree of life, even that planted in Golgatha, the fruit of which is for eternal life. Again, God did not allow man to partake of the tree of life because it was only capable of removing death and not its source, sin. So long as the latter was not removed, death was to continue its wages, but also to form its great remedy, since in the council of salvation death was to become the medium of and the passage to a new life. Had man partaken of the tree of life, his physical life, such as it was after the entrance of sin, would have been perpetuated, and every possibility of setting it free from the consequences of sin would have been taken away. Nay, sin which reigns in the members of the body would thereby have received such encouragement and accession of strength as to render repentance almost impossible. How often have bodily sickness and weakness become the means of breaking the strength of sin! Best of all, through the intervention of Christ the death of the body has also become an unspeakable blessing. Through death sinful man may now attain the resurrection, and through the decay of the body its glorification.

But the question, what had become of the tree of life after the fall, is only fully answered in Rev. xxii. 1. There the inspired seer describes the heavenly Jerusalem, where all that had been taken from man in consequence of his fall, will be restored on

the glorified earth. "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life which bare twelve times fruit, yielding her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." It therefore appears that Paradise, from which man was driven forth, had been removed from the earth (perhaps only at the time of the flood), but that the powers of life which it contained have been preserved and are again to be restored to man. This remark applies especially to the tree of life. But the fatal tree of the knowledge of good and evil has no place in the heavenly Jerusalem. There, Satan's power is wholly broken, nor does God require any longer that tree since all trial has ceased. Scripture does not expressly state what had become of that tree after the fall. But we cannot be wrong in supposing that man had taken with him from Paradise, not indeed that tree itself, but the agencies of death and ruin which were connected with it. Probably it withered in Paradise, but its powers of death once set free have since multiplied and spread over the earth.

And what of the serpent? By this mystery of primeval times we must pass, without being able wholly to solve it. One thing indeed we have gathered, that by it a spiritual and personal principle exerted its influence. How that spiritual principle made use of that outward appearance must remain unexplained. Perhaps we might regard it in this light, that Satan, the serpent, and the tree are connected together as the personal, the animal, and the vegetable forms in which evil was embodied. At any rate, man was at the commencement of his history to have done what only, in the fulness of time, the seed of the woman has been able to accomplish,—to bruise the head of the serpent. Had man obeyed the law, had he turned from the tempter and resisted his seduction, he would have accomplished this. The tree and the serpent were the last remnants of what belonged to Satan, which were left on the renewed earth. Already had the Creator made an end of the "thohu vabohu." Its last representatives, the tree and the serpent, and in them the spiritual principle of evil, man was to overcome and to banish. They were the only things yet belonging to Satan. Had they been conquered and removed, Satan himself would have been vanquished and banished, and the task of man "to dress *and keep* the garden" would have been reduced to that of *merely dressing it*.

CHAPTER II.

CONFLICT AND HARMONY BETWEEN THE BIBLE AND
ASTRONOMY.

In their attacks upon the Biblical view of the world, the enemies of religion chiefly controvert one of three points. Either the scriptural doctrine of creation or that of redemption, or that concerning the final judgment, are called in question. We shall therefore enquire whether our holy faith, the efficacy of which has hitherto so gloriously manifested itself both for life and in death, and which has transformed our world, is really incapable of bearing the light of modern science; or whether it be not possible so to reconcile the two, that science shall become the ally instead of being the enemy of religion.

§ 1. THE DOCTRINE AND HISTORY OF CREATION.

Infidelity has always made the doctrine and history of creation a principal point of attack. Deism and Pantheism, whether separately or unitedly, have here entered the lists against the Bible. More particularly has Pantheism controverted the Biblical *doctrine* of creation, while Deism has objected to the Biblical *narrative* of its process. Deists profess to believe in a creation out of nothing, and hence controvert only the claim of our narrative to be regarded as of *Divine Revelation*. To find a substratum for their opposition, they object to the Biblical account of creation, and attempt to shew that it is self-contradictory, that it is opposed to the results of natural science, childish and absurd. On the other hand, Pantheists, who deny the independent and personal existence of God, and the origin of the world by the mere will of a personal God, object chiefly to the Biblical *doctrine* of creation. Their opposition to the account of creation only springs from their hostility to the hated doctrine of creation out of nothing, on which it is based. On this common ground the two parties have combined their forces for the purpose of attack-

ing the Biblical narrative. We shall not discuss this strange alliance, nor address ourselves to the refutation of these two parties, any further than to shew that their appeal to astronomy as against the Bible is futile, and that the writer whom they invoke pronounces in our favour and against them.

In this discussion we shall not advert to any objections against the Biblical *doctrine* of creation, which are urged and must be refuted on philosophical grounds. No astronomer has ever maintained that his scientific investigations have led him to the conclusion that the world could not have been created out of nothing. Even when astronomy has left its proper province, and constructed hypotheses as to the *probable* origin of the celestial bodies, it has at last come to some limit, when its speculations were arrested by a "hitherto, but no further." Whether astronomers are warranted in concluding from the analogy of the origin and developments which scientific men are still observing, that the heavenly bodies may in similar manner have originated or not, certain it is that it is impossible on such grounds to hazard either the opinion that these original materials and powers had been eternal, or that they had been created—that their co-operation had been accidental, or that it had been brought about by the will of a higher personal being. Leaving aside such questions, we shall address ourselves to the objections brought on astronomical grounds against the Biblical *account* of creation.

§ 2. CREATION OF THE WORLD IN SIX DAYS.

Various objections have been urged against the Biblical account of the creation in six days. Formerly it was customary to argue that He who speaks and it is done must have created the world in a single moment, and not employed six days for that purpose. But of late an opposite line of reasoning has been pursued. Adopting the views of *Herschel* as to the continuous formation of stars, and urging the hypotheses of geology as to the formation of the earth's crust, our opponents have declared it incredible that heaven and earth in their present state should have required only six days for their formation. Thousands, myriads, nay

millions, or billions of years, it is said, must have been required for that purpose. We do not intend to controvert the astronomical or geological suppositions upon which this argument rests, although, after all, they are only hypotheses to which more or less probability, but not certainty, attaches. We do not feel it necessary to fall back upon such a device, nor can we help feeling, whatever may be said about the uncertainty of these hypotheses, that a deep impression is left upon the mind that the formation of the universe, from its commencement to its present state of completion, must have occupied much more than merely six times twenty-four hours. On similar grounds, we also set aside every merely theological mode of refutation, such as that with God one day is as a thousand years, or that the more or less rapid formation of worlds depended not on any length of time, but on the measure of Divine influence exerted, &c. We believe that, without having recourse to such arguments, a proper understanding of Gen. i. is sufficient to show the futility of all such objections. We have already seen that the work of the six creative days had nothing to do with the creation of *the earth*, far less with that of the *universe*. Before it commenced, heaven and earth already existed, although the latter, at least, was as yet without light and life, "thohu vabohu." Our globe received its living organisms during the six creative days, and that in ascending scale. Earth gradually assumed its present form, displayed its physical forces, received its inhabitants, and assumed its peculiar relation to the other heavenly bodies. Neither astronomy nor geology can hazard an opinion about the period requisite for such purposes. Astronomy may be right in maintaining that the fixed stars must have been in existence for hundreds of thousands of years. But it cannot possibly assert that sun, moon, and stars had regulated our earthly night and day prior to the fourth creative day. In order that their light might affect our earth, it was necessary not only that *they* should have light, but also that the earth should be susceptible of light, and astronomy can never dispute that this adaptation had taken place at the period fixed by the Bible. Similarly we may admit, so far as geology is concerned, that immense periods had preceded the present formation of the earth. These either occurred before or during the "thohu vabohu." Against such suppositions there

is nothing in the Bible. But no geologist could ever convince us that the last preparation of the surface of the earth had required either more or less than six days.¹ If any doubt could obtain on this point, it would rather be why the Omnipotent had not given to the earth in a moment its present form. But the Fathers have already returned a satisfactory reply to this objection. As the earth itself was designed for man, so the duration and distribution of God's creative agency bore special reference to man. God's work upon the earth was to be a type of the future activity of man.—A second objection to the Biblical narrative is derived from the supposed unequal distribution of the creative work over the six days. This objection specially applies to the fourth day's work. While five whole days—it is said—were spent upon our poor earth, which is but a dot in the universe, all the other millions, or perhaps billions, of suns and worlds were finished in one day. But evidently this objection proceeds on the same misunderstanding as that which we have already refuted. If, in accordance with the real purport of the narrative, we understand that on the fourth day only the permanent relation between the earth and the stars was fixed, all the difficulties conjured up immediately vanish.

§ 3. THE CREATION OF LIGHT BEFORE THE SUN.

A great many serious charges of absurdity and self-contradiction are urged against the account of the fourth creative day. It has frequently been declared ridiculous that, according to the

¹ We quote an apt illustration by *Schubert*: "If, sixty or a hundred years ago, any person acquainted with art had been shewn a daguerreotype, say of the entrance of the emperor into a city, he would have exceedingly admired the painstaking diligence of the performance. He would have noticed innumerable heads and forms, which from the street and every window were directed towards one object. He would have seen the emperor and all his suite, and indeed every small object, from the stones of the pavement to the slates on the roofs. If such a person should then have been asked, how long do you think may it have required to finish this piece of work? he would have replied: certainly not less than six months has the master diligently wrought at it. And yet the picture was taken, not in six months, not in six days, not even in six minutes, but in a few seconds; and then not by the operation of man, but by a ray of light. What! should the Creator both of the visible and invisible world Himself not possess much higher powers than the light which is merely His garment?"

narrative, the sun was only created on the fourth day, while the light, which, as every child knows, proceeds only from the influence of the sun, is said to have been created on the first day. It is difficult to say whether one should be angry about the levity of such an argument, laugh at its shallowness, or pity the weakness of those who urge it. For assuredly it must be from one or other of these causes that any person would have supposed the author of this narrative to have been so stupid as not to know or to have forgotten that it is the sun which at present causes light and shadow, evening and morning. This argument tells all the more, if we regard the narrative as merely the production of a man to whom, in other respects, we should in that case have to give credit for very great judgment and acuteness. No; the difficulty here lies not in this, that the author was apparently ignorant of what every child of two years of age knows, but that, while doubtless he had known it, he taught that a light had been created before the sun illuminated this earth. But what shall we say, if a glance into any text-book on physics or astronomy shows that the earth, and probably the other planets also, possess even now, after their relation to the sun has been permanently fixed, countless sources of producing light, and that even the sun, just as the narrative bears, is not a light, but a bearer of light, a body which develops and excites light? Under these circumstances, it becomes us only to wonder how the Biblical writer had obtained an insight into the nature of light, which for thousands of years has escaped the investigations of the ablest enquirers, thus anticipating some of the greatest of modern discoveries. We may here quote a passage from *Humboldt's Cosmos*, where that philosopher speaks of the polar light: "The fact which gives the phenomenon its greatest importance is, that the earth becomes self-luminous; that, besides the light which, as a planet, it receives from the central body, it shows a capability of sustaining a luminous process proper to itself. The intensity of the 'terrestrial light,' when the rays are brightest, are coloured and ascend to the zenith, is a little greater than that given by the moon in her first quarter. Sometimes it has been possible to read print by it without effort. This terrestrial luminous process going on almost uninterruptedly in the polar regions, leads us by analogy to the remarkable phenomenon

presented by Venus when the portion of that planet not illuminated by the sun is seen to shine with a phosphorescent light of its own. It is not improbable that the moon, Jupiter, and the comets radiate a light generated by themselves, in addition to the reflected light which they receive from the sun, and which is recognised by means of the polariscope. Without speaking of the enigmatical but not uncommon kind of lightning which, unaccompanied by thunder, is seen flickering throughout the whole of a low cloud for minutes together, we have yet other examples of *the production of terrestrial light*." (*Cosmos*, transl. by Sabine, seventh ed., vol. i., p. 188). To these remarks *Wagner* adds: "The polar light being an intermitting phenomenon, is an instance of a change of light and darkness independent of the sun, and exhibits an analogy to that succession which occurred before the creation of the sun." *Schubert* also observes: "What if every polar light, which we call the Aurora of the North, were the last glimmer of twilight of a world-day that has set, when the whole earth was surrounded by an expanse of air, from which the electro-magnetic forces radiated light in much greater degree than that of the polar light, and at the same time with animating heat, in a manner almost similar to what still occurs in the luminous atmosphere of the sun."

But withal we do not mean to assert that the light which preceded the adaptation of the sun to its present purpose for our earth, had been a polar light, or a phenomenon kindred to it. We only wish to show, that even after the relation between sun and earth has been permanently settled, the earth still possesses the power of generating light, and that there is nothing to prevent the supposition that before that period this capacity had been both greater and more fully developed. We admit that at present any such generation of light is too much isolated and too weak to account for the light of the three first days, which appears to have been strong enough for the origination of the vegetable kingdom. It must therefore be assumed that the first generation of light had been essentially the same as that which is now caused by the influence of the sun. Before the present relationship between sun and planet was settled, the powers of producing light which are now concentrated in the sun may have dwelt in the planets themselves, and thus have produced very

much the same appearance as at present. Only when on the fourth day the bodies of our mundane system had been so far developed, that a permanent relationship between them could be established, may our present polar opposition between sun and planet have originated, when the sun, perhaps on account of its greater volume and gravity, may have attracted to itself all the powers of exciting light.

With this view the observations of astronomy agree, as the body of the sun is found to be dark and of a planetary nature, and that the power of producing light belongs to the luminous atmosphere which surrounds it. The creative work of the fourth day may have referred to the formation of this luminous atmosphere, or else to the concentration of the powers of producing light which had previously been created, indeed, but were diffused.

§ 4. THE CREATION OF THE FIXED STARS BEFORE THE EARTH.

Another objection is founded on the statement of the Bible that all the starry host had been created only on the fourth day. It is absurd, our opponents argue, even to maintain that the earth, which is only a subordinate member of the solar system, was created before the sun which rules over it, and before the other planets. But this absurdity is greatly increased when we consider that the stars nearest to us could only have become visible on the earth after the lapse of eight or twelve years, those of the twelfth magnitude not within less than 4000 years, while the starry masses of the milky way, which are scarcely resolvable by the best telescopes, must have been created thousands, perhaps millions of years before their light could have reached the earth. And yet their light has not become visible only now, but has shone in the same manner so far as recollection reaches. We will not controvert these astronomical statements, although it is by no means certain that a ray of light, which traverses the ether of our planetary system at the rate of nearly 192,000 miles "in a whole long second" is limited in other parts of the universe to the same "snail's pace." For even if we multiplied that velocity by ten or a hundred, or a thousand times, the notion of priority of

creation so far as our earth is concerned, would be open to many and weighty objections. We will not impugn these statements, leaving it to astronomers to correct them if necessary, and we attempt to remove any apparent contradiction by a more correct interpretation of the Biblical narrative. We have already seen that the Mosaic account refers exclusively to the earth and to what belongs to it, that it adverts to sun, moon, and stars only from *this* point of view; that it does not narrate their creation, but only details that creative influence by which they became what they were destined to be *with reference to the earth*. But whether their creation and adaptation to our earth took place at the same time with that of our globe or at a different period the narrative itself leaves undetermined. But this question is answered at a later stage of revelation. We have already seen that in the book of Job the stars are represented as admiring spectators of the creation of the earth. It follows that the Bible distinctly asserts that the celestial bodies were created before the earth, and that in this respect at least Scripture and astronomy fully agree. In other passages also there are hints and references to a twofold creation, in which the restoration of the earth takes the second place in point of time.

Again, if it is objected as a narrow view and unworthy of revelation that the Mosaic narrative represents the stars as created *merely* that their flickering light should scantily light up the nightly darkness of our earth, the error lies not with the narrative but with those who interpolate the word *merely*. Manifestly the narrative only describes what is of importance with reference to the earth, and it is altogether arbitrary to impute to the writer the opinion that the stars had been created for no other purpose than to give light to the earth and to adorn its nights. But if any one seriously believes that this purpose was too insignificant to find a place in the Biblical account of the origin of our earth, we would only ask him whether, when at night he has gazed on those glorious stars, he has never felt how precious even the glow of their appearance was to us, poor inhabitants of the earth.

§ 5. THE CREATION OF THE PLANETARY SYSTEM.

It is further said, that the connection of the planets of our system, the similarity of their constitution and relation to the sun, clearly prove that their origin was the same, both as concerns the material from which they were formed and the period when they were finished. This we admit. But we protest against the idea that this inference is decidedly opposed to the Mosaic account of creation, which represents the formation of the earth, and that of sun, moon, and stars, which had only been made after the earth was completed, as wholly independent of each other. Gen. i. only relates how the earth became what it presently is—a place of abode and activity for man. It adverts to sun moon and stars only when, and in so far as they sustain a part in the history of our earth. But the record was not intended to state that the earth, the sun, and the rest of the planets and satellites were formed of the same original material, that their individualisation took place at the same time, or that their completion was contemporaneous. That such had probably been the case we gather from the discoveries of astronomy. And, however uncertain the theories which speculation has reared on the basis of astronomical observations, it will be evident that there is room enough in the Bible for any such speculation. We shall only advert to one ingenious hypothesis. *G. H. von Schubert*, adopting the view of Scripture, that the system of which our earth forms part had, before the appearance of man, been the scene of a history of the most comprehensive and important character, regards it as probable that during the first period of its existence, our planetary system may have been a single and unique astral formation, and that it had only become separated into individual bodies connected into one system, after the catastrophe which closed that period, or rather at the second creation in which it was prepared for a new and not less important phase in the history of the world. He conceives that during that period it was like the planetary nebulae, with a dense nucleus, whose luminous atmospheres extend to millions of billions of miles. “Such an astral luminous atmosphere may have contained a fulness of elements sufficient for the production of other worlds

than our small globe. Even if it was like the smallest planetary nebulæ which the telescope reveals, it filled a much greater space than our present solar system with all the orbits of its planets and comets. . . . We conjecture that in this primeval luminous atmosphere, not only the electro-magnetic forces, but even the higher original forces of life were concentrated. . . . It gave light and heat to the nucleus beneath; it formed the essential part of the star which, like the solid mass of a planet, constituted the supporting centre, and by the force of gravity attracted the lighter atmosphere around, while this envelope itself resembled the surface of the planet upon which alone organic life flourishes. . . . The sacred record speaks of the creative days and their works, among which man appeared last and highest on the eve of the Sabbath. The measure of time only commenced with him and with his history; the succession of years began when this primeval luminous atmosphere was changed into a sun and a heaven of planets. The history of the former principality and of its powers, as well as their influence upon the works which were preparatory to the decree of the future, has not been disclosed and cannot be understood in time." To this view we have nothing to object. But we may also refer to other formations of the astral heavens which may equally illustrate the first and original state of our system. Thus we may remind the reader of the families of double and multiple stars, or of the presence of dark bodies involved in the orbits of kindred suns. Perhaps our system originally represented such a family of stars whose primeval harmony and glory was destroyed by a great catastrophe, and restored in a new and peculiar manner during the six creative days; or perhaps it formed a double star, one member of which was broken up and destroyed by that catastrophe, thus furnishing the substratum for the formation of the planets and comets of our system, the relation of which to the sun was only restored on the fourth day. On all such questions Scripture gives no decisive answer, leaving ample room for conjecture.

§ 6. THE CELESTIAL WORLDS ARE INHABITED.

Another objection is closely connected with that already refuted, viz., that the Bible teaches that sun, moon, and stars have no other purpose than that of giving light to the earth. Such a view, it is said, excludes the idea that the other celestial bodies are inhabited by reasonable, spiritual beings. It is urged that the Biblical theory is so narrow as only to assign inhabitants to the earth, and only to admit that a history and development had taken place on its surface, while common sense showed that the innumerable worlds which in part possess a like nature and cosmical position with our earth, but infinitely surpass it in extent, importance, and dignity, must be the theatre of an analogous but infinitely higher life. The force of this objection is broken when we remind the reader, that although Scripture refers to the stars as giving light to the earth, it does not thereby exclude their higher and independent destiny. It is indeed true that common sense, although certainly not astronomy, which never can pronounce with certainty on such subjects, leads us to conclude that every celestial body must offer a theatre for the life and activity of spiritual beings, and that both faith and philosophy, if not misled either by erroneous exegesis, or by a Pantheistic deification of man, will readily admit that these millions of celestial bodies are not uninhabited. So meagre a view of the world can never be supported by any analogies, such as of a hall in a palace, where the profusion of lights and of costly articles is intended to set off the glory of the king. All such reasonings are rebutted by what both faith and reflection convince us to be impossible. It is the same God who dwells in heaven above, and omnipresent reigns upon the earth; a God who supports these systems of worlds, and preserves the dust in the sunbeam; a God of life, whose every step and breath has called forth life. If, then, our poor earth is all peopled—from man who lifts his head to the stars, to the worm that crawls in the dust—if every drop of water, every grain of sand and leaflet contains a world of living beings, and if this mass of living organisms, which in innumerable varied formations move upon the earth, attains completion only in that being who is able to recognise

and to praise his Creator—in man who is the mediator between the Creator and all these creatures which were called forth for His glory—how should those starry choirs be destitute of life, or how could we doubt it, that there also self-conscious creatures move in high spheres of spiritual and free activity, for the purpose of owning and praising their Creator?

It is not true that the Bible contradicts the view that the stars are peopled by personal beings; in our opinion it rather contains allusions of an opposite character. In the Bible, the heavens, and therefore those worlds which constitute the heavens, are described as the abode of unnumbered hosts of spiritual beings, who are designated as angels, and described as being the holy messengers and servants of God, as executing His will, and praising His glory and majesty. And in one passage at least (Job xxxviii.) these holy and blessed spirits are placed in such close relation, not only to the heavens in general, but to the individual celestial bodies in particular, as to justify our view that the angels inhabit these worlds.

§ 7. THE ANGELS AS THE INHABITANTS OF THE FIXED STARS.

Astronomy is of course incapable of pronouncing about the nature and destiny of the spiritual inhabitants of the stars. It only affords isolated and unsatisfactory glimpses of the physical constitution of these stars. On the other hand, the Bible, which is an exclusively religious revelation, cannot and does not teach anything about the nature and constitution of the *stars*. But it contains indications that these stars are the abode of angels. Hence the Bible and astronomy will, in this respect, only agree or disagree if the revelations of Scripture concerning the nature of the angels, and the disclosures of astronomy concerning the constitution of the stars, are found to be either compatible or not, in respect of the fitness of these places to be the abode of such beings.

The splendid discoveries of *Herschel* have dispelled the views formerly entertained, as if the order and arrangement of other celestial bodies were merely a monotonous repetition of that prevalent in our own system. Other and higher relations obtain in

those worlds, and the spirits who inhabit them must likewise be different in nature, and have other destinies and capabilities than the denizens of earth. Modern astronomical investigations have shown it to be not indeed impossible, but improbable, that the luminous worlds of the fixed stars are suns like ours, having a solid, dark, planetary nucleus, and being accompanied by satellites, which depend upon them for light and heat. They have indeed—at least some of them—their faithful attendants, but their connection is not one of physical force, but of affinity and sympathy—not of subordination, but of co-ordination. There, as it were, suns move round suns, one glorious sphere around another equal to it in kind, however they may differ in extent or splendour. In those organisms there is not anything like the physical and polar, we would almost call it the sexual, relation which in our system manifests itself as contrast between sun and planets, between that which gives and those which receive. There we do not find that mass and gravity, which forms the law of our system; there we miss the alternation of light and darkness; there is no night there to obstruct life and its duties, neither frost nor winter to benumb its energies.

But although those luminous worlds possess not the characteristics of coarse material existence with which we meet on our globe, they are not immaterial; although without the succession between light and darkness which here takes place, it does not follow that their light has not a corresponding substratum to which it may attach itself. Only the material has there not assumed the form of lifeless stone, nor does darkness contend with light. The two rather pervade each other, as do soul and body, and thus form a real unity. In proof, we remind the reader of the glorious combination of colours exhibited by the single stars, but especially by the double stars, “like those of flowers in spring, or those on the wings of the butterfly.” Colour is light manifesting itself through darkness, and by it attaining its peculiar definiteness; it is a vital union of light and darkness. A profound thinker observes: “In our planetary system, sun and planet, light and darkness, are separate, and form a totality only in an outward respect; *there* they pervade each other. . . . Thus each part becomes the whole, and yet remains a part of it. Here the harmonious unity has given place to conflicting con-

trasts; night contends with day, light with darkness, heat with cold, death with life, and the body with its soul. But there all these contrasts are reconciled; light and shadow, day and night, are united; night is lit up by day, and the body pervaded by the soul. No change of light and darkness takes place, millions of suns shed an eternal day, yet with a brilliancy so mild as not to cause destroying heat, even as there is no room for benumbing cold. The dark material substratum is pervaded and lit up by a higher breath of life, and the latter attains its outward appearance, vital existence, and fulness, by its essential union with the former. For whatever really lives and works consists of a combination of what is diverse, of a union of body and soul. Only through the medium of darkness does light become colour, only through the medium of the body does the soul manifest its peculiar activity. The offspring of like and like is still-born; where unlike and like are united, a sweet sound is produced."

Again, if in those upper worlds, instead of the coarse body of earth and stone to which we are accustomed, there are glorious luminous bodies infinitely refined, and therefore joyously and freely pursuing their still and majestic courses; the restless, ceaseless pushing, "the mutual powerful attraction and repulsion, the passionate seeking and fleeing, which we here witness, has no place in those worlds." Here the laws of gravity bear iron rule; the force of gravitation is an external and despotic power, and it alone keeps the celestial bodies together, which else would fall to pieces. Above, the same *law* obtains; but *love*, which in this respect also may be regarded as the *fulfilling of the law*, shuts out *slavish fear*. The effect is the same, but the cause is different. There the categorical imperative of physical force is not the taskmaster to exact slavish obedience, but a higher will, in which liberty and necessity have been combined, produces the same effects, yet in higher form and potency. Perhaps other forces also may there obtain, such as the mysterious forces of magnetic electricity, which, with the rapidity of thought, traverse even our earth. There they may be on an infinitely larger scale, and with results vastly more glorious. Thus "one sun there pursues his course, linked fraternally to another: a bond of affinity higher than that which here impels with destructive force one stone against another, connects the hosts of worlds of light." Mys-

terious bonds of sympathy and affinity bind together those worlds. "There gravity no longer draws the individual to seek in some other being the central point which it has not in itself, but by free impulse all individual bodies, all central single points, together tend towards the highest centre."

It were easy to pursue these speculations, and to descant on the plenitude of life and on its happiness in those regions. But what are we to believe concerning the inhabitants of these worlds? Are we warranted in supposing that throughout creation there is the same correspondence between abode and inhabitant as between body and soul? The physical world which we inhabit everywhere reflects blessing and cursing, love and hatred, sorrow and joy, and in our breast awakens kindred feelings; we realise it that this nature is adapted to us and we to it. But in those worlds we descry not the dark picture of sin and of death; there light is not in hostile conflict with darkness, there life is without death, harmony without disunion, day without night, and waking without sleeping. These worlds must therefore be the abode of spirits who, from their own experience, know nothing of sin and death, whose physical constitution requires not the succession of light and darkness, day and night, and is not affected by the alternation of heat and cold. There life is not divided into the antagonistic poles of generation and corruption, of birth and death. There the sexual contrast and that of solar and planetary principles is done away with, and there we expect to find those who neither marry nor are given in marriage. Instead of the dark and heavy frame which is bound to this planet, which weighs down thought and prevents its flight, the inhabitants of those regions possess ethereal bodies capable of never-ceasing motions and of continuous renovation, adapted to the spirit which dwells in them, and ever willing to obey its behests. These holy inhabitants of light are called in the Scripture angels, and are frequently referred to in connection with the celestial worlds—so that in this respect science and revelation agree.

§ 8. CONTINUATION.

We now advert to some objections which may be urged against the above views. First of all, it might appear that the almost infinite distance between the stars and the earth would scarcely accord with the Biblical doctrine of the influence of angels upon, and their continued assistance and protection of, the children of the kingdom. But it is evident that this objection only applies if we attribute to the angels the limitations which we experience. Even here we are brought into contact with forces of which the velocity far surpasses that of light. Thus the electric telegraph communicates information with a rapidity which defies measurement. Again, the rapidity with which the influence of gravitation passes from one celestial body to another, must be ten million times that of light. All these velocities, however, bear no comparison to the rapidity of thought. It is true that *our* bodies cannot keep pace with its course, but will those holy beings who are termed spirits not have frames more obedient to the behests of mind than ours are? Shall they not be able to transport themselves with the rapidity of thought, and, in their case, mind not out-distance body?

Again, it is argued that the variety of formations in the starry worlds cannot be regarded as in harmony with the unity of nature and destiny attributed to the angels. But, on the one hand, Scripture refers to a difference among individual classes of angels, and to the existence of different degrees of dignity and power; while, on the other hand, where the angels are designated as a homogeneous community, this refers only to their nature as contrasted with that of man. We are, indeed, aware that our former remarks as to the adaptation between angels and stars—especially in regard of the absence of the relation between the solar and planetary systems—are based upon astronomical observations which as yet are far from being quite settled. But even if these observations were mistaken, and if there also satellites received from suns their light and heat, many reasons would still occur to our minds leading us to infer that these worlds were inhabited by angels. In the systems of the double and multiple stars at least, where thousands of suns form one

system, the planets, if there be such, must be composed of a material peculiarly refined, so as not to be hurled against each other or against their suns. In that case our former remarks about the difference of the bodies of their inhabitants, as compared with those of ours, would still hold true. Again, such planets would derive never-failing light from the influence of the numerous suns around them. But what if it be true, as *Bessel* maintains, that in the regions of fixed stars the most brilliant of suns revolve around bodies which probably are dark? We frankly confess that we do not as yet see our way to harmonise this discovery, if, indeed, it were established, with our views. Still, we make no doubt that some place might be found for it. But as yet these discoveries are highly problematical.

§ 8. INHABITANTS OF THE EXTRA-MUNDANE BODIES OF OUR SOLAR SYSTEM.

Scripture mentions only two kinds of personal, free and spiritual, beings—angels and men. But since, according to the Bible, all men are derived from one pair, and even astronomical observation shews that the other planets of our system cannot be the abode of men constituted as we are, shall we conclude that they are inhabited by angels of an order different from those which tenant the other starry worlds? But against this view there are two insuperable objections—that of the necessary difference between men and angels, which implies also an abode totally different, and that of the generic unity of the angels. Or shall we suppose, as many have done, that on pleasant Mars, on bright Venus, and on the royal Sun, dwell the souls of the blessed, and amid the dreary wastes of Jupiter, or in the prisons of the Moon, those of the condemned? But we cannot believe that the latter bodies were created for no other purpose than to be prison-houses, and that at a period when sin and death had not yet entered our world. At any rate this view is unsupported by Scripture, which speaks of Hades only in figurative language, and in terms which, if they refer to any particular locality, would rather lead us to look for it under the earth than in the heavens. Or are we to suppose that the apostate spirits which, according

to Scripture, inhabit waste places (Matt. xii. 43; Luke xi. 24), and the barren regions of the air (Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12), are banished to those volcanoes and wastes, to those darknesses and tempests? But the language of Scripture would rather lead us to suppose that their abode was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Earth, amid the wastes and tempests and darkness of this world. Perhaps, after all, it is most probable that, like the waste places of the Earth, those regions are as yet untenanted by spiritual beings. It appears to us, that if man had been obedient to his divine destiny, and, in his state of innocence, peopled this planet to its utmost bounds, his mission might have been extended to those neighbouring worlds which are so closely related to ours, so as to draw them also within the circle of his activity, and thus to lead them towards that perfection for which they were destined. In the course of his development he might perhaps have acquired new powers by which to pass from world to world, as now he passes from shore to shore. But when sin arrested and disturbed the development of the race, so that the destined goal could only be reached by the incarnation of Him who became the second Adam, the progress of these neighbouring worlds towards perfection was also suspended and arrested. Perhaps, as our earth is destined to pass through a final catastrophe, in which all the elements of ungodliness are to be consumed, and the renovated earth will issue perfected from the flames of judgment, these planets may then be correspondingly affected, even as probably they shared in the catastrophe by which earth became "thohu vabohu."

§ 8. THE INCARNATION OF GOD IN CHRIST.

We come now to the main objection urged against the representation which the Bible offers of the world. It concerns nothing less than that fundamental doctrine of the gospel, *the incarnation of God in Christ*. Is it conceivable, our opponents ask, that the Lord and Creator of those unnumbered and boundless suns, compared with which our earth appears like a drop in the ocean, should have fixed on this small dot in his universe, to make it the scene of His manifestation, to take upon Himself all

the woe of its inhabitants, for their sakes to veil His glory under a body, to redeem them by His sufferings and His death, to erect among them the throne of His glory, and to make them partakers of His majesty? Among those unnumbered celestial worlds, was there not one better adapted, and more worthy to become the scene of His most glorious manifestation, the centre of the universe, and the everlasting throne of His immediate presence? Have not these worlds the same claim to such distinction, or is the Just One arbitrary and partial in his dealings? We admit that the contrast pointed out is such as to stagger. But can we assign limits to Him who has created these worlds, and among them our little earth? Can we apply to the Almighty the measure of our own understanding, or determine what becomes Him, or what is possible for Him? Are we to say to Him, "Hitherto, and not further?"—or shall we measure His free grace by cubic miles, and His love by the size of the fixed stars? Shall we forbid Him from choosing, in wisdom and grace, "the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, and things which are despised, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence?" "Hath He not power to do what He will with His own? Is our eye evil because He is good?"

The discoveries of the *microscope* have frequently been mentioned as counterbalancing those revelations of the *telescope* that have given rise to such doubts.¹ For if the microscope discloses a world a life in every atom and drop of water, we may at least learn from this to measure the greatness, wisdom, power, and majesty of God by another standard than the extent of the fixed stars. However small and insignificant our earth may be in comparison with the universe, it teems with richly varied worlds, being in this respect a universe on a small scale. Besides, it has been shown that this apparent contrast has arisen from comparing two very different spheres—those of nature and of spirit, of the material and the personal, of space and of will. The greatest deeds and marvels of genius may be enacted within a very small space, and the greatest glory of spirit is this, that it makes what

¹ See especially Dr Chalmers' *Astronom. Disc.*, 3d Disc.

appears small the theatre of its most grand revelations! Still, considerations like these scarcely remove all our difficulties. One astonishment is only counterbalanced by another; but the question is not satisfactorily settled, and we shall have to attempt whether it is not possible to reconcile Scripture and science without setting one inextricable problem against another.

§ 10. CONTINUATION.

What if the earth alone, of all worlds, stood in need of such a manifestation of the Deity? What if it alone were fallen into sin and misery? Would not the idea that it alone stood in need of redemption set aside our former difficulty about its comparative insignificance, and unworthiness to claim such a distinction? Eternal wisdom itself says, "What think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine which went not astray." And shall the supreme Shepherd, who tends his millions of sheep in the vast expanse of heaven, not leave them to seek this the least and most sorely stricken of them? It requires His care more than the others, for without it, it would perish. Shall He not, then, follow it, in infinite love and compassion seek and restore, and greatly rejoice over it? To leave the others is not to forsake them; they are securely kept and guarded. If our world is the only province within the vast empire of the Deity in which rebellion has broken out, and where all the hostile forces are concentrated, the Eternal King will surely not care less for it, than an earthly king under similar circumstances would care for the smallest and poorest province of his realm. In such a case a monarch would advance with all his forces, put down the rebels, and extend pardon to those who were inveigled in participation of their guilt—he would surely seek to restore peace and order. In the language of *Dr. Chalmers* (*Astron. Disc. vi.*), "But what if this be applicable to beings of a higher nature? If, on the one hand, God be jealous of His honour, and, on the other, there be proud and exalted

spirits, who scowl defiance at Him and at His monarchy, then let the material prize of victory be insignificant as it may, it is the victory in itself which upholds the impulse of the keen and stimulated rivalry. If by the sagacity of one infernal mind, a single planet has been seduced from its allegiance, and brought under the ascendancy of him who, in the Scriptures, is called the god of this world, and if the errand on which the Redeemer came was to destroy the works of the devil, then let this planet have all the littleness which astronomy has assigned to it—call it, what it is, one of the smaller islets which float on the ocean of immensity—it has become the theatre of such a competition as may have all the desires and all the energies of a divided universe embarked upon it. It involves in it other objects than the single recovery of our species. It decides higher questions—it stands linked with the supremacy of God. . . . To an infidel ear, all this may carry the sound of something wild and visionary along with it; but though only known through the medium of revelation, after it is known, who can fail to recognise its harmony with the great lineaments of human experience? Who does not recognise in these facts much that goes to explain why our planet has taken so conspicuous a position in the foreground of history?"

Arguments such as these are not only admissible in themselves, but accord with the results of astronomical observations. The difference of nature between the fixed stars and our own planetary system, and the absence in those upper regions of those conditions which here testify of sin and death, appear to indicate that they are the abode of holy and unfallen spirits, who require not redemption or moral restoration. Scripture, also, represents man alone as *capable* of redemption; and hence, not indeed as the only fallen personal creature, but as the only one *requiring* salvation. But here we also perceive how unsatisfactory this mode of argumentation is. Scripture speaks of a twofold fall—one among men, the other among angels. Both seem to have taken place on our earth. But this fact throws no light on the subject under consideration, since the incarnation of God upon the earth was not on behalf of the fallen angels who were its first inhabitants, but on behalf of fallen man who succeeded them. Besides, the reply falls short of the objection in this respect also,

that the Bible not only teaches that in the covenant of grace man was placed on the same level with the unfallen spirits, but that he was elevated *above* all other creatures, and that similarly the earth also was to be raised above all the other celestial worlds.

§ 11. CONTINUATION.

A sense of the unsatisfactory character of this line of reasoning has led some wholly to abandon it, and to maintain that not the poverty and meanness, but the glory and dignity of our earth, had been the cause of its selection to become the scene of this unique manifestation of the Deity. On account of this peculiar glory—it is maintained—and not from any accident, the fall had taken place upon our earth; while all the other worlds are now passing through a process designed to bring them to the same degree of cosmical perfectness which, notwithstanding the fall, is already enjoyed by our earth. We may here cite the words of *Steffens*, an eminent philosopher (with whom also *Hegel* in substance agrees): “The recent discoveries of double and nebulous stars—he says—clearly show that the universe, as a whole, is beginning to assume a historical character. It is daily becoming more probable that these stars *represent gradations towards the perfect development of our own planetary system*. It is of importance both for Christianity and for philosophy to maintain that our planetary system, nay, our earth, forms the centre of the universe. . . . But thus much we may assert, that astronomy is fast advancing towards the conclusion, that *our planetary system is to be regarded as the most organised point in the universe*, and the time may not be far distant when our earth shall also be recognised, not indeed as to appearance, but as inwardly and really, the central point of the planetary system, just as man is the centre of the whole organism. . . . The sacred place where the Lord appeared will be recognised *as being the absolute centre of the universe*. The phantastic aberration which transported souls to distant stars, or prepared on *Syrius* a new paradise, while some imagined that each of the stars had its own history similar to that of man, will be for ever discarded.”

We confess that we cannot adopt these views. However, unsatisfactory the discoveries of astronomy in reference to the fixed stars, they still impress us with the feeling that those upper celestial regions are not inferior and undeveloped, but higher and purer stages of cosmical formation. Still it is impossible to designate the speculations of *Steffens* as entirely groundless—especially if we bear in mind the change that has come over our ideas, for example, concerning the moon. What at one time used to be extolled as the peaceable abode of bliss has, by the aid of the telescope, been now discovered to be a dreary and horrible waste. Science has indeed made it highly probable that our own planetary system is something unique, to which the other celestial worlds bear no analogy. But this may be viewed either as proving the superiority or as establishing the inferiority of our system—according as men regard the subject. Some consider the separation of the poles to be an evidence of perfectness; and in proof, appeal to the organic world, where the most perfect formations exhibit this separation of opposite (for example, of sexual) poles. Others again see in this antagonism merely contest and disunion, while they look for harmony, for true and perfect life, only in the union of these antagonistic poles. Again, if starting from our system as occupying nearly the central place in the starry heavens, we find that gradually the formations assume a different character—first isolated then connected or double stars, and these again forming a transition to the more distant multiple or groups of stars, it is once more felt impossible to derive from this circumstance any reliable conclusion. Some may regard this isolation as indicative of a richness and fulness which requires not any help or supply from without, while others may set it down to the absence of love and harmony.

The view that our earth, although to appearance one of the most insignificant parts of the universe, may really, and as to its spiritual significance, be the centre of the universe, is so far supported by Scripture. All throughout the moral and religious world, the Bible points out a fundamental contrast between appearance and idea, of which the removal forms the goal of all history. Hence this incongruity in the cosmical world would only be a reflection of that which obtains in the spiritual world.

There is an amount of truth in this reasoning. The astronomer is warranted in drawing from his investigations the conclusion that our earth is a subordinate member of our planetary system, and that the latter is the smallest of all cosmical systems. But then the astronomers measure greatness and glory by a standard different from that adopted by the theologian. Man judges according to the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart; and this latter is the standard which, guided by revelation, the theologian, nay, which every Christian, be he astronomer or not, should adopt. The astronomer observes and watches the outward appearance, and in calmly and impartially pursuing his observations, he is warranted in assigning a subordinate position both to our planet and to our planetary system. Nor will the divine find this conclusion of astronomy either surprising or difficult to receive. He is accustomed to judge of an outward appearance by its inward and hidden bearing, to discover majesty under the form of humility, and glory in abasement; he knows that this incongruity of appearance and idea everywhere recurs. The statements of astronomers will therefore in this respect only appear to him as confirming a truth, the deep reality of which he has learned to know and to understand.

Still we can also admit the correctness of *Steffens'* views, although with considerable modifications. Above all, we must protest against the idea as if this central position and importance of the earth which at present seems concealed, were not at some future period to become manifest. The contrast between appearance and idea is only relatively, not absolutely necessary, and therefore transient, not permanent. As in the moral world, Christianity ever seeks to find an adequate manifestation of faith by works, so also all biblical predictions of future perfectness tend to show that it will consist in bringing hidden things to light, in making outward appearance correspond with inward reality. But if our solar system, and in it our earth—despite all observations of a different nature—is the highest point in creation, where the Lord has appeared in the form of a servant, and to which He is again to return in glory, in order to render the place of His humiliation the scene of his eternal Majesty—it must contain indications not only of a capacity for this the

highest stage of development, but also that in greater or less degree it has already advanced towards that goal. If our earth really is the most precious germ in creation, it must also contain the rudiment of its future blossom and fruit. We agree with *Steffens*, that in a cosmical point of view our earth, and in a moral and religious point of view, man, its inhabitant, have attained their prominence not fortuitously, but in virtue of a special designation and adaptation. On the other hand, we differ from this philosopher in assigning to the other celestial bodies distinctions peculiar to them. We arrive at the former of these conclusions on theological, at the latter on astronomical, grounds. *Steffens* and *Hegel* may be right in inferring that the peculiar and extensive connection and relation of our solar system, the solid and concrete forms of the bodies of which it is composed, and perhaps other and less marked distinctive physical characteristics, are evidence of the unique and higher destiny of our system. Still, even if those characteristics are regarded as marks of distinction, it must also be admitted that defects and incumbrances attach to them to which the worlds of fixed stars are not subject. But although we were to adopt the arguments of *Steffens* to a much fuller extent than we are prepared to do, they could scarcely set aside all the objections and doubts which, from an astronomical point of view, may be urged against the occurrence of the Incarnation upon our earth. The main difficulty lies not in this, whether the earth had *greatest* claim to this distinction, but rather whether it had *exclusive* claim to it. We have to show that the other worlds either required not, or were not capable of such an Incarnation of the Deity, and we have to enquire whether this Incarnation upon our earth stood in necessary relationship to the life and history of the personal beings who may inhabit the other worlds.

§ 12. CONTINUATION.

To obviate the difficulties to which we have adverted, it has been asserted that astronomy and philosophy equally demand that we should believe in an Incarnation of the Deity in other worlds, analogous to that which has taken place upon earth.

This view—deemed by some to be compatible with the Bible—is based upon another theory which had been advocated by some during the middle ages, but was discarded by the Reformers and their successors, and has of late been again brought forward.¹ It is to the effect that the incarnation of God was not occasioned by the entrance of sin, but was necessary if mankind was ever to attain its goal, and indeed was implied in creation. Even if man had not sinned, God would have become incarnate, but in that case in glory and majesty, not in humility and in the form of a servant—not to suffer and to die for man, but by combining in the person of the God-man the Divine and human natures, to fill up the gap between God and man, to elevate the creature to the rank of Sonship, to make men heirs of God, fellowheirs with Christ (Rom. viii. 17), and partakers of the Divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), so that they might be like God (1 John iii. 2). If this view were correct, we could scarcely avoid the conclusion that God has become incarnate not only among men, but also among angels, not only upon our earth but also in all other habitations of created spirits. But a closer examination will convince us that this theory runs counter both to sound speculation and to the statements of Scripture.

The last and highest aim in the development and history of the creature, is “that God may be all in all;” that without losing its individuality or separate existence, the creature should return to the eternal source of all life from which originally it had sprung; that the *dualism* implied in the creation of free, personal beings, and which manifests itself in the independent existence of a free will besides the free will of God, should give place to a never-ending unity, without, however, destroying the *duality* which presently exists; that, in this consummation, movement should give place to rest, and longing, seeking and striving, to satisfaction, beatific possession and enjoyment; lastly, that any existing antagonism between the Divine and human Will should not only be entirely removed, but rendered impossible for the future. Now, if for purposes like these it were absolutely necessary that God should become incarnate wherever free and spiritual beings exist, we would be obliged implicitly to

¹ It has been defended by *Liebner*, *Dörner*, *Martensen*, *J. P. Lange*, and others; but controverted by *Thomasius*, *Jul. Müller*, and others.

receive the above theory. But it will be seen that the supposition upon which it proceeds is erroneous.

We admit that every creature is designed ultimately to return to the eternal source of life from which it had sprung "that God may be all in all;" only that we do not conceive this return to imply a destruction or cessation of individuality. The latter continues, and that in highest perfection, even after the return of the creature to God. We conceive this process to take place in the following manner. By an act of the creative will, God gave separate existence to all His creatures, making them capable of and requiring development. The idea of the Divine Creator was not exhausted in the act of creation, which rather bestowed capacity and tendency than full development. If the creature was a free, spiritual, and personal being, it was destined to develop, by its own act, that which it had received in potency, and thus to realise its destiny. Again, if the creature was not endowed with freedom, it was to attain its development through the instinct given to it; in which case, however, that being to which it was subordinate, would either advance or impede its development. Thus creation established a duality which, however, the abuse of personal liberty might convert into a hostile dualism. But if the creature had reached its goal in accordance with the will of God, dualism would have been for ever prevented, and duality for ever preserved, and thus the creature, by free development, have returned to God, and realised the idea of the Creator. We believe that the powers originally given would, if rightly employed, have been sufficient to enable each creature to attain its proper goal. It is otherwise if these powers are abused, and if instead of entering on the predestined development, the creature follows an opposite direction, forsaking the Creator, and placing itself in an independent, and hostile attitude towards Him. In that case, the moral chasm which would ensue, would also immediately become a physical chasm, since the bond which connected the divine in man with its eternal source, was torn asunder. Such a chasm would be infinite both in its moral and in its physical bearing, nor could the creature ever fill it up or pass it. If this was to be done, and the fallen creature brought back to God, and to its original destiny, it could only be accomplished by an interposition on the part of God Himself, who would have to condes-

pend to it in order to save it from destruction, to renew and to perfect it. The ground of the incarnation of God was only the sin of man, or rather the divine counsel of grace to lead man to his goal, notwithstanding his fall and his sin. The idea that the incarnation was absolutely necessary and implied in creation, rests upon the supposition that man would thereby have been enabled to attain a higher goal and greater glory than he could have attained without redemption, and hence without sin. We admit that the exalted terms in which Scripture portrays the transcendent glory and bliss of redeemed man might readily be misunderstood as giving countenance to such a view. But it is inconceivable that if man had not sinned, but remained faithful to his destiny, he should have attained a much lower degree of perfection, glory, and blessedness, than that which is held out to him after his sin and rebellion. In such case we should deem ourselves happy to have become sinners and rebels; sin would in the divine counsel have been a necessary means of realising this purpose—nay, sin itself would be the first and greatest of all blessings. An Augustine indeed has dared to utter the bold sentence: “*O felix culpa, quae talem meruit habere redemptorem,*” and the sentiment has been re-echoed by many Christian poets. We would not absolutely condemn such an utterance of deep piety on the part of one who certainly did not deal lightly with sin. But paradoxes, as every thing else, have their proper and their improper time. If the apostle designated the divine wisdom as folly, Augustine might perhaps designate sin, which is the original source of all misery, as the ground of blessedness. There are seasons of deep religious emotion, when the simple expressions of every-day life are felt to be insufficient—too cold and too poor to exhaust the depth of experience. Then is the time for paradoxes which bring out the poverty of the ordinary modes of expression. Like every paradox, the saying of Augustine expresses a truth, but in a manner equally one-sided and exaggerated. It ignores all other aspects of truth, being entirely directed towards one great consideration. That which I as a sinner have obtained through redemption, and could not have obtained otherwise, may in certain stages of experience overcome me in such a manner as for the moment to lead me to forget everything else—even what by sin I have lost,

what without it I might have reached, or to what depth I have fallen. But if I elevate into a scientific principle what is only relatively true, then what had been half the truth, becomes wholly erroneous, and the hymn of praise to the grace of God is changed into a slander against His holiness. Were we in calm reflection to say, "God be praised that Adam sinned," the statement would imply: "God be praised that I have sinned," which were simply blasphemous.

This error can only be avoided either if we give up the view that in redemption a higher stage was to be attained than that open to unfallen man, or else if we assert that although creation necessarily implied the incarnation, yet its peculiar form of humiliation and suffering was due to sin. Scripture alone can decide which of these two views is correct. It is evident and admitted on all hands that whenever Scripture refers to the Incarnation, it always points to sin as the cause, and to redemption as the object of this mystery of divine love. But it is objected that Scripture only treats of the actual state of sinful man, and therefore has no occasion to advert to what would have taken place if man had not fallen, while Christian speculation is warranted in extending this horizon, and filling up the biblical theory on this point in accordance with principles derived from revelation. Still we cannot help thinking that the question under consideration is one which, if affirmed, would give so different an aspect to the whole doctrine of redemption, that if it were true, Scripture must have referred to it. Its silence on this point must, therefore, be regarded as decisive that the incarnation was only occasioned by sin. If our opponents appeal to the circumstance that it is inconceivable that fallen man should attain a higher stage than that open to him in his state of innocence, we reply that this idea is, as we shall immediately shew, incorrect.

However incomprehensible and exalted the terms in which the New Testament describes the blessedness of the redeemed, they imply nothing alien to or different from man's original destiny. The glory of his original state and that of his state of perfectness are related as germ and development, as destiny and realisation. The latter contains nothing which was not to be found in the former, in germ and rudiment. To have been

created in the likeness of God implied the right of sonship and inheritance (Rom. viii. 17), it also implied that man had already been made partaker of the divine nature and become like to God (2 Pet. i. 4; 1 John iii. 2). Sin and redemption are co-relative terms. The more virulent and dangerous the disease, the more potent must be the medicine which is to remove it. The more we think of the fearful nature of sin, the higher must be our views of the importance of salvation, and *vice versa*, the greater the provision which God has made for the redemption of sinners, the deeper must have been the degradation into which by sin they had fallen. But the gospel teaches us to regard both as equally great, while according to the view of our opponents the consequences of sin, and with them the value of redemption, are lowered, since not the incarnation but only its special form is traceable to sin. That God became man is in itself the greatest humiliation, and yet this adorable mystery of divine love is not to stand in any connection with sin; only the comparatively smaller fact that *that* man in whom God would at any rate have become incarnate had undergone sufferings and death, is due to sin! And what is even more dangerous, redemption ceases to be a free act of divine pity, and is represented as a necessity implied in creation, which would have taken place whether man had remained obedient or not. Thus sin is not the sole cause of man's present state, since the position which he originally held required an incarnation of the Deity before man could attain perfectness. In another respect also sin loses its importance, since even without it the incarnation would have taken place. The latter, indeed, would still remain an adorable mystery of love, *but not so redemption*, which would be implied in the decree of the incarnation, and could no longer be regarded as proceeding solely from divine pity and mercy toward fallen man.

Thus much then we infer that the incarnation was devised by the free grace of God in order to remove sin and its consequences, and that it would not have been requisite if sin had not exercised its destructive sway. We return now to the question whether the idea of an incarnation on other worlds, inhabited by rational beings, is either necessary or even admissible. This we deny, since neither the Bible nor sound reasoning give countenance to it. Those worlds whose inhabitants have re-

mained sinless, required it not, since every creature possesses the means of attaining, in its own way, the great goal, "that God should be all in all." It is certainly otherwise if any of the inhabitants of other worlds have fallen; but in that case we should, before replying to the question, require to know whether these beings are *capable* of redemption. On all these points human science gives no information. The Bible speaks only of two kinds of spiritual beings—angels and men. It informs us, indeed, that a portion of the angels had fallen, but it also teaches that they are incapable of redemption. We must, therefore, close these enquiries with the conviction that an incarnation had only taken place upon the earth, and that the inhabitants of other worlds either required not redemption, or else were incapable of it. In either case there was no room for such a manifestation of the Deity.

§ 13. CONTINUATION.

It was the object of the incarnation to restore fallen man to communion with God, and to lead him to that goal for which he was destined, by being created in the image of God. The aim of redemption was the same as that of creation, but *it required a much higher species of divine manifestation*, and an infinitely greater condescension on the part of God, than did the creation. For in creation only a commencement was made, and a capability bestowed for attaining by personal development the goal. But through sin this beginning was arrested, this capability destroyed, and man sunk to a depth of misery from which no created power could deliver him. Hence the object of redemption was much higher, implying as it did, not merely the bestowal of something new, but the removal of the old; not merely a restoration of what had been lost, but also the bringing about of what had not yet been attained.

The question as to the relation which the incarnation upon earth bears to the spiritual inhabitants of other worlds coincides, therefore, with that as to the relation between the creation of man and that of these spiritual beings. The creation of man in the image of God implied not that these other spiritual

beings were either neglected or set aside, nor does the incarnation imply any such thing. That man was from the first destined for higher purposes than they, and that this object was attained through Divine grace despite sin, could in nowise be a disadvantage to them. Indeed the opposite of this is the case. The fall and rebellion of part of the angels had introduced a schism into the worlds of other spiritual beings; it had destroyed the harmony of the universe. To restore it man was created, and, when he fell, redeemed, because he was capable of redemption. Hence the Incarnation upon earth was of advantage to the entire universe. If it is lawful to regard to man as the microcosm, *i.e.*, as the representative of every creature, and the being who in himself combines all substances, potencies, and capabilities of body and soul which are scattered throughout the universe, we can also conceive how God when He assumed the nature of man had thereby also in a certain sense taken upon Himself the nature of all other creatures. It cannot be doubted that man is the microcosm of the terrestrial world, but whether he may also be regarded as that of the universe is a question on which empirical science and experience cannot decide. *Three* elements, all connected with revelation, may help us to settle this question, viz., a consideration of the original destiny of man—of the fulness of restoration as exhibited in the exalted God-man—and lastly, of the fulness which proceeding from the exalted God-man shall be imparted to all His people, *i.e.*, to those who have been born of Him and regenerated to a new life and a new development. With reference to the first of these points, the Bible clearly teaches that the earth was created last of all worlds and man last of all personal beings. When man, the crown and seal of terrestrial creation, had been called forth, God had finished all the works of creation, and that rest of God commenced which indicates the absolute cessation of creative activity. Thus earth and man are the culminating points in the scale of creation, the close and consummation of the idea of the creator. This view is further borne out by what we have endeavoured formerly to establish, viz., that by the fall of angels our earth was changed into a waste chaos which had been removed to afford a dwelling for him who was destined to restore the lost harmony of the universe.

Again, if we think of the fulness as exhibited in the God-man, we gather from the New Testament that He in whom human nature was exhibited in its perfection was, after the completion of His work on earth, exalted above every creature in heaven and upon earth, so that He sustains, preserves, and fills all things. But this *exaltation* is not only that of His divine but also of His human nature, nay, strictly speaking, it is only that of the latter since as God He already possessed this exalted position. Compare Phil. ii. 7—11; Eph. i. 20—23; Eph. i. 10, where we are told that the purpose of God consisted in this: "*That He might gather together in one all things in Christ* (the God-man), both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him in whom we also have obtained an inheritance." In all these passages the view that by redemption man was to regain his original destiny and to become the microcosm of the universe, receives express confirmation. Manifestly they represent the man Jesus as such a microcosm. But what holds good of Him holds good also of those whom He has redeemed. For the essence of redemption—in its positive aspect—consisted in this, that Christ, as the Son of man, as the representative and architype of humanity, and as the second Adam, embodied the idea of humanity in all its completeness; and that primarily in His own person, in order as *head* of the body of which by Incarnation He became a *member*, to make us partakers of His triumph even as He became partaker of our humiliation. Besides, the church, which is his body, is expressly called the "*the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.*" He, the head, filleth all in all, and the church His body is *His* fulness with which and by which He filleth all in all.

Lastly, the Biblical doctrine concerning the end of the world is in favour of our view. According to Scripture, the close of the development of our world will also be that in all other worlds, the judgment of man coincides with that of every other creature, and the destruction and renovation of our earth is connected with the renovation of the heavens. We do not read that this simultaneous end of the world is to be brought about by any extramundane event unconnected with the earth. On the contrary, the consummation of these worlds and their inhabitants is only delayed because one cannot be made perfect

without the other, and because the consummation consists in this, that all things shall be gathered together in one that God may be all in all (Heb. xi. 40; Eph. i. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 28).

§ 14. THE CATASTROPHE OF THE END OF THE WORLD.

It only remains for us to shew that the Biblical doctrine concerning the end of the world is not incompatible with the results of astronomical investigation. According to the Scriptures the whole fabric of the world (not merely the earth) awaits a catastrophe by which it is to be changed and renewed even as an old garment is cast off and its place supplied by a new. So far as astronomy is capable of pronouncing on this subject it would appear that our solar system, and also the fixed stars, bear the characteristics of immovable harmony and order, since no forces or accidents have ever been discovered by which the present order might be destroyed or endangered, while all apparent disturbances in the celestial bodies are so nicely adjusted that instead of threatening future destruction, they seem rather to insure the continuance of the present arrangement. It is urged, therefore, that the Biblical theory concerning the end of the world is in direct opposition to the inferences of astronomy. Perhaps the best answer to this is found in the passages where this future destruction is most plainly taught. In 2 Pet. iii. 4, the following answer is returned to those who say: "Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation:—This they are willingly ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, *by the same word are kept in store*, reserved unto fire," &c. Allusion is here made to an analogous event which may be regarded as a type or prelude of that more general and fearful final catastrophe. The relations between sea and land, between the consumption and the production of water, is so stable and settled, that it would have been impossible to have anticipated such a catastrophe as the flood, and yet it broke in

when least expected. "And as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." As formerly the destroying flood broke from the lowest depths of earth into which human investigation had not penetrated, and from those high regions where clouds form according to a law, which human ingenuity has not discovered, so the heights and depths of the universe may conceal forces which shall burst forth at the command of the Creator, and transform the heavens and the earth. As to the manner in which this catastrophe shall take place, Scripture informs us that "the heavens shall pass away with a *great noise*, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: the earth also and the works that are therein, shall be *burnt up*. Nevertheless, we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii. 10—13). Among all the elements known to us, fire is the most powerful, pervading, and destructive. But by destroying that which is perishable, and separating the pure metal from the dross, it also sets free that which is imperishable and noble, and presents it in all its purity and beauty. Hence fire has always been regarded not only as the symbol of destruction, but equally as the type of the most thorough purification and sanctification. If, therefore, the catastrophe to which we have alluded was to issue in purification and renovation, as well as in destruction, it is evident that of all means known to us, fire would be the most appropriate. Besides, it lies hidden in all bodies, and may be called forth by mechanical and dynamic means. An unextinguished furnace burns in the bowels of the earth; fire breaks from the clouds of heaven; fire is called forth by the influence of the sun; and that mysterious electricity which apparently pervades every region, involves an untold fulness and intensity of powers for eliciting fire. Nor is astronomy competent to pronounce any verdict on those fearful signs which are said to proceed or accompany the final catastrophe,—such as that sun and moon shall loose their light, that stars shall fall from the firmament, and the sign of the Son of man be seen in the heavens. Year by year we witness eclipses of the sun and moon. Strange appearances in the heavens, such as the advent of remarkable comets, are by no means unheard of. Stars have vanished from

the heavens under the eye of the astronomer, and repeatedly have we seen thousands of asteroids falling from the heavens, &c.

We would not indeed assert that the darkening of sun and moon in that great day will be nothing more than an ordinary eclipse, or the sign of the Son of man the same as the appearance of a comet or the falling of stars from the heavens, a mere shower of shooting stars. On the contrary, we believe that such predictions refer to something heretofore unseen and unheard. Still, these facts of experience are a testimony in favour of *the possibility* of appearances such as those predicted.

§ 15. DURATION OF THE PRESENT COURSE OF THE EARTH.

Our earth must revolve eighteen million times around the sun before the sun itself and its entire system completes a single revolution in that movement in which it is involved along with the other fixed stars about the throne of cosmical powers which lies in the centre of the system of the milky way. According to *Müdder*, one great year of the universe therefore comprehends eighteen millions of terrestrial years. How insignificant in this respect appears our earth; how paltry compared with that sweep of time is the period during which our present earth and its inhabitants have existed! What are 6000 years compared with 18,000,000 of years! According to the Scriptures the present order of things have existed for nearly 6000 years. How long is it to continue till the great day when heaven and earth shall be changed, and a new and never ending period commence? On this subject we are told that "to know the times or the seasons the Father has put in His own power. Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven." (Mark xiii. 32, 33; Acts i. 7.)

The Apostles, and with them believers of every age, have regarded that day as at hand, an expectation this, prompted not so much by objective prophecy as by the subjective state of the soul, its longings and desires. Centuries have since passed, and may still pass, before that expectation shall be realised. And yet, reasoning from Scripture, it is scarcely possible to conceive that "the end" should be so long delayed. If we think of the

Incarnation as taking place in the middle age of the world, if we consider the increasing distinctness in the signs of the times, and the approach of those signs and harbingers of the end, we cannot but feel that the termination of the present dispensation must be at hand. Are the heavens, then, to be changed like an old garment before they have reached a single year of their existence, or completed a single revolution? The query proceeds upon a twofold misunderstanding.—We have already seen that the 6000 years of Biblical chronology refer not to the beginning of the whole universe, nor even to that of the earth, but only to its restoration, or rather to the creation of man. But between the first creation and this new creation an indeterminable period intervenes. Besides, in those future ages of the world, of which the judgment forms the commencement, *time shall not cease*. The creature is not to cease to be creature, but only to participate in the fulness of divine glory; neither is time to terminate, but only to be absorbed in eternity. But if time do not cease, neither can the movements and revolutions of the worlds which mark time come to an end. The heavens shall be purified and perfected by the final catastrophe, but not annihilated; only in proportion as the heavens have been affected by that ruin which is to be eliminated in the purifying fires of the last judgment, shall their present condition be altered.

§ 16. THE COSMICAL CONSUMMATION.

At length the full dignity of earth and its inhabitants shall be openly manifested. The misery which the twofold fall of angels and men has caused shall be removed from the earth, which, in the fullest sense, shall attain both its original destiny and that position which it was intended to hold when restored to become the habitation of man. Above we have remarked that the celestial worlds which are the abode of the holy angels present certain cosmical advantages as compared with our earth in its present state, while on the other hand our earth also has distinguishing features, which, however, are yet undeveloped germs, concealed in the form of lowliness, and distorted through the curse of sin. We anticipate that these features will at last fully appear, while

our earth will after its own manner also reach the same level as the angelic worlds. We expect that in those times what at present appear as hostile contrasts shall combine and co-operate; that sin and death—and with them all their shadows and fruits—shall have passed away, and that the members of our solar system which at present are isolated shall be united by bonds of harmony, communion, sympathy, and love. Perhaps this will be realised in a manner analogous to what we witness in the heavens; perhaps those worlds which, although now separated, are so closely related, shall move in sacred harmony; perhaps they shall stand in immediate communication with one another; perhaps the sea of ether belonging to our system, which at present is unilluminated, shall be pervaded with light and afford an “eternal sunshine,” uniting worlds as now it separates them, just as the luminous atmosphere of the heavens of the fixed stars binds together the worlds that move in it.

But the distinguishing excellency of our earth will consist in this, that ransomed and glorified man, created in, and restored to, the image of God, shall dwell there, and that here the Lord of Glory, who to all eternity has taken upon Himself their nature, shall make His abode among those whom He is not ashamed to call brethren; that He shall bring with Him upon earth that unfading inheritance of His Sonship of which they are to be fellow-heirs; that He shall establish among them the throne of His grace and power, of His glory and majesty; and that He Himself, the Uncreated Light, shall shine upon them with a brilliancy which no creature has *yet* beheld. But as to the conditions and changes which all this implies in the *physical* condition of the earth and of our system, and in their *cosmical* relation to the rest of the universe, it becomes us in silence to await the arrangements which the great Creator shall make.

Our earth is unique in its present state of humiliation—it will also be unique in its future exaltation. As man is made lower than the angels and yet is “the embryo of the highest of all creatures,” so our earth also is made lower than the celestial worlds and yet “the noblest germ in creation.” As Judea was the least and most despised country of the earth, and yet “the *glorious* land” (Deut. xi. 16, 41); as Bethlehem was least among the thousands of Judah (Micah v. 2) and yet the Son of

Righteousness arose there (Mal. iv. 2), so our solar system is the Judea of the universe, and our insignificant earth the Bethlehem of this holy land—poor and despised, yet precious above all; as in that prophetic dream sun, moon, and stars bent in lowly obeisance before Joseph, who yet was the least among his brethren, so shall they also make obeisance to our earth, although it is the smallest world in the universe. When at first Jehovah founded the earth, the morning stars looked on with songs of praise; when the eternal Word, full of grace and truth, left the throne of glory to clothe Himself with our nature, the hosts of heaven burst forth into this hymn: "*Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*" Again when the Son of man shall return in the clouds, surrounded with all the glory of His eternal Godhead, to renew heaven and earth and to consummate all things, shall those messengers of His power and goodness, in whose presence even now there is joy at every new progress of the kingdom of God upon earth (Luke xv. 7), behold with rapturous delight the unfolding of that mystery of godliness, into which they now desire to look, and in louder tones and loftier strains shall they enchoir their never-ending Hallelujah (Rev. v. 12, 13).

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

§ 1. SURVEY OF THE STATE OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

Geology (or rather *Geogony*) seeks, from the present state of the crust of the earth, from the structure, the contents, and the combination of rocks, and their present mutual relation, to infer the manner in which they have become what presently they are. The difficulty of such a task must at once appear, and even a cursory glance at the present state of geology shews that, although it has been cultivated with special and unequalled zeal, its first and most important difficulties remain as yet unsolved. Thus the very first subject of enquiry as to the original relationship between the stratified and unstratified formations ¹ is

¹ Generally speaking, we distinguish between *stratified formations*, which are arranged in parallel strata one above another according to a definite order which everywhere recurs, yet so that here and there one or more strata in the same formations are wanting, and *unstratified* (specially crystalline) *formations*, which, without any regularity in situation and succession lie beneath, between, and above the stratified formations, having apparently broken into the latter and interposed between them. More especially does granite everywhere occupy the highest and the lowest place, and forms both the trunk and the top in the principal mountain chains. From the position of unstratified formations, which are irregular and rise upwards, and from that of stratified formation (which depends on the former) which commonly incline towards the horizon, all individual formation of the latter terminate on the surface of the earth, and thence extend down to unexplored depths. Thus—since the same strata do not always lie uppermost—it has become possible to learn their succession and character. In themselves the rocks of the stratified formations are simple, but everywhere contain traces and remains of organic products and life. On the other hand the unstratified formations do not contain any traces of organic remains, and consist chiefly of various more or less perfectly crystallized minerals, which, instead of organic petrifications, contain a great variety of the most beautiful stones and metals. The unstratified formations are commonly arranged into two classes. The *crystalline* or *primary* formations (as they are commonly called) appear to constitute the firm framework of the earth. Among these we reckon especially the *granite*. What are called the *transition formations* are intermediate between the stratified and unstratified. They share the peculiarities of both classes, and form a link of connection between them. In that class we reckon *gneiss*, *mica slate*, *argillaceous slate*, *coal*, &c. The stratified formations

still matter of investigation and controversy. Have they been formed simultaneously or successively? Have they arisen independently of each other, or has the formation of the one been caused by the transformation of the other—and if so, have the stratified formations originated mechanically by the decay or the destruction of the unstratified, or the latter by the transformation of the former? These questions are still discussed by geologists, and cannot be satisfactorily answered till the fundamental enquiry, whether water or fire had been the substratum or the agent in the formation of the earth, shall be settled.

By far the greater part of modern geologists maintain that originally the earth was in a state of *igneous* fusion, that more especially the crystalline stones owe their origin to igneous fusion (*Plutonism*), and that the strata afterwards deposited by aqueous agency were repeatedly broken up by the upheaving of igneous fluid masses (*Vulcanism*), and partly changed by the influence of their heat (*Metamorphism*).

But *Neptunism*, which for a time seemed wholly conquered, has recovered from its defeat, and although as yet only represented by isolated individuals, has reappeared with a sufficiently formidable array of researches, facts, and experiences to assert its claims with energy and confidence of ultimate and certain victory. True, the system is not the Neptunism of the "*ancient regime*," but rather a transformation of it, the offspring of what is known as *Chemism*. This new school owes its origin to *Nepomuk Fuchs*, the Munich Chemist and Mineralogist. One of its most zealous advocates is *A. Wagner*, whose excellent and instructive work (*History of the Primeval World*, 2 vols. Leipz. 1857) is calculated to awaken an interest in those questions even beyond the circle of geologists. That *Chemism* is really a formidable opponent of *Plutonism* may be gathered even from the circumstance that *Bischof* of Bonn, one of the most eminent geologists, although originally a zealous advocate of *Vulcanism*,

have also been arranged into two classes called the *secondary* and *tertiary*. To the secondary formation belong the lower and more ancient strata from the red sandstone to chalk. To the tertiary formation belong all strata lying above the chalk. Then comes the *diluvial land*, being the residuum of the last general flood which had taken place before the appearance of man, and, finally, the *alluvial land*, which has been formed by inundations that have occurred in historical times.

has, in the course of his chemical investigations and experiences arrived at results (see his *Manual of Geology*, Bonn 1847—54) which do not very materially differ from the conclusions of *A. Wagner*.

But, be this as it may, the theologian *as such* is not called upon to take either one or the other side in this controversy. However lively the interest he may feel, and however deep his personal and private sympathies with one or the other party--- *his theology is not affected by the issue of the contest*. As *Theologian* it is matter of indifference to him whichever party may gain temporary ascendancy or have ultimate and complete victory.

§ 2. STATE OF THE QUESTION.

Even more than *astronomy*, the oldest of sciences, has *geology*, her youngest sister, been put forward to undermine the authority of the Bible. Her pretended or real conclusions have, with unexampled confidence, been placed side by side with those of the Biblical narrative of creation, and declared entirely inconsistent with it. Although the results of this science are as yet in part more unsatisfactory, and her conclusions less settled than those of any other, certain parties have not hesitated to ascribe to them a degree of reliableness, compared with which the statements of revelation must be withdrawn as the products of a childish superstition.

However, attempts have not been wanting to defend the authority of the Mosaic cosmogony, and to show that the opposition between it and geology is due to the fancy of evil-disposed or mistaken persons. The geological and theological literature of Britain, France, and Germany, numbers many works composed with that object in view. But generally the unprejudiced reader feels that these attempts at harmony are forced and unnatural, and that the cause of truth has been rather injured than advanced by them. Their chief defect lies in this, that, like their opponents, these advocates of the Bible have failed to perceive that it is an *exclusively religious* document. Information on questions connected with natural science has been looked for in Genesis, and

the words of Scripture have been twisted till they half agreed with the results of scientific investigation. It was not observed that from their very nature, the purely physical and the purely religious phases of the history of creation should be expected rather to supplement each other than to coincide—that the Bible teaches what lies beyond the domain of natural science, and, on the other hand, geology those phases of development which are beyond the purport and object of the Bible.

§ 3. THE BIBLE IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY GEOLOGICAL THEORY.

Four arguments are specially urged to show that geology is inconsistent with the Mosaic account of creation. The first is as follows:

The Bible teaches that the present earth was formed through the agency of water (Neptunism), while geology has placed it beyond doubt that fire, and not water, was the original and real agency in the formation of the crust of the earth.

We have already shown that the controversy between Neptunism and Vulcanism is not yet decided, and that the latter system, though still advocated by most geologists, is not quite so secure as it would fain appear. But assuming that such were the case, we have to meet the statement that the Bible embodies a system wholly opposed to that which in geology bears the name of Vulcanism or Plutonism.

The Mosaic record teaches that at the commencement of the six days, the Spirit of God moved on the *face of the waters*. But this only implies that the seer to whom we owe this account beheld at first only water. As a faithful witness he reports what he had actually seen. In the meantime, he leaves it undecided *whether we are to conceive that the whole material of the earth was dissolved in these waters, or that a solid terrestrial nucleus was covered by these waters.*

Let us see whether, in the course of this narrative, we can find any data for answering this query. On the *first day light* was

called forth out of darkness. If we were warranted thence to draw inferences, these would rather tend toward the second of the above suppositions. For if, as appears most likely, we trace this origin of light to electro-magnetic agency, this would accord much better with the idea that the earth was a firm nucleus (only covered by water), with manifold rocky strata, and hence offering points of polaristic antagonism, than if we were to conceive that the earth was in a state of complete fluidity, in which all those materials which presently are separated were mixed up and confused.

The origin of light on the first day might indeed be traced to another than electro-magnetic agency, and that a cause which would harmonise with the opposite view, viz., the *force of crystallisation*, by which the substances dissolved in these waters became immense crystallised mountains, which, as it were, constituted the skeleton of the earth. It is true that the process of crystallisation, even if accomplished by the agency of water, is attended by the evolution of light, and, if carried on on so vast a scale as that here supposed, it may have brought about an evolution of light sufficient to light up the whole earth with the clearness of day. But such an evolution of light could scarcely be conceived as regularly disappearing and returning, and as three times regularly alternating in light and darkness, in day and night.

The work of the first day, then, does not afford the means of satisfactorily deciding our enquiry. On the *second* day, the upper were separated from the lower waters. If, with *Ebrard*, *Delitzsch*, and *Nägelsbach*, we were to regard the *upper waters* as the substratum from which the upper heavenly bodies were formed, in a manner similar to that in which the present earth arose from the lower waters, the view that the globe existed already at the commencement of the six creative days would have to be abandoned. But this idea has (in chap. i. and ii.) been shown to be untenable. We are thoroughly convinced that the expression "upper waters" refers to the *clouds*, and that the *terrestrial atmosphere* was formed on the second day. In this view, then, the work of the second day does not throw light on our enquiries.

On the *third* day, the lower waters were, in obedience to

omnipotent command, gathered in separate places, and the dry land appeared. This separation of sea and land might be accounted for by the *formation of a compact globe*, and especially by the uprising of mountains, in which case it would seem to favour the first hypothesis. But certainly the text does not *necessarily* imply this. Just as at the flood (when the earth was likewise covered with water), the waters were again driven back within their former limits, without its being necessary for this purpose that mountains should rise, so here also the waters may have retired without any such agency. If, on the third day, the waters had been collected by the formation of a compact earth, the uprising of mountains, and the depression of valleys, it would almost appear unaccountable that this should not have been adverted to in the record. For, in that case, not the collecting of the waters, but the uprising and descending of portions of the earth would have been the most important and striking phenomenon, which accordingly the seer who wrote what he beheld would have described. But his statement leads us to infer that this process took place with much less disturbance than that implied in the case supposed. Nay, if in our interpretation of the text we strictly keep by its wording, we must admit that not only does it not indicate that firm land arose on the third day, but that it rather implies the opposite. It is as follows: "God said, *let the waters be gathered together in one place, that the dry land may be seen* (appear). And it was so."

The text refers only to the gathering of the waters, but not to the production of dry land. On the contrary the latter is supposed already to exist, and is now only to *appear*. In opposition to this view *Delitzsch* appeals to Ps. civ. 8 (comp. ch. i. § 7). While *Hengstenberg* renders this passage: "*They (the waters) go up to the mountains, they go down to the valleys*," he translates it with *Maurer*, *Ewald*, *Olshausen*, and others, by: "*The mountains ascended, the valleys descended*." He infers that, since this Psalm traced the progress in the work of creation, it proves that the mountains were only formed on the third day.

In former editions of this book we had adopted the view of *Hengstenberg* and controverted that of *Delitzsch*. We are now, however, constrained to recede from that position, although we still oppose the interpretation which *Delitzsch* puts on this pas-

sage, and the inferences which he draws from it. Against his translation we had formerly urged the *connection* between vers. 9 and 8. In ver. 9 we read: "Thou hast set a bound which they do not pass over, they do not return to cover the earth," evidently referring to the *waters* mentioned in ver. 6, and which no doubt are also spoken of in ver. 7: "at thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of Thy thunder they hasted away." We thought it impossible that ver. 8 should pass on to *another* subject (to the mountains and valleys), and yet ver. 9 again return to that of ver. 7 (the waters). *Delitzsch* has recognised the force of this argument, and attempted to set it aside, although in an unsatisfactory manner. He observes: "Perhaps we should interpret it thus: 'The mountains ascended; they (the waters) descended into the valleys, unto the place which thou has founded for them.' This interpretation of ver. 8 removes the objection that in ver. 7 and in ver. 9 'the waters' are the principal subject." But manifestly this is merely a device to escape a difficulty. In a grammatical point of view, indeed, both modes of translation are warranted. But from the parallelism of the two sentences and the correspondence between the words "mountains" and "valleys," and "ascend" and "descend," it is plain that we must adopt for both clauses either one or the other interpretation. A confusion of the two is as much opposed to the rules of poetry as of hermeneutics, and leads to difficulties greater than those which it is intended to remove. But, in truth, the change of subject in ver. 9 (that in ver. 8 requires not explanation) is not of very great importance. We account for it on the ground of poetical license, common especially in Hebrew.

Of greater force is the objection that the mountains, which according to this view only arise in ver. 8, are already assumed as existing in ver. 6: "The deep, as with a garment, hast Thou covered; *the waters stood above the mountains.*" To this *Delitzsch* replies by paraphrasing "the mountains"—viz., those which were to arise. But this is quite arbitrary. Mountains are not plains or valleys which may afterwards uprise into mountains. If there were no other mode of explaining the difficulty, it would be impossible to render ver. 8 otherwise than *Hengstenberg* has done. But we are convinced that this need not be the case. *Olshausen* apply remarks on ver. 8: "Mountains ascend, valleys

descend; at least it appears so to the onlooker when the level of the water falls." The expression is then a figure of speech so simple, so natural, and so common among poets, that it removes every difficulty. It is a pictorial and poetic mode of expression which ver. 6 prevents from being misunderstood.

We have felt constrained to adopt the version "mountains ascend" from the circumstance that the other translation is in direct opposition to ver. 7, where the waters are said to flee at the rebuke of Jehovah. Manifestly the voice of God is there represented as *almighty*, and it is impossible to conceive that in the succeeding verse the waters should be described as not immediately restrained but as still in a state of rebellion. Again, our version is the plainest and most obvious, although the other is, grammatically speaking, not unwarranted.

But, as already stated, all this does not interfere with our conviction that Ps. civ. 6—9 militates quite as much as Gen. i. 9 against the view that the firm land was only formed on the third creative day. This is sufficiently shown by ver. 5, according to which the *foundations* of the earth were already laid (a conclusion confirmed by the close of ver. 8, "unto the place which Thou hadst *founded* for them")—and by ver. 6, which informs us that the *mountains* existed before the third creative day, described in vers. 7—9, had commenced.

Neither in Gen. i. nor in any other place does the Bible assert aught either as to the process, period, or mode of the formation of mountains. On the contrary these are pre-supposed as already existing, and creation commences at a time when the mountains and the earth's crust are there, but still covered by a flood which destroyed and which prevents all life, and after the removal of which the present state of the earth, with its plants, animals, and men, was immediately restored. But if this be the case, how, we ask, can the Bible not be reconciled either with any present or possible theory as to the formation of the earth? The "*thohu vabohu*" which preceded creation, and the limits, duration, action, and reaction of which are not described, affords room for the absolute sway of Neptune or of Vulcan, or indeed for any possible duration, mode, or issue of their contest. Is it thought that "millions of years" were requisite to make the crust of the earth what it presently is

—we may be as lavish in conceding as geologists are bold in demanding. The only thing we demand in return, and which no geological theory *can* or *will* deny, is, that it be conceded to us that before the appearance of man, and of the present plants and animals, the globe was covered with water. It does not matter whether this flood is regarded as the only one which had ever taken place, or as the last of a very long series; all that concerns us is that whatever form geology may assume it cannot dispense with *water* as an agent in the formation of the earth. If it insist upon *ten* floods instead of merely one, we are only the more certain that one of them must be that of which the Bible speaks. In this the religious bearing of the Word appears that it does not anticipate human science nor solve problems which fall within the province of empirical investigation. Hence the results of science can never be opposed to the Bible, nor even lead to a dangerous contest with it. Revelation leaves a “carte blanche” for the results of natural science. It neither advocates Vulcanism nor Neptunism; it only teaches what concerns the soul. It decides as little in the controversy between these geological parties as in that between Homœopathy and Allopathy.

§ 4. THE BIBLE DOES NOT TEACH THAT THE EARTH WAS FORMED IN SIX DAYS.

We turn now to the second argument against the Bible drawn from geology. It is said:

The Bible teaches that the earth in its present state required only six times twenty-four hours for its formation, while geology has proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that many thousand—nay, perhaps millions—of years were required before the present earth’s crust, with its many and varied formations, could be produced, or the many successive creations could take place, continue, and pass away.

However extravagant the assertions of geologists, it is not our purpose to controvert them, but rather to enquire whether,

supposing them to be true, they can be reconciled with the Bible. The common plan—adopted and supported also by *Delitzsch* and *Rougemont*—is to assign to each of the creative days not a common or terrestrial, but a prophetic and Divine duration of indeterminable length. The fallacy of this view we have already shown (ch. i. § 4, ch. ii. § 2). But we also appeal with all confidence to the conclusion at which we have arrived, viz. that the Bible gives no information about the origin and formation of mountains, but presupposes them as existing before the commencement of the creative days. If, then, these strata originated before the period of the Biblical creation, so must also the Fauna and Flora which lie buried and petrified in them. Between the first and the second, and between the second and third verses of Gen. i., Revelation leaves two blank pages on which Science may write to fill up the gaps which Revelation has left in regard to subjects which lay beyond its province. Holy Writ has only furnished an inscription, or brief table of contents to each of these “cartes blanches.” The first reads: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” How this was done, or in what space of time, what followed, what evolutions or revolutions had taken place, till the period described in ver. 2—Scripture does not indicate. Human science—if it can—may fill up the blank. The second inscription reads: “And the earth was without form and void, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.” Revelation does not tell what effects this moving of the Spirit had produced; what formations He had called forth, what took place in those depths so long as darkness covered them, the seer beheld not and hence described not. Only when it became light, he distinguished what took place, and *there his report commences*.

In these two inscriptions has Revelation laid an immovable foundation, by which Atheism and Pantheism are at once deprived of all support. Let experience, combination, speculation, natural science, philosophy, and theology, attempt to build on this foundation. But other foundation can no man lay, and here also applies the saying of the apostle, 1 Cor. iii. 12—15, both in its warning and promise. The formation of the strata, and the history of their petrified organisms, belong to a period anterior to Gen. i. 3. But whether they should be placed be-

tween ver. 1 and ver. 2, or between ver. 2 and ver. 3, each one who is anxious to reconcile the results of human science with the statements of revelation, may settle as best he can. The defender of the Bible can feel no special interest how that question is decided—suffice it, that he has assigned to geology a place where its conclusions can without let or hindrance be inserted.

Natural science has only to investigate the present state of nature. In one respect it matters not how the philosophy of nature may arrange or explain these results, nor whether it is able to do so at all. It is certainly one of the most difficult problems assigned to that philosophy, to explain those creations which have passed away before man appeared, and which have for thousands of years lain buried in their rocky graves. Religious philosophy, and even theological investigations and speculation, may take part in the attempt to solve these riddles. Difficulties and perplexities may increase—but they neither devolve on the student of natural science nor on the exegetical student, so long as each keeps a clear conscience. The faithful enquirer into the mysteries of nature, and he who searches the deep things of revelation, may comfort themselves with the statement of the apostle (1 Cor. xiii.): “For we know in part and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.”

§ 5. THE BIBLE DOES NOT ADVERT TO THE CREATION OF THE NOW PETRIFIED ORGANISMS.

The third argument urged to show the incompatibility of the Bible with the results of natural science is derived from the successive appearance of organic formations.

The Bible teaches a simple succession of three creations: on the third day plants, on the fifth aquatic animals and

birds, on the sixth land animals and man were created. But geology shows that in each of the different periods of creation the different classes of plants and animals had simultaneously been made and co-existed, and that the progression which had taken place in them was quite different from that detailed in the Bible.

In the solution of this difficulty, those interpreters who have endeavoured to show that the geological series in the periods of organic creation coincided with the Biblical series of animals and plants destined for man, have been singularly unsuccessful. Without entering on their explanations, we are able to protect the authority of the Bible from the attacks of geological sciolists. *The only possible and sufficient proof that the Bible is not incompatible with geology is derived from the frank and full admission that these two series cannot be made to agree.* Apparently contradictory events and facts may be reconciled in one of two ways. It may either be shown that they are *identical*, and that their difference is merely apparent, or arises from a misunderstanding. This mode of conciliation has been adopted by those to whom we have adverted—and their attempts have, as might be expected, signally failed. Or else it may be admitted that the difference of apparently contradictory facts is real, in which case it is no longer sought to show that they are identical, while, however, at the same time proof is led to show that they are not contradictory but true, when regarded as separate events. This is the plan which *Buckland* (in the *Bridgewater Treatise*), and after him *A. Wagner* and *Hengstenberg*, have adopted, and which we do not hesitate to characterise as the only correct one.

Above we have arrived at the conclusion that the Bible says nothing about the formation of the earth's crust and of mountains, and that the Hexaemeron (as well as Ps. civ.) presupposes them as already existing. Hence the organisms also which lie concealed in these strata originated not *during* but *previous* to the six creative days. We hold that the creation of plants and animals which the Bible relates is different from, and posterior to, that of the organisms which geology brings forth from their rocky graves. To the latter the Bible does not refer, since it was only concerned to narrate the creation of those animals and plants which were assigned to man. It professes to be a rule of

faith, and not a manual of geology. But those plants and animals whose creation the Bible relates are not found entombed in the strata, since the latter were formed before that creation commenced. The question as to the order in which their first representatives appeared can manifestly find no place in the Scriptures.

§ 6. DEATH ON THE PRE-ADAMITE EARTH.

We arrive now at the *fourth* and last objection, which has been urged by *Oerstedt*, the celebrated discover of Electro-Magnetism (in his well-known work, "The Spirit in Nature"), and by *Charles Vogt*, in opposition to Biblical statements.

The Bible teaches that sickness and death had entered the world only after the fall of man, and through him, and that the destruction of the animal body formed not part of the original arrangement of nature, but had entered at a later period. But geology shows that even before the appearance of man, disease and death had reigned upon the earth, and carnivorous animals had existed. Whole worlds of living beings had become the prey of death, and among the individual species we discover a number of carnivorous animals which, from the first, and by creation, had been so organised as to bring death to other animals which at the same time with them inhabited the earth. Manifest marks of disease in the bones of primeval animals also prove that among these animals also death had been the natural and continuous goal of life.

In this case also we will not discuss the statements of these geologists, but shall content ourselves with asserting that they are compatible with the narrative of the Bible. The argument proceeds on the supposition than man's sin had brought disease and death into the world, *i.e.*, not only among men but also among animals. This has indeed been the commonly received view, but it is not the express doctrine of the Bible. Wherever the Scriptures refer to death as the wages of sin, the expression

applies only to man; nor does any passage expressly warrant us in applying it to animals also. This, however, has been commonly done, and the Biblical view has by a process of theological combination, analogy, and inference, been developed and generalised in accordance with this view. But if science could really prove that the inference is incorrect, we might at once drop it without in any way injuring the authority of the Bible. Nor has this statement ever been propounded as a dogma. Christianity has always proclaimed it as a fundamental dogma that by sin death has entered into the *world of man*—but not that *animals* would not have died if man had not sinned. Since the Bible is silent on the point, we hold that biblically either of the above two propositions were admissible. The original immortality of the physical life of man depended on the circumstance that he was a personal, spiritual being, created in the image of God. His mortality was due to the fact that through sin he had become separated from the great type and source of his personality. While, therefore, so far as man was concerned, death was a perversion of his bodily nature (as sin was of his spiritual nature)—this cannot be said of animals, since their nature offers no absolute ground for claiming immortality for them. If such existed, it could only be derived from the relation existing between animals and man, not from their own nature. Similarly we might conceive it possible, that from the first animals had been intended to feed upon each other, although not to attack man, as at present is the case, since he was destined to be their absolute lord. Perhaps this carnivorous tendency of some species of animals may have formed part of the original economy of nature. Perhaps man was destined, as the ruler of nature, to have restrained those excesses which have now assumed so fearful a character;—perhaps it might even have been his to conduct the economy of nature to a higher stage in which these antagonisms would have given place to a higher harmony.

However, we will not deny it that we have adopted the opposite view from this, although we do not consider it as expressly taught in Scripture, and hence not as claiming our implicit and unconditional submission. We regard it as an amplification of the Biblical doctrine, derived from analogy and combination, and hence possibly erroneous. It must be traced not so much

to objective revelation as to the subjective Christian consciousness. The Bible, indeed, teaches expressly that sin has not only led to a disturbing catastrophe in the physical and psychical life of man, but also introduced changes in the life of nature which stands in closest connection with that of man. It is distinctly declared: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake, thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee." This statement applies, indeed, in the first place, only to plants. But the inference is almost inevitable that the animal kingdom was at that time affected in similar manner, and that when thorns and thistles sprung up among plants, rapaciousness and desire after blood appeared in the animal kingdom. This transformation must indeed have been very deep, and have affected the entire organisation of many species of animals, which are presently so constituted that the use of flesh is necessary for them. Both in the transformation of the vegetable and the animal kingdom, we cannot account for the changes by a mere degeneracy. We are obliged to assume that as the pristine tendency had been given in creation as a blessing, so this new direction must be traced to a Divine judgment and punishment. This supposition seems warranted, since it is almost implied in the curse pronounced on the ground for the sake of man. The prediction in *Is. xi. 6—9*, according to which, at the time of restitution, "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the cow and the bear shall feed, and the lion eat straw like the ox," seems also to favour this view. For even though the imagery of this description of a blessed future had been borrowed from the animal kingdom in order to exhibit a measure of peace hitherto unattained, there must be some foundation of reality in the picture, from which therefore we may draw inferences as to the original state of the animal kingdom. Lastly, we may, in corroboration of this view, appeal to the well-known statement of Paul concerning the groaning of creation, made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope that itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (*Rom. viii. 19, &c.*). It cannot be doubted that this creation, waiting and groaning, includes also the animal kingdom.

Do we then labour to strengthen the position of our op-

ponents? Nay, but we feel convinced that it is not at all formidable to us. Their argument confounds two heterogeneous things. It proceeds on the state of primeval organisms which had been created *before* man, but not *for* him, and had not existed *along with him*. Its inference would only be warranted if it could establish that what has been the case in regard to primeval animals had continued before sin made its appearance; in short, if it could point out the remains of animals which had not only lived, but died *before* the fall. Even then the conclusion would be doubtful, since, as we have shown, the Bible does not expressly trace the diseases and the rapacity of animals to the fall of man.

Those primeval animals of which the remains are found buried in the strata, were not created in the Biblical six days; like the rocks which hold them, they belong to a period which Revelation does not describe. Theirs is a world quite different from ours, and which has perished long ago. If there we descry murder, disease, and death, this does not prove that the same must from the first have taken place in our world. Perhaps the primeval world had been doomed to destruction because it witnessed murder and death—perhaps it was meant to give place to another world which originally bore not traces of these horrors, and which might have remained without them. Thus much, however, we will admit, that the world which lies buried in these strata—in the state in which there we discover it—may not be regarded as having *thus* proceeded from the creative hand of God. As sin and rebellion have brought murder and death into our world, some element of opposition to the Deity must likewise have introduced and given them supremacy in that primeval world. To form a reliable judgment on these questions, we should have to study the history of that world. But of this we can only gather individual and uncertain features.

§ 7. PALÆONTOLOGY.

We have shown that any actual or possible conclusions of geology cannot conflict with the Bible, and that it takes no part in the controversy as between Vulcanism and Neptunism. We

have also learned that the statements of the Bible and of natural science concerning the formation of the earth have a different object in view, and, instead of militating, supplement each other. Between us and geologists there is no discussion. We do not controvert either the real or the imaginary results of their investigations; we leave any such contest to themselves in the firm conviction that theology has nothing to lose or to gain whatever party may ultimately secure the victory. But there is a province of geology which has of late become the arena of the most keen theological (not merely geological) discussions. We refer to *Paleontology*, or to the science concerning that vast cemetery in which millions and billions of former organisms lie entombed. We will not withdraw from this contest, since we cannot acknowledge ourselves to have formerly been worsted, and feel that the question is of sufficient importance in a theological point of view.

§ 8. ORIGIN OF PETRIFIED ORGANISMS.

We have already frequently hinted that the stratified formations of the earth's crust form the tomb of an immense world which had at one time enjoyed life. Let us, under trustworthy guidance, seek to find our way in this labyrinth of a petrified world, and question those witnesses and monuments, to see *whether* and *what* they can tell us about themselves, or about the time, duration, and mode of their origin, life, and decay. The first enquiry which here meets us is whether or not we are to regard the origin of these organisms as identical with the creation recorded in Genesis i. In opposition to many theologians we return a negative answer to this query, and we do so from a comparison of the conclusions of Biblical exegesis with those of geognostic Palæontology. From a geological point of view, it cannot be denied that these organisms cannot be of later date than the strata in which they are found, and that their term of existence had closed with the completion of these strata. Even this circumstance would in itself be decisive. Besides, we have already shown that the Bible relates nothing about the origin of the crust of the earth, and indeed presupposes it as already

existing at the commencement of the six creative days. It cannot, therefore, be supposed to describe the origin of the palæontological Fauna and Flora, whose term must have been run before the earth was prepared to become the dwelling-place of man. Lastly, we have already seen (chap. i. § 4) that each of the creative days must be regarded not as a period of indefinite duration, but as a natural and ordinary day. But if we were to suppose that those petrified organisms were produced on the third, fifth, and sixth days, we should have to regard these days as so many successive geological periods, consisting each of thousands if not "millions" of years, in order to secure sufficient time for their origin, life, and decay, and for the formation of those immense sarcophagi in which they lie entombed.

§ 9. CONTINUATION.

Proofs of the correctness of this view accumulate as we proceed. If we compare the specimens of petrified organisms with those presently in existence, we find that they may all be ranged under the great *class*-divisions of the present vegetable and animal kingdoms. But it is otherwise when we descend to *tribes*. Admitting that *all* the old tribes are not extinct, and that some of them are still found, it cannot be doubted that the greater part of those types which perished in the primeval world has become wholly extinct, and *vice versa*, that many of the existing types were not represented in the primeval world. Further, if we compare the various *species*, it is not only probable, but almost demonstrated, that not a single animal or vegetable species of the primeval world has been preserved; at least none has as yet been discovered which may be pointed out as *identical* with any that presently exists. The vegetable and animal kingdoms of the strata are, therefore, very different from those of our world. On the other hand, it is evident that those plants and animals, of which *the Bible* speaks, were intended to continue and to remain with man on the earth, and not completely to disappear before the appearance of man. This may be gathered even from the terms in which we are told that grass, herbs, and trees—each after *their* own kind—had fruit and seed by which to propagate

their species, from the emphasis with which we are assured that every type of animals was created *after its own kind*, and from the circumstance that each obtained the blessing, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters and the earth." Besides, the Bible manifestly refers to the creation of organisms which had indeed been produced *before* man, but still, and on that very ground, were destined *for* him. For every herb bearing seed, upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is fruit, was given to man for meat; and with reference to animals man was commanded to subdue them, and to have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moved upon the earth. The plants on which he was to feed, and the beasts over which he was to have dominion, were evidently those whose creation is related in that chapter; hence the organisms described in the Bible must also be those which were destined to live *along with man*, or, generally speaking, the plants and animals presently existing. The same inference may be gathered from the constant repetition of the statement: "and God saw that it was good." Being good, these creatures must have been destined to continue and not to perish. Lastly, the correctness of this view appears from the account of the flood, where the destruction of the animal kingdom is explained on the ground that not only man, but the earth also, was corrupt, and that all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

Thus the Bible narrative and the results of geological investigation concerning extinct organisms are opposed to each other. But this antagonism is counterbalanced by that within the domain of natural science. For the same contradictions are found to exist between the primeval and the present world, between geology and natural history. The organisms of the primeval world are not the animals and plants of the Mosaic cosmogony, but neither are they those of historical times, while the organisms of the Biblical narrative are those with which natural history presently makes us acquainted. Thus the supposed contradiction is entirely removed. The types purged in the rocks were not destined to continue perpetually, or else have not attained their destination; they were not created for *man*, and have not been his contemporaries on earth. Long before he appeared they had become extinct, and were shut up in their

rocky graves. Only after the lapse of 6000 years has man beheld their bones, and they now present an enigma which natural science will probably never solve—as if to convince us of the inadequacy of our powers at the very period when science pretends to be able to explain everything. Beyond doubt *the fossils of the rocks cannot represent those organisms whose creation the Bible relates*. It speaks not of the petrifications and Entozoa of geology: it refers only to those beings which were created for man, partly for his nourishment and partly as means of, or aids to, his own peculiar activity. On the other hand geology does not treat of *those* creatures which, according to the Scriptures, were called forth on the third, fifth, and sixth days, nor can this science take notice of them, since their types were intended to continue and not to perish, and their families were not to be petrified in strata, but each individual was to decay in the ordinary manner, so that their bones have mostly passed away without leaving any trace. As the Bible gives no countenance to the idea, that the crust of the earth was formed on the fifth or sixth day, and implies that sea and land had previously already existed, so neither does it admit the hypothesis according to which the work of the fifth and sixth days is relegated into previous days. It does not describe the origin of the crust of the earth and the creation of organic beings as having taken place at the same time, but as having occurred the one after the other.

Hence what geology relates belongs to a period anterior to that which the history of creation describes. Geology cannot serve as a witness for the truth of what the Bible reports to have taken place, but neither can it bear testimony against it. Any such attempt must be a false testimony, since it bears not on what geology has seen, but on what it has fancied or invented. Every attempt, therefore, to harmonise the Bible and geology by setting aside this relationship, or by seeking to represent the formation of the earth's crust as having taken place on the fifth or sixth day, or the creations of those days as having occurred at the time when the formation of the earth was not yet finished, does violence to Scripture and harm to the good cause. Nay, it is also opposed to the results of natural investigation, since, contrary to all evidence, it attempts to identify the

organisms of the primeval world with those of our own. But if this be the position taken up by most theologians, we need not wonder that their attempts at conciliation have proved unsatisfactory and illusory. To *Schubert* belongs the merit of having been the first in his able writings to point out the right way of treating this subject, and to *A. Wagner* belongs the credit of having successfully followed it out, thereby satisfactorily showing the agreement between the Bible and geology.

§ 10. THE FLORA AND FAUNA OF THE PRIMEVAL WORLD.

We next turn to another conclusion of palæontology which likewise confirms our view. Not less striking or important than the results of a comparison between the Flora and Fauna of the primeval and the present world, are those derived from a comparative examination of the former. The same difference of species, types and families, the same separation and isolation which we had formerly noticed to obtain between the primeval and the present world, is also found to exist between the various forms of life which occur in the different rocky formations of the primeval world.

This fact has indeed been controverted. *Bronn* mentions that different formations occasionally contain specimens of other strata. Thus the formation of St Cassian in the Tyrol is said among 422 kinds of petrification to contain 389, which are peculiar to itself, seven that are the same as those of carboniferous limestone and compact limestone, and five that are analogous to them; four that are the same as those of the Trias (new red sandstone), and six that are analogous to them; four that are the same as those of the Lias, and seven that are analogous to them; one the same as a kind found in the Jura, and two analogous to them. But the conclusions of other celebrated Palæontologists are opposed to those of *Bronn*. Thus *Agassiz* remarks: "I hold it to be demonstrated that the totality of organic beings was renewed *not only in the intervals of each of those great periods* which we designate as *formations*, *but also in the stratification of each separate division of every formation*. Nor do I believe in the genetic descent of the living species from the

different tertiary divisions which have been regarded as identical, but which I hold to be *specifically different*, so that I cannot adopt the idea of a transformation of the species of one formation into that of another. In enunciating these conclusions, let it be understood that they are not inductions derived from the study of one particular class of animals (such as fishes), and applied to other classes, but the results of direct comparison of very considerable collections of petrifications of different formations and classes of animals."

The same author speaks of this difference in the following very guarded terms: "It cannot be controverted that each formation has its own peculiar forms, and that these constitute the *greater part* of what they contain. Similarly is it certain that different kinds do not always intermingle when two kinds of rocks are contiguous, but this only takes place in a *very few instances*. On this account we are warranted in doubting this fact till repeated investigations of well-preserved and well-defined specimens shall have placed its correctness beyond question. . . . Besides, even where outward forms apparently agree, we cannot at once infer that two specimens are the same, since the colour or appearance of the animal might have disclosed divergencies which we cannot perceive in the petrifications. At least we would be at a loss in determining living species if we were deprived of these characteristic and often indispensable marks." Even if *Bronn's* opinion were therefore confirmed, the general fact (which mere exceptions could not remove) would still remain, that there is a peculiar genetic relationship, not only between different rocks, but frequently even between the strata of one and the same formation, and the organic types which they contain, and the conclusion would still be that each formation had its own independent creation, and hence that with every formation the act of creation was renewed. But the Bible speaks only of one creation of organic life, and could, therefore, at most, allude to only one of these many creations. But that even this is not the case is manifest from the fact that the Bible refers to the organisms which were created for man, and hence still continue; while the "transition" and stratified formations only contain types which became extinct long before man appeared.

§ 11. CONTINUATION.

It has already been stated that the *primary formations* do not contain any fossils. These appear only in the “transition” and stratified formations. This circumstance cannot have arisen from the particular period when the primary formations were completed—as if the tendency to *organic* life had only appeared after that—since even those primary rocks which date from the time of the “transition” and stratified formations contain no traces of organic life. The circumstance must be due to the *nature* of these rocks, either according to *Vulcanism*, from the igneous state of their material—or according to *Neptunism*, from the crystalline nature of that material which did not admit of the formation of organic life, since crystallisation and organisation are opposite poles. If we prosecute our enquiries into fossils, we find that in the earliest periods of the earth organic beings were much more equally spread, and that the difference of longitude and latitude exercised no influence either on the variety of types or the number of the individuals. Another difference between the Fauna and Flora of the earliest and the present period of the earth *is the want of proportion between land and aquatic animals*. “Not only are land animals wholly wanting in the older formations, but even in the later stratas of the secondary period they occur very rarely, and it is doubtful whether there had been any land animals which did not inhabit the water at some stage of their existence.” Some writers have laid hold on this circumstance, and largely dwelt on it as corroborating the Biblical narrative, according to which aquatic animals had been created on the *fourth*, and land animals only on the *fifth* day. But this view is altogether fallacious. It is indeed true that in the different formations we notice a regular progression in the stages of life, but *not* one such as that of which the Bible speaks. According to its statements the vegetable kingdom was first created, and after it the animal, in the following succession, viz.,—aquatic animals first, then birds, and lastly land animals. But what says geology? “It is indeed true that the highest classes of animals and plants (the

Mammalia and Dicotyledonous plants) only occur at the latest period of stratification; but even at the *earliest* period the four great types of the animal kingdom (vertebrata, articulata, mollusca, and radiata) appeared simultaneously, and, so far as the three last mentioned classes are concerned, in their highest grades; so that we only trace a progression in reference to the vertebrata. The vegetable kingdom seems at first, and during the 'transition' formations, to have been much more simple, being confined to cryptogamic plants, and to even few specimens of those." The successive progression rather consists in this, that as earlier forms became extinct, the types become more like those which presently exist. The higher we ascend the more distinct becomes this tendency, most of all in the *tertiary strata*: there strange and paradox forms wholly disappear, and the physiognomy bears a totally different expression. "Its prevailing character is that presently existing: its types, even though in part they are no longer represented in forms still existing, fit into the general order of the present period of creation. They are found within more narrow limits than during the preceding period, and their types are commonly not restricted to certain rocks, but found in others also. The majority of these animals were warm blooded. The distinction between those animals which live in salt water and those which live in fresh water, and that between land and aquatic animals, is thoroughly carried out. We find a large number of dicotyledonous plants, so that the flora of the tertiary period resembles that of the present time." From what we have said above, it is evident that all this cannot be held to be in any way opposed to the statements of the Bible. Any conflict could only arise from an attempt to confound what Scripture, science, and reason proclaim to be distinct. Here also the adage applies: "*Distingue tempora et concordabit Scriptura.*" To have left this principle unheeded is the grand objection to most of the attempts at harmonising the Bible and geology. Thus the celebrated *Marcel de Serres* was too well acquainted with geological facts to attempt distorting them. But how grievously did he wrest Scripture—despite his reverence for it—in order to bring it into accordance with geology. Others, again, have done similar violence to science. The mistakes of *M. de Serres* have been

repeatedly exposed by *Wagner*. But as his method is so frequently adopted and so much vaunted, while it offers such occasion of scoffing to adversaries, we will, in a few sentences, refute this theory also. According to *de Serres* the "transition" and secondary stratifications with their fossil organisms were formed during the second half of the third and on the fifth day, while the creation of the organisms buried in the tertiary stratifications took place on the sixth day. This theory is based partly on the hypothesis that the great coal-strata are of vegetable origin, and partly on the fact that warm-blooded land-animals appear only in the tertiary stratifications, or, at most, and in rare and doubtful instances, in the latest secondary formations. But the above hypothesis has been amply refuted by *Raumer*, *Wagner*, and others, while, on the contrary, it has been shown that in the earlier formations only, a few simple and poor specimens of plants occur, and that they only appear in any number and in the more developed form of dicotyledonous plants in the tertiary stratifications.—Nor does it require proof that the "transition" and stratified formations cannot have originated on the fifth creative day. The trifling coincidence that the Bible and geology represent aquatic animals as having originated before land animals is of no importance when placed alongside of such great divergences. We read nothing of extinct creations in the description of the fifth and sixth days, but only of such as were created for man and intended to continue for his use. Besides, while in the earliest formations, plants and animals appear simultaneously, the Bible informs us that one kingdom and one class of animals was called forth after the other. It is only necessary to read the text to see how unsatisfactory is the reply to this objection, to the effect that the Bible only referred to the preponderance of one class over the other. But enough of this. We abide by our former views. There is no disagreement between the Bible and geology. Geology does not treat of the last creation which was designed for man, nor does the Bible refer to those organisms which were only transient phenomena belonging to an embryo-age of the earth.

§ 12. CONCLUSION.

We have, by many and weighty arguments, proved that the animal and vegetable world, which lies buried in the stratified formations, was not that which, according to the Bible, was created respectively on the third, fifth, and sixth days, and that its origin must belong to an earlier period. Yet, according to *Delitzsch*, this is a mere delusion. "It is pure delusion," he observes, "to suppose that another creation of animals had preceded that which took place on the fifth day." But in view of the arguments above adduced, we venture to apply to himself his own language, and to say:

It is merely a delusion to attempt identifying the creation of the primeval fossil Flora and Fauna with those of the third, fifth, and sixth days, and at the same time to endeavour harmonising geology and the Bible.

Like this writer we strenuously assert that an impartial comparison of the results of geology with the statements of Holy Writ, rightly understood, will prove that the two harmonise. But we cannot for that purpose adopt any method which could either do violence to the plain language of Scripture, or to the well-established conclusions of geology. But the common mode of harmonising errs in both respects. For

(1). It is *evident*, that Scripture describes the creative days as natural and ordinary days (having evening and morning, light and darkness), while in order to identify the geological with the Biblical creation, it is necessary to represent them as periods of "Divine duration," each comprising thousands, nay, perhaps "millions of terrestrial years."

(2). It is *evident*, that we read only of *one* general inundation within the six creative days (Gen. i. 2—10) to which, on the third day, bounds were assigned which were not to be passed till the flood. But the above theory requires that we should suppose that a number of inundations had taken place in order to account for the numerous secondary and tertiary stratifications which are thought to have taken place on the fifth and sixth days.

(3). Scripture *plainly* states that the mountains of the earth existed, *at any rate*, on the *third* day. But this theory requires us to believe that the secondary and tertiary (if not the primary) strata and rocks had been formed on the fifth and sixth days.

(4). Scripture *plainly* states that plants *only*, and not animals of any kind, were created on the third day, and animals *only*, but not trees and plants, on the fifth and sixth days. But according to this theory, these Biblical are the same as the geological periods of which each has *both* its plants and animals.

(5). It is *evident* that the Hexameron only speaks of three periods of organic creation, while geology recounts as many as there are stratifications. Yet the above theory identifies the Biblical with the geological creation.

(6). Lastly, it is *evident* on the one hand that the Flora and Fauna of the primeval world had perished *before* man appeared, and hence could not have been destined to continue along with man on the earth; and on the other hand, that according to the clear and unequivocal statements of Scripture the Flora and Fauna created during the six days was created *for* man, and destined to continue on earth along with him. Yet the above theory confounds these two kinds of Flora and Fauna.

I.

HISTORY

OF THE

OLD COVENANT.

nations, on the basis of a salvation which, in the fulness of time, *had actually been accomplished.*

HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 2. It is the object of the *History of the Old Covenant* to present the various stages of development which that covenant has called forth during the period intervening between its starting-point and what when its final aim was attained. It exhibits these stages in their succession; it points out their origin, tendencies, effects, and counter-effects, and it shows their organic connection with each other and with the grand aim to which each of them subserves. Further, it indicates all along its course what particular import attaches, and what effects are really due to each of the two great factors on whose co-operation the covenant depends—we mean the Divine and the human agency—and what relation they occupy to each other.

(1.) The two points which constitute the boundary lines of the history of the Old Covenant are God's entering into covenant with Abraham, the ancestor of the chosen nation, on the one hand; and, on the other, the objective exhibition of salvation by the incarnation of God in Christ. But a historical fact, especially if it is the commencement of a new era in history which is to prove so full of life and so rich in events, does not appear abruptly and without any preparation, like a *deus ex machina*. It has always its germ and root in a former period—excepting, of course, where itself was the commencement of all time. Hence our record will have to extend beyond the period when God entered into covenant with Abraham, that so we may consider that fact in its organic connection with the past and the present, and view it both as a historical necessity and as an act of Divine sovereignty. Again, as history has not only to do with the idea, which, so to speak, constitutes the subject matter and the soul of the development, but also with the *form* in which that subject matter made its outward appearance, with the *body* used as the vehicle of that soul, our narrative will not stop short at the period when the great salvation was exhibited, but go beyond it, and follow the development of the Jewish state and nation until its final dissolution.

NOTE.—The designation of *Ecclesiastical History of the Old Testament*, formerly given to such a history, is inappropriate,

because it implies a virtual surrender of the peculiar idea attaching to the word *Church*.

RELATION BETWEEN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT AND SACRED HISTORY GENERALLY.

(Compare Kurtz's Preliminaries for a new construction of sacred history, in the "Zeitschr. für luther. Theol. u. Kirche," 1842, Part III., and 1843 Part I.).

§ 3. The history of the Old Covenant bears continual and lively reference to the Divine plan of salvation. Hence it forms part of *sacred* history, although only as constituting one stage of, not as summing up that history. For, the latter traces that Divine plan of salvation (Eph. i. 11) from its first pregnant manifestation in the creation of the world to its final and perfect realisation in the *συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων* (Heb. ix. 26), following all its forms and tendencies, all its developments and contests. The history of the Old Covenant only follows the development of the Divine counsel till salvation is *objectively* presented in the person of Christ, the God-man; sacred history traces this plan until, *subjectively* also, salvation shall have attained full realisation in the *creature*. The former reached its goal when God became incarnate (ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήρωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, John i. 14), the latter will only close when man shall be received into full communion with the Divine nature (γενόμενοι θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, 2 Pet. i. 4, comp. with John xvii. 21—24; 1 John iii. 2; Rom. viii. 17); in the former case the progress of history tends towards the ἐνσάρκωσις θεοῦ, in the latter (through the Ensarkosis of God) toward the ἐνθέωσις ἀνθρώπου. And, just as sacred history extends *beyond* the goal of the history of the Old Covenant, so also is its starting point at a period *anterior* to its commencement. Sacred history commences with the creation of the world, while the history of the Old Covenant only begins when God entered into covenant with Abraham. The developments which preceded this covenant are merely introductory and preparatory to our history, and we will refer to them only because and in so far as they are subservient to this aim. But such is not the relation of these events

to sacred history. They lie not beyond but within its province; they constitute not its preparatory stage, but rather are that infinitely fertile *commencement* of sacred history, containing and enclosing in germ all the various developments which shall appear at its close, and into which the latter dovetails, thereby forming a circle which cannot be broken.

(1.) The history of the Old Covenant constitutes, therefore, an organic part of sacred history. In its commencement it stands connected with sacred history by the reasons which called it into being; at its close by the results of its development. This also constitutes its religious importance. But it may also be viewed and presented separately, inasmuch as it is complete in itself, and therefore intelligible by itself; for the principle from which it started, the idea which it contained, and the aim toward which it tended, have been attained when salvation was exhibited in Christ; and this convergence of beginning, middle, and end into one whole constitutes *its scientific warrant*. Compare the addition to § 32.

CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

(Comp. Chr. A. Crusius hypomnemata ad theol. prophetic. 3 voll. 1764. J. Chr. Hoffmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung im alten u. neuen Test., 1841-44. Fr. Delitzsch, die bibl. proph. Theol. etc., 1845, p. 172. R. Stier, Jesaias nicht Pseudo-Jes. 1850, p. i.-xxxiii.)

§ 4. If the incarnation of God in Christ (as the central and turning point of all history, the condition and the means of the Enthosis of man) was the predetermined aim of the Old Covenant, the goal which it ultimately reached, and if, as the very idea of a covenant implies, this goal was to be attained by the co-operation of the two parties who entered into covenant, it follows that the history of this covenant must have exhibited a *twofold* activity, a divine and a human, and that the whole of its course must be pervaded by a corresponding *double series of developments*. As the incarnation of God had not the salvation of the Deity, but that of man for its aim, the Divine agency at work in the covenant must be viewed as a manifestation of

Divine grace. On the other hand, as salvation could not be forced upon man, who is a free and personal being, but could only be received by him in an act of free determination, the agency of man at work in this covenant must be viewed as a manifestation of *human liberty*. Although at first only in a preparatory manner, yet gradually, by continuous revelations, and by divesting Himself of His supra-mundane form of existence (the *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, Phil. ii. 6); by Theophanies and visions; by symbolical representations of a future incarnation (as, for example, in the tabernacle, &c.); by communication of His knowledge, wisdom, and power to individual men (Heb. i. 1, 2)—the *grace of God* prepared the way, until the final, full, and permanent entrance into flesh took place, and the whole human nature was taken into personal union with the Deity. On the other hand, and at the same time, the people of His choice were trained for becoming capable of receiving the Divine nature, until the proper place and point were prepared, when the incarnation of God should take place for the purpose of making manifest the God-man.

§ 5. These two series of development (the Divine and the human) could not, however, proceed side by side with each other without bearing relation to one another, thus touching, penetrating, and mutually conditioning each other in their progress. Indeed, to a certain extent, the development of each depended on the living influence of the other. As every new stage in the revelation of God presupposed a new and a higher development in the free activity of the covenant-people, so the latter could only be the result and the fruit of a preceding and improved reception of the elements of Divine revelation. For, the *plan of salvation*, and the covenant by which it was to be realised, did not proceed from *man* but from *God*—the *knowledge* of the aim of this covenant, and of the means by which it was to be attained, lay not with *man* but with *God*; nor was it the *will* or the *power* of man, but, on the contrary, the will and power of God, which afforded a sufficient guarantee that, despite the disturbances and changes to which every terrestrial development is subject, this goal should at last, certainly and gloriously, be reached. Hence it is *God* who must commence each cycle of revolutions;

it is He who must initiate every new stage of development; *His* covenant activity must give its impulse, direction, boundaries, and correction to that of man, in order that the latter may either be or remain in accordance with the purposes of the covenant. He must receive, strengthen, dispose, and direct man. But every true activity presupposes proper *knowledge*, proper *volition*, and a sufficient *power of execution*. In all these respects, therefore, human liberty requires, in carrying out the purposes of the covenant, the assistance and direction of Divine *grace*, whose influences are really *miraculous* (in the wider sense of the term), inasmuch as they are not implied in the Divine counsel of creation, but only in that of salvation. The Divine covenant-agency, which, in its very nature, is miraculous, manifests itself in the *law* as a revelation of the Divine *will*, in doctrine or *prophecy* as the revelation of Divine *knowledge*, and in extraordinary general *leadings*, as well as in individual miraculous *events* (called miracles in the narrower sense of the term), as a revelation of Divine *power*. All these manifestations of the Divine covenant operation are connected with, and mutually support and advance each other. For the Divine law and Divine doctrine afford the means for properly understanding, appreciating, and applying the Divine leadings and interferences; while on the other hand, the latter are instances, connecting points, explanations in fact, and individual verifications, both of the word of prophecy and of the law.

(1.) But it must be borne in mind that this miraculous and covenant agency of God, which, in the history of the development of salvation, is so absolutely necessary for the successful progress of free, human covenant agency, neither destroys nor interferes with human freedom. Such, however, would have been the case, if, either at the commencement or during the progress of history, it had brought to bear upon it all that Divine power, knowledge, and purpose which the covenant was to disclose, and that without regard to the progress of human development, or without reference to the varied requirements, capabilities, and circumstances of men. And because the human development, which the Divine activity is to animate and to strengthen, to fructify and to guide, to protect and to direct, is not merely mechanical but organic, it was also necessary that the Divine agency should gradually unfold, so that, keeping pace with the

human, it may be capable of organically joining it in all its stages, and of intertwining with it.

§ 6. The ultimate aim and the highest point of the Divine covenant activity, in all its manifestations, is the incarnation of God in Christ. The purpose of all Divine operation and co-operation in the Old Covenant is to typify it and to prepare for it. The law, the word of prophecy, the general leadings of the chosen people, and the individual leadings of its more prominent members—in fine, every miraculous interposition points towards this. The *law* is the mirror where the ideal of that Divine perfection, which, since the entrance of sin, can only be realised in the God-man, is reflected; prophecy is the canvas on which the hand of the divinely-enlightened seer traces the lineaments of the God-man. At first we discern only a few bold outlines, but every advancing stage in the historical development adds new features and brings fresh colours for the completion of this picture. For while the descent of the whole fulness of God into human nature becomes *fully* manifest in the incarnation of God, this reality is also in part exhibited both in the typical representations and in the preparatory dispensations of a history, directed by the hand of God and fructified by the Spirit of God. The whole course of this history implies a continual descending and condescending to man on the part of the Divine Being. The general leadings of Israel, as well as every individual miracle, were a prophetic representation, and, as such, an earnest and a guarantee of that abiding and highest miracle which was to take place in the fulness of time. As the root of the tree already contains what will develop into flower and fruit, so the commencement of the covenant-history comprises what tends to and will issue in the exhibition of the God-man; and this tendency appears throughout the course of that history until the goal is reached. Hence the whole of this history is a continuous miracle, although this very continuity conceals this characteristic. But when this tendency operates not merely as a power of life secretly active, but manifests itself in externally visible appearances, it produces events which are pre-eminently designated as miracles.

§ 7. *Prophecy* stands in equally close connection with the de-

velopment of salvation and with its aim. It is the purpose of prophecy, by communicating the knowledge necessary for free self-determination, to convey to human consciousness the same truth which, in the history of the Old Testament, the miracle presents as a fact, viz., the abiding of the Divine presence, not merely over, but *in* this history, in order to work out and to obtain salvation in Christ, the God-man. The highest development of prophecy, towards which it tends, is to impart a full knowledge of salvation, as it has in Christ become objective for mankind generally. Every prediction, even where the future seems exclusively its subject, contains a *doctrine* applicable to *present* wants. The real meaning of prophecy is misunderstood if we consider its main purpose to be, that it affords proof of the Divine origin of Christianity, although it is indeed true that all prophecy attains its fulfilment in the gospel. It were indeed ill for Christianity if it could not stand unless verified by the fulfilment of predictions, for in that case prophecy would be degraded into mere prediction; but worse still would it stand with prophecy, if it were to attain its meaning and importance only after hundreds or thousands of years had elapsed. Prophecy is meant—and every other meaning is secondary and subordinate to this—to open up a knowledge of the present, of its relation and its purport, and that not merely of the period to which more immediately it was meant to apply, *but also of every succeeding period, IN SO FAR as the latter shall have a basis essentially similar to that of the former, and hence similar requirements and a similar aim.*

(1.) Every age is the product and the result of the past; it also contains the germ and commencement of the future. To arrive at a *full* understanding of its position and task, it is necessary to view a period, on the one hand, in the light of the past, and, on the other, in that of the future. It is the purport of prophecy to afford such light. But as the peculiar and the most puzzling questions connected with any period will only receive their solution when the future will unfold its hidden stores, prophecy naturally is principally engaged in anticipating these disclosures. Both, what the present already *has*, and what it yet *wants*, in order that it may attain fulness, prophecy discloses, bringing to her help the light which a Divine knowledge of the future lends her, in order that the men of that generation may, in the exercise of their *freedom*, make right use of what they already *have*, and

earnestly strive to attain what they yet *want*. But prophecy only busies herself with the future so far as its germ is contained in the present, and hence has already begun to appear in outward fact. Not everything which is yet to take place, nor every aspect and form of a future development, forms the burden of successive prophecy. Else the latter would either at all times and under all circumstances shed all the fulness of Divine knowledge over the future, thereby rather destroying than advancing history; or else it would, subject to arbitrary will or to chance, reveal at random one or another thing—a process which would at best give it the dubious distinction of a useless work of supererogation. But this is not the case. That aspect of a future development only, which is already *shadowed forth* in present events, and where, in virtue of the principle of life inherent in history, a tendency has already assumed a distinct direction, and historically commenced to assume an outward shape, forms the burden of prophecy. Externally and internally, in its form and in its substance, prophecy shapes itself, is guided and regulated, by the wants and the circumstances of the times. It gradually unfolds as history progresses; but in the character of a Divine *herald* it overtakes history, hastens before it, and prepares its way; like a heavenly orb, it moves *above* the events of the present to shed over them its light, and to reveal their bearing on the development of the future, that thus men may learn whither these events tend, and what would or should be their upshot. Prophecy, like history, increases during its organic progress; but this growth is not simply the result of quantitative or external additions, but takes place in virtue of an internal and divine germ of life which had lain in it from the first, involving the whole fulness of its distinctive and regular developments. This germ of life is not dormant; and prophecy unfolds more and more, until at last the great goal is reached; it can neither be destroyed nor set aside, because it has not an individual existence out of and separate from God, but the continual and personal presence of God in it is both the condition and the support of its existence and continuance. It is indeed true that the changes and disturbances in the regular progress of historic development, arising from a misapplication of man's freedom, also modify the progress, the form, and the subject-matter of prophecy. But this influence does not extend to what is properly the kernel of prophecy. The latter remains the same amid all the changes of history, however its non-essential and accidental forms and embodiment may be affected by such circumstances.

§ 8. As in its organic progress Old Testament prophecy is itself *history*, so, on the other hand, also is the *history* of the Old

Covenant itself *prophetic*, both because it foreshadows, and because it stands in living and continuous relation to, the plan of salvation about to be manifested. The former then is *word-prophecy*, the latter *fact-prophecy* (by words and by facts); again, the former is *ideal*, the latter *actual* history. Prophecy sheds light on the facts and circumstances of the present, by imparting unto it the idea of the future, and that by showing both what and how much it already *has*, and wherein present events still fall short of the *fulness* of the idea. Similarly is the present also prophetic in its relation to the future, both in virtue of what it already *has* as the consequence of a past development, of what it still wants, in order perfectly to embody the idea, and of what it therefore may yet expect to derive from a future development. But let it not be supposed that what it *wants* is antagonistic to what it already *has*; the one is rather the further formation and the complement, the perfect unfolding of the other. For as the development is *organic*, and from the first includes in *germ* all the fulness which is afterwards to be unfolded, the present never really wants anything which it does not already *possess* in potency as germ or commencement, and the want is never absolute. But, on the other hand, during the whole course of its development, it never has anything to which something were not still awanting, and which is not both capable of and requiring further unfolding. Possession and want, enjoyment and requirement, fulfilment and prophecy, always presuppose and meet each other, until at the close of the development these two antagonistic poles are perfectly reconciled, and are in Christ joined into an eternal and satisfactory union and fulness. With possession wants also increase. The more history becomes a fulfilment of prophecy the more intense grows the expectation of the future, until all hope and expectation are satisfied, and met in the highest and final fulfilment. As the covenant people under the Divine training and guidance advances, and what had at first been only in germ unfolds and spreads, the consciousness of what is yet awanting will also deepen and extend, just as science extends her boundaries, and her domain appears larger the more intimately the mind of the inquirer becomes acquainted with it. But *prophecy* alone fully discloses the proper and real relationship between this possession and this want, between this fulfilment and this expectation, and

that the more certainly as the subject here in question refers not to the results of merely human, but of both Divine and human agency. Without prophecy an age would at best only have an indefinite and uncertain presentiment—a kind of divination—which, however it might form a point of connection with, or render capable for receiving prophecy, would still require the latter, in order to be elevated and confirmed to the certainty of *believing*. Just as the *history of prophecy* can, in its organic progress, only develop in connection with actual history, because springing from it, so also does the *prophecy of history* require the light of prophecy to unfold its buds.

(1.) All history which springs from a living germ, is animated and supported by an inward tendency after life, and finally attains, by action and re-action, by evolutions and revolutions, *that* goal for which it was fitted and destined and towards which it had consciously or unconsciously tended, must bear a *typical* character, so that, during the progress of that history, the *goal* will always become more apparent and distinct. The typical character of history depends on the living relationship between its development and the idea which forms its soul, and toward the perfect exhibition to which it tends. The idea ever strives to assume outward form—the soul seeks a befitting body. If the tendency after life which animates a history is so strong that, despite all difficulties, it succeeds in ultimately attaining its end, we may expect that, even during the course of its development, it will be able to bring certain prominent points of its activity to light, which, in that *peculiar* stage of the development, will form suitable embodiments of the *same idea*, that becomes fully manifest when the highest stage is reached, and which, both as to the mode of their appearance and their effects, may be regarded as anticipatory representations (types) of the future. But this typical character does not always clearly appear in secular history, because its development is merely the growth of nature, without the regulating co-operation of Divine deed and Divine instruction; for, while God allows the nations to walk in *their own* ways, His wisdom and power do not become a *constitutive* factor in their history, but are merely the *regulative* factor over it. He merely superintends their history, in order to make it subservient to His plan of government and salvation; He does not take part in it as God *incarnate*, to *effect* by it His plan of salvation. On the other hand, the typical character of *sacred* history appears prominently, continuously, markedly, in decided outlines, and in a manner patent not only

to posterity, but, by the assistance of prophecy, to cotemporaries also, and that in measure as their spiritual capacity enables them to perceive and receive it.

The ordinary events recorded in the history of the Old Covenant are of a threefold character. They either proceed from Divine grace, or from human liberty, or from the joint operation of these two. All three point towards the climax of all history, even the manifestation of Christ, in whom the Divine and the human nature are joined in a personal union—constituting the person of the God-man. Hence all the three are anticipatory representations of a coming fulness. Whenever in the Old Testament God manifests himself in a form perceptible by the senses, or in a vision beyond the reach of the senses, or in a symbol adapted to the senses; whenever also He speaks or acts without making use of the medium of human organs—we behold a partial anticipatory exhibition of the *Divinity* of Christ. On the other hand, whenever any of the heroes of the faith—whose spiritual history may be traced to peculiarly Israelitish training, *i.e.* within the moral sphere of the revealed law, and to such a knowledge of salvation as had historically been attained by the nation—in the exercise of his freedom so shapes his course as to become a suitable instrument for man's covenant-activity, we behold in him a partial anticipatory representation of the human nature and activity of Christ. Again, wherever such an one endowed with new powers, with Divine wisdom or might, and clothed with Divine authority, becomes at the same time a medium of new covenant operations on the part of God, he becomes, in his own sphere and according to his capacity, for the men of his time, an anticipatory representation of Him who, as God-man, completed, in the fulness of time, both the Divine and the human covenant-activity, and exhibited the aim of the covenant in working out salvation for all mankind. It needs no further argument to show that events, institutions, and dispensations, as the products of personal activity, exhibit the same characteristics of being typical as the will from which they proceeded.

§ 9. If we have formerly spoken of the history of the Old Covenant as resulting from the co-operation of Divine and human activity, and have learned that those miracles and prophecies in which the Divine agency appeared were necessary as co-efficients of, and in order to support man's covenant-activity, we merely meant to shew that history could not be without either miracles or prophecy until the great goal was reached, but not that every age and every historical development required miracles. On

the contrary, as the covenant-operations of God are also intended for the training of man, shorter or longer intervals may occur during which Divine wisdom makes miracles and prophecy to cease for a time, that human activity may prosecute its peculiar task alone, and only supported by the experiences and results of a former Divine guidance and co-operation. Hence, in this case also, the Divine element is not wanting in the development; it has only become mediate, instead of being, as formerly, immediate.

HOLY SCRIPTURE.

§ 10. It is the distinctive characteristic of the history of the Old Covenant, that in all the grand stages of its development it is *sacred* history. Because, and in so far as it is such, its authentic documents and sources also must be sacred; for it were equally foolish and vain to inscribe or impress the character of sacredness to a science if the same term did not apply to its sources. Just as history becomes sacred by this, that the human *development* is regulated and directed by the continuous presence of God in it, so the channels through which its knowledge is conveyed become sacred by the fact that *divine knowledge* of this development continually regulates, directs, and is present with the human *cognition* of it. For the Divine aspect of sacred history can only be clearly and definitely recognised by means of a Divine revelation.

Hence the most important and the primary channel of information for this science is the collection of sacred writings comprised in the *Old Testament canon* (comp. § 14), as its history, doctrine, and prophecy furnish us with the material of by far the largest and fullest part of our history. They are the more important, as for that period our information is almost exclusively derived from them. However, the sacred writings of the New Testament come also partly within our range, as the first stage of the New Testament development constitutes at the same time the close of that of the Old Testament.

(1.) As the history of the Old Covenant numbered, even in

regard of its internal development, stages, and among them at least one of considerable duration and importance, when the Lord purposely ceased from taking active part in the development, we are of course obliged, in the description of these periods, to have recourse to sources of information which possess no other guarantee for their accuracy and reliableness than that of human enquiry and criticism.

Lastly, the history of which we treat is also variously connected with that of foreign nations and circumstances. But as every science, so the scientific treatment of the history of the Old Covenant requires to communicate lively information on cognate branches of information. In this respect, therefore, the sources of the history of foreign nations are also of importance in our history.

§ 11. As the facts of which they treat, so the sacred writings themselves exhibit the marks of Divine and of human causation, and that not separate from, but in living union with each other. In the one case Divine agency is present with the human development, in the other Divine knowledge of this development is present with human cognition of it. The reason of it is, that these writings proceed from the same Divinely-human sphere of life, and are not only faithful witnesses and monuments of the history of the past and present, but also severally become the living commencement and the vehicles of farther developments. But this communication of Divine knowledge to human cognition must be conceived in one of two ways. Either that which generally lies beyond human experience or human knowledge is impressed on the soul of man in prophetic vision, a sense of need, and the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, forming points of connection, or else where that which took place had been handed down in human tradition, the natural faculties of man, by which he examines and distinguishes what is true and what is false, are quickened by the Spirit of God, and raised to *relative* certainty, fulness, and depth of enquiry, (*i.e.*, to such certainty as corresponds both with the objective aim in view at the time, and with the subjective preparation that had taken place.) It is not by any means intended that this should set aside or render unnecessary human thinking, enquiry, study, collating, or sifting of evidence—in general, mental application on the part of man. On the contrary, it is only intended to

purify, to quicken, and to sanctify such endeavours. Besides, neither are the limits of development, arising from the circumstances of an age or of the individual, to be set aside. Only the measure and fulness of cognition possible within these limits are to be brought to light. On the other hand, the aid derived from natural talent and preparation, personal culture and position in life, is neither neglected nor left unemployed in the search after and in the exposition of the truth. It will readily be understood, that thereby the human mind, so far from being cramped in the exercise of its freedom, or in the display of its peculiarities and its activity, is rather enlarged, and attains its proper strength, fulness, and purity. Historical and religious truth thus obtained, will indeed share the one-sidedness, imperfection, and defective perception and representation due on the one hand to the circumstances and the mental idiosyncrasy of the enquirer, and on the other, to the law according to which we trace a gradual progress in the general development of the Divine in time, until the last and highest aim of history is reached. But it will also be free from all positive error, which might endanger or disturb the peculiar objects to be attained by the Divine co-operation in the composition of these writings, either in their bearing on practical religion, or on religious information. The object which these writings is to serve may briefly be stated as intended to present in these sacred documents a faithful historical account of God's ways of salvation with reference to man, and to serve as a powerful incitement to man to fall in with them.

(1.) As holy writ has this twofold aspect, the human and the Divine, and as the human is not absorbed by the Divine, but rather embodies, presents it in outward appearance, and so preserves it, holy writ has, as every human concern, also a history which may become object of enquiry and examination. Besides, we are entitled to seek evidence as regards its human authenticity, integrity, and trustworthiness. Its origin and composition, both in respect of time, place, and of persons, the stage of civilisation attained at the time and by the persons to whom its composition is ascribed, the resources of human investigation upon which it is based, the history of its preservation and handing down, both in its external and internal phases, &c.—are all subjects of historical investigation and of critical examination. It is, indeed, true that the spirit which the canonical

writings breathe, and which, by every person capable of receiving it, is felt to be Divine, constitutes the internal guarantee for their sacredness and credibility. Piety requires none other than this subjective and internal evidence, but science demands also external and objective proofs. Piety feels no peculiar interest in the demands and the results of criticism; what Holy Scripture has presented to it, the results of criticism can neither render dubious nor take away; it only seeks and wishes that what holy writ contains should become matter of personal experience in the religious life, and it obtains this when conscious need of salvation discovers in Scripture full satisfaction and spiritual support. But religious science demands the evidence necessary to knowledge, and the satisfaction of intellectual requirements; it also looks for unity, for organic connection and harmonic agreement between all religious knowledge and all other general knowledge which may already have been attained or may yet be attained. In this respect it is not sufficient to perceive the results and fruits of a religious event, or to gather from experience their reality. Science also seeks to know the origin and progress of such an event, and the organic unity of its commencement, middle, and end.

The primary object of scientific investigation is the *human* element in holy writ, because the latter is the medium of the Divine element, which can only be apprehended in this form. But if what is human in holy writ has been proved and placed on a firm basis, then science will have to render implicit homage to the Divine, and, under such circumstances, *faith* will be expected from her no less than from mere piety. But faith is demanded by science only after the human element of holy writ has been shewn to be the vehicle of the Divine, and has, as such, stood all the ordeals of enquiry and examination.

OLD TESTAMENT REVELATION.

§ 12. The idea of *revelation* includes, in its widest sense, every manifestation of the Divine Being, will and knowledge *towards*, *in*, and *for* His creatures. In this sense, revelation commenced with the *first act* by which the creature was called into existence. Connected with the creative, we have then the *preservative* agency of God, which sustains the powers and faculties that had been granted to the creature in creation; and His *governement of the world*, which is carried on *superior* to the free development of the creature, watches over it in the exercise of sovereignty and

of judgment, overrules and controls it. This threefold direction of Divine manifestation is really one, and only exhibits different phases of one and the same relation between God and the creature, of which it indicates the commencement, the middle, and the end. By calling the creature into existence, and bestowing upon it the powers and faculties necessary to its development, He at the same time gave it a right and a claim to the preservation of these powers and faculties; and in setting before the creature an end which, in its free activity, it *should* attain, but which, by an abuse of its liberty, it *may* miss or pervert, it also became necessary, for the sake of His own purposes, that, as sovereign Lord and Judge, He should watch over this free development, keep it within proper bounds, and direct it towards its peculiar aim. Thus, even creation implies and demands the preservation and the government of the world; but then these two fully meet all the requirements involved in the relationship into which God had, by creation, entered with the world. From the stand-point of creation, no other interposition or manifestation of the Deity could have been demanded. But God has, in the exercise of *free grace*, entered into another relationship with man, different from that of merely the Creator towards the creature. In virtue of His eternal counsel of grace, He appeared from the commencement as the Guardian and Guide of man, and as such He condescended and adapted Himself to the wants of man's childhood—He, as it were, grows with him, and so draws him to Himself. When, by an abuse of his liberty, man had fallen into sin and misery, He opened up before him the salvation provided in that council, and continued it, by a progressive communication of Himself, and condescending to man, until its fulness was attained by the incarnation of God. This Divine manifestation, in virtue of which He is not merely enthroned *above* history as the Ruler of the world, but is also present in it, enters into it, works in it, and, during its progress, more and more unfolds Himself, by increasingly communicating of Himself, we designate *Revelation*, in the narrower sense of the term. When heathenism renounced the ways of God, and entered upon its own ways, it turned aside from this Divine manifestation. But the calling and election of Abraham and of his seed, furnished not only a fresh object for its exercise, but was itself a decisive progress in its development.

§ 13. The difference and the contrast obtaining between the two aspects of Divine revelation—that of creation, preservation, and government, and that of preparing and working out salvation—is of essential importance on the stand-point of the Old Testament, and deeply impressed on its religious consciousness, since the selection of Israel to be the instrument of the Divine purposes of salvation, and the opposition to heathenism which this selection involved, formed the central point of that consciousness. So much was the above difference felt, that it found expression even in the employment of a corresponding *difference in the names of the Deity*. Thus the name *Elohim* applies to the former, that of *Jehovah* to the latter sphere of his operations. The expression ELOHIM applies to God as being the fulness and the source of all life, as He who bears within Himself the potencies of all life and of every development, and who, as Creator, displays them, by causing those commencements of history which are so rich in consequences. On the other hand, JEHOVAH is the God of development, who Himself enters into the development, condescends into it, embodies Himself and co-operates in it, in order to conduct it safely to its destined goal. As *Elohim*, God is also the God of the heathen; for every manifestation of the Deity in heathenism proceeds from Elohim, and all real and genuine consciousness of the Deity in heathenism must be traced to Elohim. But as *Jehovah* He is merely the God of Israel; for heathenism, which has strayed from the development supported and directed by Jehovah, has no part in Jehovah. But it must not be thought that Elohim is as exclusively the God of the heathen as Jehovah is that of Israel. On the contrary, God manifests Himself and works in the history of Israel, not only as Jehovah, but also distinctively in His character as Elohim. For Israel's history, as that of heathenism, implies and requires, in general, the preservation and the government of the world on the part of God. Besides, the preparation and the development of salvation by Jehovah, continually requires, up to the period of its final completion, *creative* agency, to provide the germs of that development which Jehovah conducts to its goal.

(1.) On the names of God, comp. *Hengstenberg's* Authenticity of the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 213 (Clark); *Drecksler*, Unity and Authent. of Gen.; *Hücernick*, Introd. p. 57 (Clark), and the

Theolog. of the O. T., by the same author, p. 37; *Tuch*, Comm. xxxiii.; *Wette*, the Post-Mosaic in the Pent., p. 84; *Stendel*, Theol. of the O. T., p. 139; *Beck*, Christian Dogm., i. 51; *M. Baumgarten*, Comm. i., p. 30; *Delitzsch*, Bibl. and Proph. Theol., p. 120; *Delitzsch*, Symbolæ ad Psalm. illustr., p. 29; Expos. of Gen., by the same author, p. 22; *Kurtz's* Unity of Gen., p. lxiii.; *C. Keil* on the Names of God in the Pent., in the Lutheran Annals, 1851, part ii.; *Hofmann's* Script. Demonstr. i., p. 74. Even a cursory inspection of the passages, and the manner in which these two names of God are respectively used in the Old Testament, will prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that their selection depends on a difference of ideas attaching to them. The first and most general inference, in this respect, is that יהוה is distinctively Israel's name for the Deity. God manifests Himself as *Jehovah* only *in* and *to* Israel, as being the nation chosen by Him from among all others, separated from the heathen, and sanctified by its calling and destination, by the law and worship given to it. On the other hand, He is only recognised and worshipped *by Israel as Jehovah*. To all other nations, God is only אלהים, not יהוה; and so generally used is the name Elohim, that it is not merely employed to indicate what is true and genuine in the consciousness of the heathen about God, but also, in general, whatever is Divine, even when it is viewed in a perverted and wrong manner.

But God is אלהים not for the heathen only, but also for Israel; God works and reveals Himself in Israel not only as יהוה, but also and as frequently in His character of אלהים. This observation will lead first of all to the conclusion that the name Elohim, in connection with Israel, indicates every *general* activity of God which manifests itself amongst the heathen as well as among Israel; and, on the other hand, that the Israelites designated and worshipped God as Elohim whenever such general activity of God, or anything else appeared, which had a place in the consciousness of God common to Israel and to the heathen. But this view does not suffice to account for every occasion on which the name אלהים occurs. We meet the form Elohim even where we read of leadings and manifestations of the Deity distinctively Israelitish. In that most important treatise of *Hengstenberg* (on the names of the Deity), to which we have above referred, this critic has attempted to solve this difficulty, by assuming that Elohim indicated a lower, and Jehovah a higher, stage in the consciousness or in the manifestation of the Deity. He maintains that during the interval between Genesis i. and Exodus vi., *i.e.*, during the period between the creation and that of the full sanction of the theocratic covenant on Sinai, אלהים becomes יהוה, and that he fully appeared as such only on Sinai.

At every former period, it was only relatively, not absolutely, that Elohim became Jehovah. It is maintained that during the developments intervening between these two termini, God was designated יהוה only in so far as in relation to previous manifestations of the Deity He had manifested Himself as יהוה, or in so far as the Divine manifestation thus vouchsafed was higher than the previous, and approached more closely to that of Jehovah, absolutely so called. On the other hand, it was also speaking relatively that He was designated Elohim, viz., in reference to higher and more perfect manifestations yet future, that thus the consciousness might be awakened and maintained, that higher and more glorious manifestations of God as Jehovah were yet to be expected, in comparison with which the manifestation then taking place was lower, and only that of Elohim. But there are many things in the book of Genesis which cannot be reconciled with this theory, however ingenious and consistently carried out. Were it correct, we should have expected that wherever and whenever, at any stage of development, any new thing made its appearance—whenever the idea of gradual unfolding to a perfect theocracy gained new ground—whenever the tendency toward this goal embodied itself in a new shape—the word יהוה should be employed. But frequently, as, for example, in Genesis xvii., this is not the case. Now, according to that view, if any occurrence in patriarchal history might claim the use of the higher name of the Deity, it was surely this, when, after long preparation, the covenant between God and Abraham was at last realised and completed, and the distinctively Israelitish sign of the covenant—circumcision—was instituted.

We must, therefore, give up the view that *in itself* אלהים indicates a lower and יהוה a higher stage in the manifestation or in the popular consciousness of God. We cannot but allow that not only does אלהים often rise to יהוה, but that as frequently יהוה rises into אלהים; in short that, in order that the development may reach its goal, Jehovah becomes as frequently Elohim as Elohim becomes Jehovah. It is the peculiar merit of *Baumgarten* that he was the first, in his Commentary, clearly to acknowledge this fact, and to indicate the proper way of understanding it—and that he did so correctly, in point of fact, if not of language. Since that time *Delitzsch*, and the author of this (in the work on Gen. above referred to), have attempted to rectify, to substantiate, and to develop the views of Baumgarten on this subject. The etymology of these two names of God points out the right way of determining the difference subsisting between them. *Hengstenberg* (l. c. p. 266), *Hävernick*, *Drechsler*, *Keil*, and *Hofmann*, derive the word אלהים from the Arabic

אַלֵּף, coluit, adoravit Deum, and intrans. אָלַף, stupuit, pavore correptus est. But even the relationship between the transitive and the intransitive form renders it more appropriate to reverse this, and to regard the verb as denominative of the Divine name

אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים, and ultimately to derive the latter from the obsolete Hebrew root אָלַף = אָלַף (to be strong). These two forms of the verb, both having the same meaning, have each become the root of a special name of the Deity, for as that of אֱלֹהִים is derived from אָלַף, so that of אֱלֹהִים from אָלַף. (Comp. *Tuch*, p. xxxix., *Gesenius* in the thes., *Delitzsch*, &c.) Hence the fundamental idea attaching to the word אֱלֹהִים will be that of *strength*, while the plural indicates that the term implies both absolute fulness and a diversity which embraces and exhausts everything (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 270). On the strength of Ex. iii. 14, &c., the name יְהוָה had generally been derived from הוּהָ = הוּהָ, till lately *Ewald*, appealing to Gen. xix. 24, tried

to deduce it from the Arabic root هَوَى, and declared that its original meaning was "*height, heaven*." However, despite this unsuccessful attempt at interpretation (comp. the remarks of *Caspari*, *Lutheran Annals*, 1846, i., p. 164), we may keep by the old, obvious, and well established derivation of the word. It is well known that, although its original punctuation is uncertain, the word יְהוָה has, as *kri perpetuum*, the vowel points of אֱלֹהִים (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c. 222). It is erroneous to maintain that יְהוָה is the only possible form of the imperfect of הוּהָ (comp. *Delitzsch*, *Symb.*, p. 4, and especially *P. Caspari* on *Micha*, the *Morasthite*, and his prophet. writings, 1851, p. 5). The investigations of the latter prove that among the four modes of pronunciation possible, יְהוָה, יְהוָה, יְהוָה, and יְהוָה, one of the first two has most probability in its favour. The punctuation יְהוָה, or יְהוָה proposed by *Fürst* (in his *Dictionary*), which at first sight would almost seem to be the most obvious, cannot be admitted, as in that case the nomm. propria composita, which have יְהוָה for their second component part, would require to terminate in הוּהָ and not in יְהוָה. The Scriptures themselves furnish two explanations of the *meaning* of the word יְהוָה. In Exodus iii. 14 the Lord Himself interprets it by אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי, and in Revel. i. 4 it is paraphrased: ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. יְהוָה is equivalent to φῦναι, γενέσθαι, εἶναι; it indicates concrete, not abstract being—such being as makes its appearance, manifests itself in history, and, so to

speak, becomes historical. This meaning comes out more fully and prominently in the imperfective form of the name derived from it. Hence יהוה is God outwardly manifesting Himself, revealing Himself, living, working, and reigning in history, *ever unfolding there, more and more, His character and being*. Withal it must be evident that the name יהוה, as that of God outwardly manifesting Himself, could only have originated among a nation which either enjoyed, or at least believed that it enjoyed, the continual presence of God as their king, and whose entire development was, or claimed to be, dependent, and to rest upon a special manifestation of Himself. But as Israel claimed this Divine presence for itself exclusively, it is plain that the use of that name must also have been exclusively confined to *its* history and worship.

We are now in a position clearly to understand both the meaning of, and the difference obtaining between, these two names of the Deity. They stand in the relation of potency to evolution—of the beginning, which, in potency, already contains the entire development, to the progress, during which this potency is actually evolved in outward appearances. *Elohim* is the God of the commencement, who, in Himself has the potencies of all life and development—who, by his creative agency, presents them external to Himself, and initiates the commencements of history, which are afterwards to be so fully developed. On the other hand, *Jehovah* is the *God of the development*, who takes up the work of Elohim, who causes the potencies to unfold, and directs what was begun to a termination. Elohim is *the Creator*—absolute fulness of life, transcendent independence and superiority to every terrestrial limitation are His characteristics. Jehovah is the medium connecting the commencement with the end, the God of development and of history, who personally takes part in events, and adapts Himself to them, or to time and to space. The name Elohim indicates absolute fulness and power of life, and assures us that every product of His activity is rich in, and capable of, development, that it *may* perfectly unfold and attain its goal, but not that it certainly *shall* do so. On the other hand, the name of Jehovah guarantees the development itself, and that the potency will ultimately reach its fullest development, that what was begun shall reach its proper termination. For, in His character of Jehovah, God undertakes the development; it now rests upon Him, He becomes its coefficient, and He unfolds Himself *in* and along *with* the mundane and creature-development. Hence, despite the vicissitudes and disturbances caused by the co-operation of man's free will, it must necessarily reach its goal. The guarantee for the development

and the attainment of the goal offered by the name יהוה is distinctly pointed out in the explanation of that name in Ex. iii. 14, by אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה.

If the word Elohim indicates the God of the *beginning*, and Jehovah the God of the *middle*, which receives and comprehends within itself the beginning, the God of development, whose it is to guide the beginning to its end, then the name Elohim must also apply to the fulness of the end. As the God of the beginning, Elohim is, *eo ipso*, also *the God of the end*. For the end is the return to the beginning; what the latter contained in potency, the former exhibits in outward fact. As Jehovah takes up the commencement made by Elohim, in order to conduct it through all its varied developments unto the end, so Elohim also again takes up the termination, after that Jehovah has finished his work, and accomplished the development. This taking up of the end on the part of Elohim constitutes the *judgment*, for the actual termination is judged of according to the potencies inherent in the commencement. Elohim, then, is the God of the commencement and of the end; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development, which lies between the commencement and the end.

From this point of view, the difficulty so fatal to the theory of Hengstenberg, is readily and naturally solved, and we understand how, during the course of the covenant history of Israel, Elohim changes and rises to Jehovah, and, *vice versa*, under given circumstances, Jehovah into Elohim. The latter will take place whenever, during the progressive development, a fresh *creative* commencement has to be made, or when a new potency, which Omnipotence must guide to its goal, makes its appearance for the purpose of furthering the development—or whenever a development reaches its end, whether this be a wrong end, through the sinfulness of men, or whether it comes up to the idea which it was meant to embody. In the former case, Elohim appears as *judge*; in the latter, Elohim, who, in the commencement, appeared as the fulness of life, manifests Himself as the fulness of blessedness, *ὡς ὃς θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πασίν*.

We subjoin a quotation from *Delitzsch* (symb. l. c.) to show in what preparatory relation Israel's consciousness of God, as manifest in these two names, stands to that of the Christian Church. He remarks—"Nomen אֱלֹהִים non quid homines duntaxat de Deo sentiant, sed quales sit in semet ipso, effert et omnipotentem ejus naturam simul cum vita ejus immanente denotat, Deum quatenus vitam omnipotentem habet in semet ipso ac proinde omnis vitæ et principium est et finis. *Revelatio mysterii trinitatis pro hujus nominis explicatione habenda est*

(comp. also Hengstenberg's Contr. i. 268, Comment. on the Book of Psalms, v. iii., p. 42, app.) Contra nomen יהוה Deus assumsit, quatenus progressionem generis humani a principio ad finem ipse per ætatum decursum gubernat et intra limites spatii et temporis salutariter se manifestat; quæ manifestatio in V. T. gentis israeliticæ terminis præparatorie adstricta erat, donec in hac ipsa gente Jehova humanam naturam sibi uniret nominisque sui vim declaret. *Incarnatio pro nomine יהוה explicatione habenda est*, nam qua de causa et quo consilio Deus in V. T. Jehova nuncupetur, in facie Jesu Christi elucescit.

SOURCES AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 14. The Holy Scriptures, contained in the Old Testament, whose peculiar character we have described above (v. § 10 and 11), are the first, the most peculiar, and the principal sources for the history of the Old Covenant. We have already shown that if the Scriptures are to be properly appreciated and understood, they require to be made the subject of careful and conscientious research, study, and comment, because, like the history of which they bear record, they contain, besides their Divine, a human element also. It is the province of a *Biblical Introduction*, or rather *Biblical Literary History* (as it has been more correctly designated), to carry on this inquiry and investigation (so necessary for science) in its *historical* aspect. The student has here to enquire into the origin of the sacred writings, into the time, place, authorship, occasion, means and sources, end and purpose of their composition. He has also to examine their further history, especially that of their collection, preservation, and dissemination (1.) The *diplomatic* aspect of this investigation forms the object of *textual criticism*, which has to present us with the text, so far as possible, in all its integrity and purity, as ascertained by an examination of all the evidence that may be found on the subject. Lastly, *exegetics* undertakes the philological part of the enquiry. It seeks to ascertain, to its full extent, the meaning which every author intended to convey. For this purpose it makes use of every aid which history, criticism, and the study of languages can furnish—a task the more im-

portant, as the differences of time, of circumstances, and of the manner of viewing which obtains between an author and his commentator, lead to many difficulties, both in respect of the expressions used and of the things expressed (2.)

(1.) *Comp. Hupfeld on the idea and method of so-called Biblical introductions, with a survey of their history and literature, 1844. Among the various problems of Biblical literary history, that of the origin of the Biblical writings is at once the most important and the most difficult. On this question scientific enquiry is at this moment engaged in a controversy, the final termination of which is not yet within sight. Comp. *the author's dissertation on the influence of the historical and theological views of a critic on the criticism of the Pentateuch, in his work on the unity of the book of Genesis. Berlin, 1846, p. 5—20. The question about the authors, about the time, place, and occasion of certain Biblical writings, is of twofold importance for our special objects. They are both the *sources* of our historical enquiries and also integral portions of this history, *i.e.*, they are on the one hand the *productions* of a past, and on the other the *moving springs* of a future historical *development*.

We append a literary survey of recent general works on the introduction to the study of the Old Testament, reserving the mention of monographs till we treat of the subjects on which they respectively bear. With the exception of the brief compendium by *De Wette*, the negative and distinctive criticism of **Eichhorn* (1780), 4th ed., Gottingen, 1820-1824, 5 vols., and of *Bertholdt*, 1812, has not found more recent advocacy, in so far as general introductions to the Old Testament are concerned. But the opposite, the conservative, direction, has had many representatives, both among Roman Catholics and among Protestants. Since the "Introductio ad libros canon. Vet. Test., ed. III., Lips. 1741," by *J. Gottl. Carpzov*, a thorough work, based, however, on the one-sided and formerly current notion of a mechanical inspiration, and not assigning, therefore, to criticism its proper place, the following works, which, in particular points, also very much prepared the way for Old Testament history, have appeared. The Roman Catholics have furnished **Jahn's* Introd. to the Div. Writings of the Old Test., 3 vols., Vienna, 2d ed., 1802, 1803; **Herbst* Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the Sacred Writings of the O. T., completed by *Wette*, 1840-44, 4 vols.; **Scholz* Introd. to the Sacred Writings of the O. and N. T., 1845, of which as yet only 3 vols. have appeared; **Haneberg* Contributions to a History of Bibl. Revel., designed as Introd. to the O. and N. T., 1850. From Protestant authors we have *Hävernicks* Manual of Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the Sacred

Writings of the O. T., 4 vols., the 5th vol. by *Keil*, Erlangen, 1836-49; a Manual on the same subject by *Keil* (1859).¹ *Hengstenberg* has some separate treatises on certain points and subjects connected with an "Introduction to the Old Testament," which had been made the subjects of special attack. These form his "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament, Berlin, 3 vols., 1831-39,"² a work which, according to its original design, was meant to extend over all the controverted portions of the Old Testament.

(2.) The following are the exegetical auxiliaries to the study of the O. T. which are of most use. Among *Rabbinical* commentators we note especially *Jarchi*, *Aben-Ezra*, and *D. Kimchi*, whose commentaries are placed side by side in *Buxtorf's* *Biblia Hebraica Rabbinica*, 4 vols., 1618. *Jarchi* has been translated into Latin by *Breithaupt*, 3 vols., 1710. Among modern Jewish commentators*, *L. Philippson's* *Isr. Bible*, Leipz., 1839, deserves mention. Among patristic writings, those of *Theodoret*, and of *Chrysostom*, of *Jerome*, and of *Augustin*, are of most importance. The most notable of Roman Catholic treatises on this subject is *August. Calmet*, *comment. littéral sur tous les livres de l'ancien et du nouv. test.*, 23 vols., 4 par., 1707-16, containing also able dissertations on difficult questions. (The latter is also translated into German, and furnished with learned notes, by **J. L. Mosheim*, 6 vols., 1743-45). Among Protestant productions, we have, besides *Luther's* deep and edifying but chiefly practical notes, the commentaries of *Calvin* on almost every book of the Bible, which constituted an era in the history of exegetics. The exegetical works of successors of the Reformers, and partly those of the latter also, are collected in such works as the *Critici Sacri*, Lond. 1690, 9 vols. fol. (and other ed.), and *M. Poli Synopsis Criticorum Sacr.*, 5 vols. fol., Lond. 1699 (and other ed.) The commentaries of *G. Clericus* († 1737) on the Old Testament, specially those on the historical portions of it, are very valuable on account of their able grammatico-historical expositions, and their apt quotations from classical-profane writings, although they are considerably deteriorated, from the baldness of their Arminianism. The *English Commentary*, translated (into German), and with additional notes by *S. G. Baumgarten*, *J. Brucker*, and others, 19 vols., Leipz., 1748, still deserves attention. **J. D. Michaelis's* translation of the O. T., with notes for unlearned readers, furnishes useful material. The scholia in *Vet. Test.*, by *E. F. K. Rosenmüller* (2d ed. 1821), are a full and learned compilation, for which the

¹ In this country we should also mention the well-known Introduction by Canon *Horne*.—THE TR.

² Translated by J. E. Ryland, &c. (Clark, Edinburgh)

materials collated by Clericus have served as a basis. *Maurer's* comment. gramm. crit. in V. T. is only useful for grammatical purposes. The exegetic manual of **Hitzig* on the O. T., Leipz. 1838 (to which *Thenius*, *Hirzel*, *Knobel*, *Bertheau*, have contributed), is distinguished for the exegetic abilities of the writers engaged in it. Its general tendency is rationalistic in various degree; but most of the contributors do not share the destructive criticism of its learned editor. The theological comment. to the O. T. commenced by **Baumgarten* (Kiel 1843), furnishes an explanation of great importance for the deeper theological understanding of the O. T., as well as for its history, although at times manifest mistakes occur. Among popular commentaries, that by *O. v. Gerlach* (continued by *Schmieder*) deserves special mention on account of the thoroughness and originality of its treatment.¹

§ 15. The results of the investigations, devolving on biblical criticism and exegesis, furnish the principal material for a scientific treatment of biblical history. But besides history (properly so called) some other auxiliary sciences assist us in eliciting the conclusions and facts to which we have adverted. Among them we reckon first *Biblical Antiquities*, which, in the wider sense of that term, treat of biblical antiquities in all their bearings, and embrace biblical history and geography. In the narrower sense of the term, biblical antiquities differ from sacred history, the latter presenting the life of the nation in its progressive development, the former in its abiding circumstances and stationary relations. History records facts; archæology, institutions, relations, manners, and customs. But as these are again the results of a historical development, and exercise a powerful influence on the farther development of the nation, history cannot dispense with this important auxiliary. (1.) *Biblical Geography* is frequently studied in connection with antiquities. In its narrower and more definite meaning that science must be separately treated, as, indeed, its importance requires. Its value as bearing on history is self-evident. (2.) *Biblical Chronology* is closely connected with biblical history. It may be viewed in one of three ways, either as mathematical, as technical, or as historical chronology. The first of these presents to us the scientific astronomical principles necessary for the division of time; the

¹ It is needless to mention the names of the principal British and American commentators.—THE TR.

second shews how the nations adapted these principles for the purposes of ordinary life; the third applies them for fixing the dates of historical events. The first lies beyond the province of history, the second forms a part of biblical archæology, while the third is so important an element in historical enquiry that only the peculiar difficulties, and the special importance attaching to it, can warrant us in treating it as a separate study. (3.) Lastly, in the study of the history of the Old Covenant, *Biblical Theology* forms an indispensable auxiliary. This science treats of the historical and genetic development of religious consciousness among the covenant-people, and of their subjective preparation for receiving that salvation, which is objectively, and as matter of fact, exhibited in and by history. (4.)

(1.) Among rabbinical treatises on *Hebrew Antiquities* the two works of *R. Moses Ben Maimon* (Maimonides) יד הדין (strong hand) and מורה נבוכים (doctor perplexorum) deserve special mention. Acuteness and sobriety of reasoning are the prominent characteristics of that author. Among works written by Christians we mention first the large collection of treatises combined in *Blas. Ugolini* thesaurus antiq. ss. Venet. 1744—69. 34 vols. fol. On the character and the influence of *Spencer* de legibus ritual. Hebr. l. iii. (1686) ed. Pfaff Tub. 1732 fol.—a work learned and acute indeed, but destitute of all deeper insight—comp. *Hengstenberg's* contrib. i. p. 4. *J. Lundius* Jewish Antiquities (1704), with notes by Wolf, Hamburg 1732, is diffuse but edifying. The author possesses rabbinical lore, but his researches are neither original nor critical. *J. G. Carpzovii* apparatus hist.-crit. antiq. sacri codicis et gentis Hebr. 1784. is a learned and exhaustive commentary on Goodwin's Moses et Aaron. *J. D. Michaelis* Laws of Moses 1770, 2d ed. 1793. 6 vols. follows in the wake of Spencer. The author has collected abundant material, he is painstaking and ingenious, but too often descends to silly trivialities, is too diffuse, and especially reduces every lofty subject to the level of the merest commonplace, comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c. p. 13, and following.—*R. Rosenmüller's* Manual of Bibl. Antiq. in 7 vols. (treating only of geography and natural history) 1823, and the “ancient and modern East” by the same author, 6 vols. 1818, are careful and useful compilations of the materials known in his time. *J. Jahn's* Bibl. Archæology 3 vols. 1824. Among more recent manuals we may mention the works of *Pareau* 1817; *Scholz* 1834; *Kalthoff* 1840; *Allioli* 1842; *De Wette* 1842. The natural history of the Bible has, in its various departments, been treated as a

special branch of biblical antiquities in such works as *Celsii Hierobotanicum*. Ups. 1745; *Sam. Bochart hierozoicon* (1663), the latest ed. by Rosenmüller, Leipz. 1793—96. 3 vols. (an almost inexhaustible store-house of the most choice and varied learning); finally *J. Jac. Scheuchzer Physica*, or Sacred Natural Hist., treating of the questions in natural history alluded to in the Scriptures, 5 vols. fol. 1731—79. *Donat.* 3 vols. 1777—79 published a condensed edition of this work. For *medical* questions consult *J. P. Trusen* the diseases of the Bible and notes on the passages which refer to medicine, Posen 1843; and *J. B. Friedreich's* Fragments on the natural hist., anthropol., and medic. of the Bible, 1848, 2 vols.

(2.) *Palestine*, the *holy* land is the soil on which our history develops. Besides, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and the countries of Western Asia occasionally claim also consideration. A complete index of the literature of *Biblical Geography*, in so far as it refers to Palestine, is furnished in *Robinson's Palestine* ii. pp. 533 and following.¹ As sources and auxiliaries in the investigation of the geographical questions connected with our history, we have, besides the Bible, Josephus, the Talmud, and the Greek and Roman historians and geographers, especially the *tabula Theodosiana*, better known by the name of *Peutingeriana*, being an index (or a kind of rough map) of the military roads in the Roman empire during the reign of Theodosius the Great, and of the distance between the various towns. This map, so long in the possession of Privy Counsellor Peutinger, is now in the imperial library at Vienna. Mannert has given an exact reprint of it (Leipzig 1829)—the section referring to Palestine will be found in *Reland's Palæst.* p. 421.—*Eusebii* onomasticon urbium et locorum s. sacr. has only been preserved in the latin translation of Jerome. Edit. by *J. Clericus* in Nic. *Sanson's* Geogr. s. 1707. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* contains an index of names and distances, and dates from the fourth century. Comp. *Reland* l. c. p. 416 and following. Since then the holy land has, during every century, been visited and described by a multitude of travellers. The following works of recent travellers are among the most important for the geographical and historical knowledge of the country. *Niebuhr's* journey in the years 1761—67; that of *Seetzen* in 1803—10; of *Burkhardt* 1810—16; of *Schubert* 1839—40; of *Russegger* in 1835—41; and especially that of *Ed. Robinson*, Prof. in New York, who, in company with the Rev. *E. Smith*, a missionary thoroughly acquainted with the language and the customs of the country, visited Palestine and the countries south of it in 1838, after the most careful pre-

¹ The references are throughout to the *second* edition of Robinson's Palestine.
—THE TR.

paration, and under the most advantageous circumstances, for the sole purpose of investigating on the spot the most difficult portions of biblical geography.¹ The diary of this journey, edited by Professor Robinson, is an *opus palmare*. In great part it has satisfactorily solved difficulties formerly felt, and explained or vindicated many portions of sacred history on which criticism had attempted to throw doubts. The extensive work of Dr Wilson, who visited the holy places in 1843 ("the Lands of the Bible, 2 vols. Edinb. 1847") deserves in many respects attention, although, in point of real value, it is far outdistanced by that of his American predecessor. The journey of *Const. Tischendorf* (1844) was undertaken, in the first place, for other scientific purposes. It treats only incidentally of antiquarian and geographical subjects. *F. A. Strauss* and *W. Krafft* travelled in Palestine in 1845. They have since announced a work descriptive of Mount Sinai, and of about 30 places which they have succeeded in discovering.²

The following are the best *manuals* of biblical geography. *Hadr. Reland*, *Palæstina ex monum. vett. illustr.* 1714, a book of sterling value even in our own days.—*A. Fr. Büsching*, *Geography* Pt. V. 1785.—*K. Ritter* has incorporated in his geography (*Erdkunde*) 2d ed. Vols. xiv. xv. (1. 2.) xvi. (1. 2.) Berlin 1848 (*Peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, and Syria*), the materials of all former investigations, and furnished a masterly scientific work on the subject.³—*R. von Raumer's* *Palæstine* (1860) is a manual equally distinguished for its scientific merits and its Christian tone. The work of *L. El. Gratz* on biblical geography, which forms part of *Allioli's* biblical antiquities, does not come up to the present requirements of science. A popular book, of considerable merit, is the *biblical geography*, published by the *Cath. Union*, 6 ed., 1846. *Fr. Arnold's* *Palestine*, Halle 1845, shews learning, and deserves attention.

Before the work of *Robinson* had appeared, the *maps* of the Holy Land by *Grimm* and *Berghaus* were considered to be the best. They have since lost their value, on account of the many corrections and additions which the researches of Professor Robinson have made necessary. *H. Kiepert* has, with great

¹ In 1852, Professor Robinson revisited Palestine, and has accordingly communicated additional information. The results of these two journeys have recently been combined by him into one work (3 vols., London, 1856).—THE TR.

² Since the text was written, besides minor works, the following books on Palestine claim the attention of the scholar and student:—*Rabbi Schwartz's*, *De Stanley's*, *Lieut. Van der Velde's*, *Dean Stanley's* and *Mr. Tristram's*.—THE TR.

³ This portion has been translated by Rev. W. L. Gage (Edinburgh, Clark, 4 vols. 1867).

diligence and accuracy, drawn the maps for Professor Robinson's work. A number of maps have since appeared, each marking the latest discoveries. Kiepert has reduced the maps to the work of Professor Robinson in size, and added to them those of the lands east of Palestine (edited by *Ritter*, Berlin 1842, and a revised edition in 1859). On a much larger scale *C. Zimmermann* drew his map of Syria and Palestine (to illustrate the work of *K. Ritter*), Berlin 1851, in 15 sheets. Of other maps we may specially mention those of *Kutschelt*, Berlin 1843, and of *K. v. Raumer* and *Fr. v. Stölpnagel*, Weimar 1844, which latter, by adding other necessary maps, satisfactorily meets the demands of Bible students generally.

(3.) The principal authorities on the study of *mathematical* and *technical* CHRONOLOGY are *Ideler's* excellent and thorough writings; the manual of mathematical and technical Chronol., 2 vols., 1825, and the manual of Chron., 1831. Comp. also *W. Matzka*, Chronol. in all its departments, 1844. The Chronographies of *Jul. Africanus* and of *Eusebius* are of special importance to *historical* chronology generally, and particularly in its bearings on biblical history. The first of these works has been entirely lost, but Eusebius made considerable use of the information it conveyed in his Chronicon, or παντοδαπή ιστορία. But the original of this important work has also been lost, and only fragments of it have been preserved in the writings of the Syncellist *Georgius*. *Jerome* has furnished a translation (in remodelled form) of the 2d book of the Chronicon of Eusebius. In his "thesaurus temporum" *J. J. Scaliger* has attempted, by the most laborious research and the most acute combinations, to reconstruct the whole of that work. But not many years ago an *Armenian* translation of the original was discovered at Constantinople, and edited both by *Aucher* and *Aug. Mai*. (Comp. Niebuhr's histor. inferences from the Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius, in his miscellaneous writings, 1st collect., Bonn 1828). The *Chronicon Paschale*, composed in the spirit of Byzantine historians, contains a Chronology extending from the creation of the world to the time of the emperor Heraclius, arranged according to the paschal festivities. Edit. by *du Fresne*, Paris 1689, fol., and by *Dindorf*, Bonn 1832. Besides these we have to mention the Jewish Chronicon mundi majus et minus (סדר עולם ורבה וזוטא) hebr., Amstd. 1711; translated into latin with a Comm. by *J. Meyer*, Amsterd. 1649. The former extends to the time of the emperor Hadrian. Its reputed author was *R. Jose Ben Chilpeta* (Chalipta), who flourished about the year 130, known as the teacher of Jehudah Hakkadosh, the celebrated compiler of the Mishnah. The Seder Olam Sutha is of more recent date.

On chronology generally we have the comprehensive works of *J. J. Scaliger* de emendatione temporum, Par. 1583; *Seth Calvisius* opus chronologicum, Lips. 1605; *Dion. Petavius*, opus de doctr. temporum, Par. 1627, 2 vols. fol., edid. et auxit *J. Harduin*, Antv. 1723, 3 vols. fol.; *J. Marsham* canon chronicus ægypt. ebr. græc., Lond. 1672; *Alph. de Vignoles*, chronol. de l'hist. s. et des histt. étrang. qui la concernent, depuis la sortie de l'Égypte jusqu'à la captivité de Babyl. Berl. 1738, 2 vols. (*Fr. Clemencet*) l'art de vérifier les dates histor. Par. 1818.

The following works treat exclusively, or at least principally, of *Biblical Chronology*:—*Vitrunga* hypotyposis hist. et chron. s. 1774; *Alph. de Vignoles* chronologie de l'hist. s. depuis la sortie de l'Égypte jusqu'à la captivité de Bab., Berl. 1738, 2 vols.; *Bengel* ordo temporum (1741), ed. ii. cur. *Hellwag*, Stuttg., 1770; *Bennigsen*, bibl. chronol. of the O. and N. Test., Leipz. 1788; *Frank* nov. syst. chron. fundamentalis, with preface by Gatterer, 1788, fol.—a German condensation of this work appeared at Dessau in 1783; *J. N. Tiele* chronology of the O. T. to the first year of Koresh, Bremen, 1839; *A. Archinard* la chronolog. sacrée basée sur les découvertes de Champollion, Par. 1841; *G. Seyffarth* chronol. sacra, or enquiries into the year of the birth of our Lord, and into the chronology of the O. and N. T., Leipz. 1846.

NOTE.—When applying the *Christian* era to the events of Old Testament history, it is necessary first to place the latter into juxtaposition with cotemporary events in profane history, whose exact date has been definitely fixed. But this only becomes possible when we reach the point where Persian and Jewish history come into contact. But at this period Biblical chronology ceases to be independent. The chronology of the period preceding that of the Persian is as yet involved in such darkness and uncertainty, that it is impossible to apply any results thence derived towards ascertaining or fixing the data of Biblical chronology. This remark applies not only to Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, where we still wait for definite chronological results from the discoveries made in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, but also to the history of Egypt, the *results* of which,—if, indeed, they may be called results—are still so conflicting, uncertain, and doubtful that the time seems yet distant when Old Testament events may be examined and determined according to a standard furnished by them.

Bunsen imagines that in his work on Egypt (to which we shall by and by refer), he has succeeded in so combining the data gathered from monuments with the catalogues of dynasties drawn up by Manetho and by the Greek chronographers as to

present a perfectly trustworthy Egyptian chronology, reaching as far as the fourth millenium before Christ. By means of this chronology, he proposes to rectify, not only the dates of the histories of other nations, but also those of the Bible. He supposes that the latter were not handed down by authoritative tradition before the time of Solomon, and therefore is subject of enquiry, which must yield to the results of any other enquiry that may be carried on with better appliances. (Comp. Bunsen i. 288.) But the difference, and even the opposition, not only in the results obtained, but even in the principles laid down by the most celebrated students of Egyptian history—as exemplified in the works of *Champollion*, *Bunsen*, *Lepsius*, *Böckh*, not to speak of *Seyffarth*, whose labours have never been sufficiently appreciated—must convince every one that such anticipations are at least premature. The confidence with which, especially *Bunsen* and *Lepsius*, proclaim as undoubted truth hypotheses which only rest on arbitrary combinations and ungrounded assumptions, cannot mislead us. We hold that, in a scientific point of view, we are warranted, in the meantime, in abiding by that Biblical chronology, the trustworthiness of which has hitherto not been shaken by any doubts cast upon it.

J. K. Hofmann has attempted to reconcile Egyptian and Biblical chronology (on Egypt. and Isr. Chronol., 1847) in a manner deserving attention. While *Bunsen* and *Lepsius* fix the reign of Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, 4000 years before Christ, and hence, according to Biblical chronology, at the time of Adam, *Hofmann* endeavours to show that in Manetho's lists of dynasties three different modes of calculating the time from Menes to Psammenit, each extending over 1651 years, are mixed up with each other. In this manner he brings down the reign of Menes from the time of Adam to that of Abraham.

In order to calculate the data of Biblical chronology during the pre-Persian period, according to the Christian era, we must trace Biblical events backwards from the time of Cyrus and the close of the Babylonian exile. But it is often so difficult to reconcile these data, that it requires thorough and detailed examination of certain points, on which we can only enter in detail when treating of these periods. It will therefore be best simply to follow the thread of Biblical chronology, to investigate difficulties as they occur, to calculate according to years of the world up to the Babylonian exile, and then to adopt the Christian era. Only when, at the close of our labours, every difficulty has been separately treated, shall we present, in a chronological and synchronistic appendix, a survey of our general results, applying them also to the pre-Persian period.

(4.) On the province, character, and history of BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, comp. de excellent little treatise by *Oehler*, Prolegomena to the Theology of the O. T., Stuttg. 1846—the precursor of a very promising work on this science. The following are the more important books on this subject which have hitherto appeared:—*Ammon* Bibl. Theology, 2 ed., 3 vols., Erlang., 1801; *Kaiser* Bibl. Theol., 3 vols., Erlang., 1814—21; *de Wette* Bibl. Dogmatics of the O. and N. T., Berlin, 1813; *Baumgarten-Crusius* elements of Bibl. Theol., Jena, 1828; *v. Cölln's* Bibl. Theol., edited by *D. Schulz*, 2 vols., Leipz., 1836. Vol. i. contains the Theology of the O. T. In *Vatke's* Bibl. Theol., vol. i., Berlin, 1835, and *Bruno Bauer's* Critique of the History of Revelation (also under the title, the Religion of the O. T.), 2 vols., Berl., 1838, the religious history of the O. T. is constructed *a priori* on the ideas of *Hegel* about revelation. *Vatke* represents the religion of Israel as starting from the worship of nature, and becoming that of Jehovah only under the later prophets. *Plank's* Genesis of Judaism, Ulm, 1843, has a similar object. According to this writer, the religion of Israel had only gradually risen above the Chaldee fire-worship, which is in turn represented as identical with the service of Moloch. This direction was pushed to all its consequences in the writings of *Daumer* ("The Fire and Moloch Worship of the ancient Hebrews," 1842), and of *Ghittany* ("The Human Sacrifices of the ancient Hebrews," 1843), but in a manner not only extreme, but even palpably absurd.

All the above-mentioned books belong to the rationalistic school, the members of which more or less misunderstand the religious import of the Old Testament. But the lectures of *Steudel* (on the Theol. of the O. T., edit. by *Oehler*), as all the contributions from his pen, are distinguished by a reverence for Divine revelation in the O. T. unhappily too rare at that period. The lectures of *Hävernick* on the Theology of the O. T. (edited by *Hahn*, Erlang., 1848), are still more satisfactory, although they exhibit the defects attaching to a work which the author himself had not prepared for publication. The learned world still looks forward to the long-expected treatise on the subject, by *Oehler* of Breslau. The work on Biblical Dogmatics, by *Lutz* (edited from his lectures by *Rüetschi*, Pforzheim, 1847), indicates great scientific acquirements, and embodies a thoughtful and sober application of the principles and results of modern criticism of the sacred writings. *J. Chr. K. Hofmann's* Scriptural Demonstration (2 vols. 1857—59) is a work which really opens a new treatment of the subject, and forms and era, however many exceptions may be taken on some special points.

In his *Christology of the Old Testament* (3 vols., 1854—57)¹, *Hengstenberg* has treated the grand subject of O. T. theology on a purely exegetical plan. This work has led to the orthodox scientific consideration which the subject has since received. Of great importance, also, in this respect, was *J. Chr. K. Hofmann's* *Prophecy and Fulfilment in the O. and N. T.*, 2 vols., 1841—44, a work which, from its arbitrary exegesis, occasionally excites opposition, but on the whole powerfully stimulates the student, and promises to advance and remodel the development of Old Testament theology. It is specially distinguished for the energy with which the author treats the subject, and insists, both in theory and in practice, on the necessity of viewing prophecy and history in their continuous and organic unity and relationship. Comp. the excellent criticism of *Hofmann's* principles and results, in *Delitzsch's* "Bibl. Proph. Theol., its development by Chr. A. Crusius, and its latest form since the appearance of *Hengstenberg's* *Christology*, Leipz. 1845." The writings of *J. J. Stähelin* (the Messian. predict. of the O. T. in their origin and development, Berlin, 1847), and of *Fr. Dürstendieck* (de rei propheticae in V. Test., quum universae tum Messianae natura ethica, Gottg., 1852), recognise indeed the peculiar merits of *Hofmann's* method and views, but they afford only a meager sketch of the material presented. *A. Schumann's* *Christ, or the teaching of the O. and N. Test. about the person of the Redeemer*, Gotha, 1852 (vol. i., 1—125, *Christology of the O. T.*), attempts to combine a fundamental belief in Divine revelation with a refusal to acknowledge the O. T. writings as wholly revealed. Among works by Roman Catholic writers, we may mention the somewhat liberal and semi-rationalistic little treatise by *Jos. Beck*, on the development and exhibition of the Messianic idea in the sacred writings of the O. T., 1835, and the writings of *Fr. Herd* (*Explanation of the Messian. predict. in the O. T.*, i. 1, 2, 1837—45), and of *J. Bade* (*Christology of the O. T.*, 3 vols., 1850), which are strictly orthodox in their adherence to revelation and tradition, display industry, but are defective so far as scientific research is concerned.

§ 16. Although the canonical writings of the Old Testament are the special and the most important, they are not the *only* sources for which the historian of the Old Covenant has to search, or from which he has to draw. Next to them both as to the period of their composition and the spirit which they breathe are

¹ Translated in 4 vols. in Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

the *Old Testament Apocrypha*, which may be considered as embodying, with more or less purity and vigour, the echo and the effects of that spirit which gave birth to the canonical writings. (1.) Of greater importance, however—although the latter statement does not imply an equivalent of praise—for our purposes are the writings of *Fl. Josephus*, which are almost the only trustworthy authority for the political aspect of the age succeeding the close of the prophetic period. (2.) The *Talmud* affords many important supplementary notices, but its recesses have not yet been satisfactorily examined. (3.) Jewish *Monuments*, such as those which, in the history of other countries, form so important a link in the historical chain, are unfortunately almost entirely wanting (4.); but *foreign*, especially *Egyptian* monuments, shed a grateful light on certain points which have to be discussed, and *foreign authors* furnish important assistance whenever Jewish is brought into contact with secular history. (5.)

(1.) Roman Catholic historians—such as *B. Welte* spec. Introd. to the deuterocanon. writings of the O. T., 1844—have defended the historical authenticity of the OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA with great ability, although without always carrying conviction, against the attacks of Protestants, which sometimes were very violent (comp. especially *Rainold* censura librorum apocryphorum V. T. adv. Pontificios, inpr. Rob. Bellarminum, 2 vols., 1611; and the Introductions of *Eichhorn* and of *Bert-hold*). Comp. in defence of the Apocr. also *Aloys. Vincenci* sessio iv. conc. Trident. vindicata s. introd. in scripturas deut. can. V. T. 1842—44.—*O. F. Fritzsche* and *W. Grimm* have published an exegetical manual to the Apocrypha (1851—1860).

(2.) FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (the Jewish Livy) the son of Matusias a Jewish priest, belonging to the sect of the Pharisees, was born in 37 A.D. His work on Jewish antiquities, in 20 books, brings down the history of his people to the time of the Emperor Nero. A history of the Jewish War, of which, as Jewish general, he was an eye-witness, written at an earlier period than the antiquities, continues the history to the termination of the Jewish Commonwealth. Besides these two works he wrote two (Apologetic) treatises against Apion, an opponent of the Jews in Alexandria. The best edition of his works is that by *Haverkamp*, 1726, 2 vols. fol., which embodied the whole literature on Josephus at the time when it appeared;—that by *Oberthür*, 1782—85, 3 vols., by *Richter* (which contains

merely the text), 1826, 6 vols., and latterly by *Dindorf*, 1847. Tauchnitz has published an edition of the text in 6 vols. 1850. The *historical* credibility and the value of his writings have formerly been subject of frequent controversy. *Caes. Baronius*, *Leo Allatius*, and *Harduin* fiercely attacked, and *Scaliger*, *Gerh. Voss*, and *Casaubonus* as enthusiastically defended them. Josephus has, indeed, frequently enlarged and arbitrarily changed the biblical record by introducing legends, but he has also contributed to its elucidation, and sometimes supplemented its information on political questions. His primary aim was to present to educated Romans his nation and its history in the most favourable light. Hence he attempts to keep in the back ground its servitude, he paints in bright colouring, he explains away all that is miraculous and might thus raise objections in the mind of heathens, and he conceals what to him appeared the dark side; he ascribes even to the patriarchs such wisdom as the Greeks only possessed at their most advanced stage, &c. Although his work is, therefore, neither trustworthy nor of importance for the more remote periods of Jewish history, it is of the greatest value for that succeeding the exile; comp. *K. v. Raumer's* Palestine, 3 ed., pp. 428 following ("The credibility of Josephus").

The numerous treatises of PHILO, an Alexandrian Jew (born in the year 20 before Christ) are, on account of his want of acquaintance with Hebrew, of his tendency to allegorise, and his attempts at identifying platonic philosophy with O. T. modes of thinking, almost wholly useless for our purpose. The best edition of Philo is that by Thom. Mangey, 2 vols. fol., London 1742; *Pfeiffer* reprinted the text with a Latin translation, in 5 vols. 1785—92; *Richter* furnished a complete edition of the Greek text alone in 8 vols. 1828—30. As stereotype edition of the text was published by *Tauchnitz*, Leipz. 1851.

(3.) The TALMUD (*i.e.* teaching) is an important authority for the constitution and development of Judaism after biblical times. It contains a complete system of all the religious and civil ordinances of the Jews, as settled by the traditions and the teaching of Jewish sages since the close of the Old Testament canon. Jewish traditionalism consists of two parts:—1. of the *Halacha* (*i.e.* the Rule or Statute) which forms the authorised and authentic interpretation of the law. It is binding, and may not be called in question. 2. Of the *Haggada* (*i.e.* that which is told, narrated), which properly indicates only the private interpretation of sages, and accordingly may be called in question. Hence it only embodies that which was uttered, but not what at the same time constituted the Shemata (that which had been heard, taught in the schools). As it principally consists of

allegorical interpretations, and therefore generally appears in the shape of parables, fables, legends, &c., the term Haggada is often employed as equivalent for these modes of teaching. The TALMUD principally deals with the Halachoth. It consists of two distinct portions:—the *Mishna* (Deuterosis, lex repetita), which constitutes the text of the work, and contains the original traditions and teaching of the oldest school, and the *Gemara* (i.e. perfectio, perfecta doctrina), which contains a later and full commentary on the Mishna. The MISHNA dates from the commencement of the 3d century, and was compiled by Rabbi *Juda Hakkadosh*, who belonged to the school of Hillel, and presided over the academy at Tiberias. It consists of six *Sedarim* (series, orders), which again are subdivided into *Mesiktoth* or treatises. Each Seder has a title derived from the general contents of the section, as for example Serain (seeds), Moed (feasts), &c. The six Sedarim consist altogether of 63 treatises, whose titles are again derived from their contents (for example Berachoth, Kelaim, &c.). We possess an excellent Latin translation of the Mishna with the commentaries of *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* by *Surenhusius*, Amst. 1698—1703, 6 vols. fol.,—and a German, but unreadable version of the text only by *Rabe*, 1761—63, 6 vols.¹ The GEMARA is twofold: *Palestinian* (or Jerusalem) and *Babylonian*. The former was completed at a much earlier period than the latter—according to common statement by R. Joachim, in the 3d century. However references to much later personages and events, such as to Diocletian, to Julian, &c., occur in it. The Babylonian Gemara, completed under the auspices of Rabbins *Ashe* and *Joses*, in the 6th century, is a gigantic work, embodying the results of the most laborious and minute investigations of collectors and expositors, carried on during three centuries. Owing to the pre-eminence of the Babylonian academies and the contemporaneous decadence of those of Palestine, the Babylonian Gemara obtained special authority, and is now generally referred to when mention is made of the Talmud generally.² All attempts to translate the Talmud for the use of Christian students have hitherto proved ineffectual. The Abbé *L. Chiarini* attempted to render the Talmud into French, Par. 1831. Of this version only two volumes, however, have appeared. No more successful was the attempt of the learned Jew *Dr Pinner*, who proposed to

¹ An excellent edition of the Mishna, with German translation (in Jewish letters), and a selection from the commentaries, has been published by Dr Jost, in 6 vols., Berlin 1831, &c., under the auspices of a society instituted for the purpose.—THE TR.

² In quotations the Jerusalem Talmud is generally distinguished from the Babylonian by adding the letter *J.* when the former, and the letter *B.* when the latter is referred to.—THE TR.

publish the Babylonian Talmud, with a German translation, in 28 folio volumes. Only one volume of this work has appeared (Berl. 1842). Comp. also *Pinner's* compendium of the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, Berlin 1832—34. *Seb. Rave* de eo quod fidei merentur monumenta Judaeorum sacris in antiquit., in *Oetrich's* diss. 1. 6.¹

(4.) The only MONUMENTS of Jewish antiquity left us are a few coins dating from the times of the Maccabees, denominated Samaritan on account of the letters used in their inscriptions, some ruins of the foundations of the temple and of other ancient buildings, and the triumphal arch of Titus at Rome, with its representations of the spoils taken from the temple.

(5.) Among the FOREIGN NATIONS whose history comes into contact with that of the Jews, and about whom we possess independent information, we may mention the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The most important sources of EGYPTIAN HISTORY, both as regards authenticity and trustworthiness, are the MONUMENTS, with which, since the French expedition to Egypt, the learned world has become familiar. The very laborious and careful investigations of French, Italian, British, and German scholars, have already been attended with a measure of success far surpassing every expectation. The principal works on the subject are: *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches, qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française.* Par. (1809) 1821.—*Champollion*, monumens de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Par. 1837. (Comp. the Review by Gesenius in the Halle liter. Gaz. 1842, Nos. 110, &c., 145, &c.)—*Rosellini*, i monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, designati della spedizione scientif. letteraria Toscana in Egitto. Pisa 1832, 5 vols.—*Wilkinson*, manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. London, 3 vols. *Jul. Lud. Ideler's* (Junior) Hermapion s. rudimenta hierogl. vet. Ægyptiorum literaturæ ii. Partes 4, 1841, is a supplement and adaptation of the material furnished in these works. For the purposes of Biblical history and antiquities these enquiries have been largely made use of in *Taylor's* Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt, London 1838, and more especially for the explanation and vindication of the Pentateuch in *Hengstenberg's* Egypt and the books of Moses, Berl. 1841.² The numerous

¹ Various Talmudical treatises have been translated into various languages. A recent attempt of Dr Hirschfeld's to publish the Talmud with Latin notes has failed like all other previous attempts. We will not weary the reader by enumerating the titles and translations of the various treatises. The learned labours of Frankel, Geiger, Zunz, Delitzsch, Rappaport, and others have rendered Jewish literature much more accessible.—THE TR.

² Translated—Clark 1846.

treatises on Egypt by Seyffarth are not reliable, despite the thorough acquaintanceship of the author with his subject, on account of the preconceived opinions which give a colouring to all his enquiries. The work of *Schurtze*, *Ancient Egypt*, or the lang., hist., relig., and constit. of ancient Egypt, &c., Leipz. 1843—44, vol. i., sect. 1, 2 (treating only of the language), has remained incomplete.—*Lepsius*, who had distinguished himself in this department of study by an edition of “the book of the Egyptian dead,” Leipz. 1842 (from a hieroglyphic papyrus at Turin), was appointed chief of a learned expedition sent by the Prussian government to explore the antiquities in the valley of the Nile (1842—46). He has now published the results of his investigations in his “Monuments from Egypt and Nubia,” Berlin 1850, &c.¹

The only *native Egyptian writer* mentioned is MANETHO, who is stated to have been a noble Egyptian, and the chief of the priests of Heliopolis. In composing, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his work on Egyptian history, he is said to have made use of the archives of the temple. With the exception of a few extracts, preserved in *Josephus c. Apionem* and in *Eusebius' Chronicon*, and consisting almost exclusively of lists of dynasties, this production has been wholly lost. The value to be attached to Manetho has been matter of much dispute. According to *Hengstenberg* (in an appendix to *Egypt and the books of Moses*) the work is an intentional fraud, dating from the time of the Roman emperors. *Hengstenberg* attempts to prove this theory by shewing the gross errors committed by Manetho in treating of the religion, the manners, the language, and geography of the Egyptians. But this view is not adopted by any other enquirer. Against it comp. *Bertheau*: “Contrib. to the history of Isr.,” pp. 227, &c. The opinion of *Böckh* (in his recent work on Manetho, Berlin 1845, p. 7) is as follows: “The credibility of Manetho has, up to a certain point, been already established by the Egyptian monuments, and will probably more and more appear as discoveries proceed.” *Chr. C. Jos. Bunsen* is an almost enthusiastic advocate of Manetho. The object of his great work on Egypt (*Egypt's place in history*, 3 vols., Hamb. 1845) is to connect the various fragments of Egyptian history into a connected and harmonious whole, triumphantly to vindicate the authenticity of Manetho, to trace Egyptian history, by a perfectly trustworthy chronological table, to almost 4000 years before Christ, and to arrange the uncertain chronology of all other nations according to these results.—*Lepsius* attaches the same

¹ Among more recent writers on this subject we may mention Osborne, Kenrick, Max. Uhlemann, and others.—THE TR.

confidence to Manetho (the Chronology of the Egyptians, Introduction, and Part I.: Criticism of the Sources, Berlin 1849, fol.)—In the opinion of *Saalschütz* (Contrib. to a Crit. of Manetho, 1849), Manetho is an honest but somewhat uncritical compiler.

The Egyptian history of *Chæremôn*, an author despised on account of his ignorance, even in antiquity, dates from the time of the Roman emperors. Some fragments of it, replete with legends, are quoted in Josephus c. Apion.

Among foreign ancient writers on Egypt and its history, the first place belongs to *Herodotus*. He derived his information from personal intercourse with Egyptian priests, and from personal observation and enquiry in the country. The compilation of *Diodor. Siculus*, and the one-sided ideal description of Egyptian affairs in Plutarch, are much less important and reliable. Not so the fragments of the chronographers *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodorus*, preserved by *Syncellus*. These, although unfortunately very scanty, giving only the lists of Egyptian kings, are of very great importance. All these ancient notices and fragments about Egypt have been collated by *Stroth* (*Ægyptiaca*, 1782).

(6.) Students have long regarded the *Sanchuniaton* of Philo as the great native authority on PHENICIAN affairs. The grammarian *Philo Byblius* (who flourished under Nero and up to the time of Hadrian) had edited a Phenician history, which he introduced as a translation of a work discovered by him, and written by *Sanchuniaton*, an ancient Phenician sage. Only a few fragments of the work of Philo have been preserved by *Porphyrus* and by *Eusebius*, in his *praepar. evang.* But recent investigations have sufficiently proved that the book of Philo was itself a piece of imposition, devised to introduce his peculiar system of Atheism by putting it into the mouth of a very ancient author. More doubtful even is the claim of *Fr. Wagenfeld* in Bremen (died 1846), which at the time made so much noise, who pretended, by the intervention of Pereira, a Spanish colonel, to have obtained a complete copy of the manuscript of Philo *Sanchuniaton* from the Portuguese monastery of Santa Maria de Merinhao. *Wagenfeld* first published in German a compendium of the pretended manuscript of Philo, with a preface by *G. F. Grotefend*, Hanover, 1836; and when accused of fraud, and pressed, he printed what he designated as the original Greek text, with a Latin translation (Brem. 1837). But this contained little that was either new or of any importance. But although well written, the gross grammatical and historical blunders occurring in it almost gave certainty to the suspicions formerly attaching to its genuineness. Comp. *K. L. Grotefend* "The dispute about

Sanchuniaton, viewed in the light of an unpublished correspond.," Hann., 1836; *Schmidt von Lübeck*, "the newly discovered Sanchun.," Altona, 1838; *Hengstenberg* Contrib. ii., 209., &c.; *Morers*' "Spurious character of the fragments of Sanchuniaton," in the Bonn. Annals for Theolog. and Philos., and the work by the same author on the Phenicians, i. 116, &c.; *H. Ewald*, Dissert. on the views of the Phenic. on the creation of the world, and the histor. value of Sanchun. in vol. v. of the transac. of the Royal Soc. of Sc., in Göttg., 1851.

All the information which we possess about the religion and the history of the Phenicians is embodied in the classical work of *F. C. Morers*. "The Phenicians," vol. i., Bonn, 1841, vol. ii., 1, 2, Berl., 1849—50, &c.

(7.) *Berosus*, a priest of Belus, at Babylon, who probably flourished under the first Ptolemies, is the principal *native* CHALDEE writer with whose works we are acquainted. He composed three books of *Βαβυλωνία* (of which only fragments are extant in Josephus, c. Ap., and in Eusebius' præp. evang., and which *Richter* has edited in a collected form in 1825). His account is of special importance so far as Assyrian, Median, and Babylonian history are concerned. His notices of most ancient history correspond in so remarkable a manner with those contained in the book of Genesis, that it must at once occur that Berosus had partly been indebted to the Pentateuch. The few fragments of another native author, *Abydenus* (*περὶ τῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείας*), preserved by Eusebius, possess little real value. The *Greek* writers furnish only few incidental and not always trustworthy notices about Assyrian and Babylonian history. The most important of these are the fragments of *Ktesias*. Comp. *Perizonius*, *origines Babylonicæ* (to this day a standard work); *Palmblatt*, *de rebus Babylonicis*, 1821; *Münter*, the religion of the Babylonians, 1827; also *Morers* Phenicians, vol. ii.; and *P. F. Stahr* in his work on the Religious Systems of the East, 1856.

We do not possess any ANCIENT PERSIAN historical work composed by a native author. The most reliable authority is *Ktesias*, the physician of King Artaxerxes Mnemon. That monarch gave him access to the Persian archives. He composed twenty-three books of *Ἡεστιάς*, of which the first six contain a history of the *Assyrian* monarchy. Diodorus, Athenæus, and Plutarch, have preserved considerable portions, and Photius scanty fragments of this work. Next to Ktesias in importance, are the notices of *Herodot.*, *Xenophon*, and *Arrianus*. A careful compilation of all ancient notices about Persia is furnished in *Brissonius* *de regio Persarum principatu*, 1710; *Hyde*, *de relig. vett. Persarum*, Oxon., 1704. *Anquetil du Perron* brought the

Zendavesta in 1762 to Europe, and in 1771 gave a French translation of it (transl. into German by *Kleuker*, 1776, 3 vols.). The original was published by *Bournouf* in Paris in 1828. *Rhode's* Religious System of the ancient Bactrians, Persians, and Medes, 1826, is not very trustworthy. The subject is more satisfactorily treated in *Stuhr's* Religious Systems of the East.

A new era in the study of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian antiquity commenced with the investigations made by *Le Brun*, *Niebuhr*, *Ker Porter*, *Rich*, *Schulz*, &c., into the inscriptions on the monuments in these countries. The attempts of *Grotefend*, *Bournouf*, *Lassen*, *Rawlinson*, and *Westergaard* to decipher the Persian cuneiform inscriptions had been almost crowned with entire success, when the excavations of *Botta* and *Layard*, which indicated the site of ancient Nineveh, produced the most astonishing results. When scholars shall have succeeded in reading the various kinds of cuneiform inscriptions which cover the monuments which have already, or which shall yet be excavated, we shall be in possession of an amount of information on the ancient Asiatic nations and states more ample and extensive even than that which we possess about the Greeks and Romans, and fresh light will be shed even upon Biblical antiquities. Comp. the large and splendid work by *Faustin* and *Botta*, *monumens de Ninive*, Par., 5 vols. fol.; *A. H. Layard*, "Nineveh and its Remains;" Popular Account of the Excavations at Nineveh, by the same author; *W. S. W. Vaux*, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, a historical sketch of ancient Assyria and Persia, 1855; *J. Blackburn*, *Nineveh, its Rise and Ruins*, as illustrated by ancient Scripture and modern discoveries, 1850.¹

(8.) On the points of contact with Greek and Roman history, compare the later Greek and Roman writers. But their occasional notices about the internal history of the Jews are full of misrepresentations, originating in personal aversion and in manifest misunderstanding. The same remark applies to certain authors who have, "*ex professo*," treated of Jewish history, such as *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Apollonius Molo*, *Aristæus*, *Artapanus*, *Eupolemus*, *Hecataeus Abderita*, fragments of whose writings are preserved by Josephus, but especially in Eusebius' præp. evang. l. ix. Comp. *Schudt* compend. hist. jud. potissimum ex gentiliis script. collectum, 1700; and *Meier* Ju-

¹ Since the appearance of the first edition of this book, a number of other books on this subject have appeared. We specially mention "*Layard's Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*," and "*Loftus Chaldæa and Susiana*." Other writers are so well known to Biblical and other students as not to require special mention.—THE TR.

daica, 1832, which, however, are incomplete collections of the various notices and fragments of notices on Jewish history by profane writers.

For comparing the present state of the various lands adverted to in holy writ, with the statements of Scripture itself, the best work is *Dr Alexander Keith's* Fulfilment of Prophecy, Edinburgh.

LITERATURE OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 17. The Jewish Antiquities of Josephus (v. § 16, 2) may be considered the first attempt at a regular Old Testament history. Among Christian authors, we notice *Sulpicius Severus*, an African Presbyter of the fourth century, who composed a compendium, which, in elegance of style, aims to emulate Sallust. Most of the writers of *chronicles and ecclesiastical histories* in the middle ages commenced their narratives with the creation of the world, and hence treated also of Old Testament history, though in a manner wholly uncritical and unscientific. With the Reformation commenced a new stage in ecclesiastical history. But as the religious contests of that period did not draw special attention to the study of the Old Testament, the movement then begun did not affect this branch of history. Among the numerous *annals* of the seventeenth century, which treated especially of the harmony of Biblical and secular history, the work of Bishop *Usher* deserves special attention, and still retains its place. The works of *Prideaux* and *Shuckford* (supplemented by *Lange* and latterly by *Russell*) are meritorious. They are meant to show the substantial and chronological agreement between the classics of foreign nations and the accounts of the Bible. Without entering on secular history generally, and as a first part of general ecclesiastical history, the following writers treated of Old Testament history. Among Protestants, *Basnage*, *Vitringa*, and *Spanheim*; among Roman Catholics, *Natalis Alexander* and *Calmet*. The excellent history of *Buddens*, which has not yet been superseded, far exceeds in merit the other works which we have named. The work of *Rambach* has rather a devotional and practical than a scientific turn, but deserves notice as specially suited for

such purposes. All these works are not less distinguished by genuine faith than by industry, and thorough and conscientious investigation. But their historical criticism labours under the defects connected with the peculiar stand-point which theological orthodoxy occupied at that time. Their historical misconceptions arose principally from the mechanical theory attaching to the idea of inspiration and of revelation, which completely excluded the exercise of man's individuality and activity, both in the reception and in the delivery of the Divine revelation. The consequence of this was, that the organic progress in the Divine revelation of the plan of salvation remained unnoticed, that the different modes in which those who were the media of revelation regarded the truth were overlooked, instead of being viewed as supplementary of each other, and that it was ignored that knowledge of salvation was necessarily defective among the men of God under the old covenant. With this unfounded over-estimate of Judaism, a corresponding and still greater under-estimate of heathenism was connected. All deeper elements in heathenism and in heathen religions were overlooked, and the latter only regarded as devilish darkness and lies.

(1.) The best editions of the *sacra historia* of *Sulpicius Severus* are those by *Schöttgen* (1709) and *de Prato* (1741—54, 2 vols.). The Commentary by *Schotanus* *biblioth. hist. s. V. T. s. exercit. ss. in s. scr. et Joseph. per modum comment. in hist. s. Sulp. Sev.*, (1662—64, 2 vol.) is comprehensive, but too extended and not sufficiently arranged.

(2.) *Prideaux*, the Old and New Test. connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations, from the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ, 2 vols., 1716—18.—*Shuckford*, the sacred and profane hist. of the world connected, from the creation to the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, 3 vols., 1728—38. The work of Shuckford only extended to the death of Joshua. This hiatus was filled first by *Lange*, in his attempt at a harmony of sacred and profane writers, in the *hist. of the world*, from the times of the Judges to the decline of the kingd. of Isr., 1775—80, 3 vols.; and latterly by *Russell*, in "the connexion of sacred and profane history, from the death of Joshua until the decline of the kingdoms of Isr. and Judah," 1827, 2 vols.

(3.) *Spanhemii* *hist. eccles. vet. Test.* In the first volume of his *Opera*, Lugd. Bat. 1701.—*Vitringa*, *hypotyposis hist. et*

chronol. s. (1698).—*Basnage*, hist. du vieux et du nouv. test., 1704.

Nat. Alexandre, hist. eccles. veteris et novi Test. (1676). The best edit., Bing. 1784, 20 vols.—*Calmet*, hist. de l'anc. et du nouv. test., 1718, 2 vols.—*Buddei* hist. eccles. V. T. (1715), ed. iv., 1744, 2 vols.—*Rambach*, collegium hist. eccl. V. T., or Discourse on the eccles. hist. of the O. T., 1737, 2 vols.

§ 18. *English Deism*, which attained its climax in the first half of the 18th century, attempted to prove itself the champion of enlightenment chiefly by peculiar comments on biblical history. Next, French *Naturalism* (the system of the Encyclopædists), addressed itself to the same task, by endeavouring to popularise the superficial rational criticism of its predecessor, by means of its own peculiar "esprit" of levity. *Saurin*, *Stackhouse*, and *Lilienthal* were the ablest opponents of this Deism, and chiefly addressed themselves to the vindication of Biblical history. An imperfect and one-sided study of apologetics only gave a stronger impulse to the peculiar spirit of *those* times, and opened the way to Deism and Naturalism among the theologians of Germany. Under the name of Rationalism it soon obtained to almost exclusive dominion. Here also the champions of so-called enlightenment aimed their critical missiles principally against the Old Testament, its miracles and revelations. The intellectual impotency of Rationalism appears most clearly in this, that even those portions of Biblical, and especially of Old Testament history—such as the political relations of the Jewish nation and state, their connections with foreign nations—which are important and interesting, even to enquirers who deny the Divine revelation, remained wholly unnoticed. Rationalistic literature produced, up to about the year 1820, scarcely *a single* monument of real historical enquiry either important at the time or lasting. The rationalistic works on Old Testament history dating from that period have long ago lost all interest, if, indeed, they had ever possessed any.

The last able representatives of orthodoxy were *Alb. Bengel* and *Christ. Aug. Crusius*. Full of pietistic devoutness, free from scholastic dogmatism, and not sharing in that merely mechanical view of history peculiar to a former stage of orthodoxy,

yet retaining the belief of the Church, they deserved to become and were capable of forming the hopeful commencement of a new development in theological science. But their age was neither able nor prepared to comprehend or to follow them. This remark applies specially to *Crusius*, who was the first to propound the principles which lie at the foundation of all proper historical conception and treatment of the facts connected with salvation. But the attempts made by them had to give way before a lukewarm supernaturalism which now entered the lists against those who denied the truth of revelation. Still some, who had preserved much of the salt of the Gospel, busied themselves with the study of Old Testament history. Among their writings we specially mention the excellent work of the Wurtemberg divine, *Roos*, who, however, was rather of a practical than of a scientific turn, and that of the Mecklenburg pastor, *Köppen*, which recalls the inflexible firmness of former orthodoxy. The comprehensive history of Israel by *Hess* of Zurich did not, indeed, wholly escape the contaminating influence of the spirit of the times. Still, it is distinguished by pious reverence for the word of God, by the ability with which the most minute traits are caught, so as, in their combination, to form an attractive and lively portraiture. The general plan of, and the progress in, the history of the Old Test., is pointed out, although generally only in the spirit of pragmatism prevalent in his time.—The Roman Catholic writer, *Jahn*, followed in his wake, but wanted his depth both of intellect and of faith. Indeed, he was wholly smitten with the peculiar weakness of the Supernaturalism then current. A very different spirit breathes in the work of the noble-minded *Stolberg*, a convert to the Church of Rome, but a man full of intensity and joyousness of faith to a degree scarcely met in any other writer of that period.

(1.) *Saurin* discours historiques sur les événemens les plus remarquables du V. et N. Test., continued by *Du Roques* and *Beausobre*, 1720, &c.—*Stackhouse*, Defence of the history of the Bible (edited by Gleig)—*Lilienthal*, the good cause of Divine Revelat. vindicated against its enemies, 16 vols., 1760—82. *Herder*—in his letters on the study of Theol. i. 4—rightly refers in the following terms to this work, which still possesses

authority: "We have in Germany one who has vindicated Scripture, one whom foreigners may well covet—so quietly and without excitement did he teach. His 'good cause of Revelation' is a perfect library of opinions *pro* and *con.*, a sea of learning and a survey of objections and replies to them, a real *Moreh Neruchim* (doctor perplexorum) for these writings."

(2.) *Bengel*, l.c. (v. § 13. 3). *Crusius* hypomnemata ad theolog., prophet., 3 vol., 1764;—comp. the work (mentioned above § 15. 4.) by *Delitzsch* on bibl. and prophet. Theol.

(3.) *Roos*, Introduct. to bibl. history up to the time of Abraham,—and *his* footsteps of the Faith of Abraham in the biographies of the patriarchs and prophets. New edit. 1835—38, 3 vols.—*Köppen*, the Bible, a work of Div. Inspir., 3d edit., with notes by *J. G. Scheibel*, 1837, 2 vols.—*Hess*, Hist. of Israel before the time of Christ, 12 vols., 1776—88; The Kingdom of God (by the same author), 1795, 2 vols.; Substance of the doct. about the Kingdom of God (by the same), 1826; Libr. of sacred hist. (by the same), 1791, 2 vols.—*Jahn*, bibl. Archæology (vol. ii., 1. 2. polit. antiq., with Jew Hist., 1800).—*von Stolberg*, hist. of the relig. of Jesus (vol. i.—iv., hist. of the Old Test.), 1806, &c.

§ 19. Despite its incapacity of producing anything lasting, and the mischief which it had wrought both in Theology and in the Church, Rationalism was not wholly without influence for good on theological science. The orthodox mode of treating the history of salvation was also benefitted thereby. Theologians had learned, what had formerly been ignored by the orthodox, to view the Scriptures and sacred history in their human aspect and bearing also. Thus dogmatic bigotry passed away, and the idea attaching to inspiration was no longer that of the mechanical theory. To these impulses must be added those connected with the religious improvement in the spirit of the age, consequent on the German wars of liberation, and with the mighty progress which secular science had made during the first decades of our century. Besides, the deep researches into profane history, a better appreciation of heathenism, more thorough philological investigations, &c., exercised all a most beneficial influence on theological science. More particularly with reference to the Old Testament, *Stendel* formed the transition from mere supranaturalism to modern orthodox and scientific Theology. But this divine, so eminent for his piety and talent, was still in

part warped by the peculiarities of the system which has henceforth to be relinquished. Much more powerful and energetic proved the influence of *Hengstenberg* (since 1829), constituting an era in the revival of orthodox investigation into the Old Testament. Since that time the resources of scientific investigation have increased year by year. Among its champions *Hofmann* is specially distinguished, and indeed occupies a place of his own, as the representative of a new scientific stand-point. But notwithstanding the almost indefatigable activity of that school, the entire Old Testament history had not hitherto been treated in a scientific and learned manner, although a considerable number of preparatory works have appeared. We may, however, call attention to some popular books on the history of salvation among them, especially to those by *Zahn*, *Kalkar*, *Ziegler*, and by the author of this work. The little work by *Ziegler* deserves particular notice, as distinguished for profound views, and for its organic arrangement of Old Test. history, on the basis of the principles laid down by *Hamann*.

But the opposite party numbers also many and very able students of the Old Testament. Faithful to the negative tendency of their school, some attempt to develop their principles more cautiously, others in a reckless and merely destructive spirit. The latest works which have appeared on Jewish History generally belong to this school. They deny the immediate operation and influence of the Divine element in O. T. history, and reduce all to natural and ordinary causes of development. *Leo's* Lectures on Jewish history (1828), distinguished for their boldness, talent, and power of conception and execution, would reduce the peculiar elements of Jewish History to hierarchism and priestly imposture. The able author of this work has, however, long since acknowledged—both by word and deed—that this mode of viewing the subject had been totally false. The historical articles in "*Winer's Real-Lexicon*" are, as indeed the whole work is, models for the indefatigable industry displayed, for the trustworthy authorities adduced, for the variety of material, for the study of the whole literature of a subject embodied in them, for their moderation and caution of criticism, and for manifest readiness to profit even by the writings of opponents. The historical treatise of *Bertheau* deserves special notice and praise,

on account of its thoughtful and thorough investigation of the political and industrial aspects of Jewish history. The work of *Ewald* is not a negative and sceptical view of this subject, but an attempt at vivid apprehension of history as a purely natural process of development, and at a historical reproduction of this process. Throughout, his work is full of fresh and vigorous enthusiasm for the subject. But it proceeds on a subjective and arbitrary criticism, which at the same time, however, affects an air of omniscience and of infallibility. The historical work of *Lengerke* is comprehensive in its plan, but much inferior to the two which we have just mentioned, both in point of independent investigation and of original conception. Its merits are industry in compilation, extensive materials, and great calmness and moderation. The attempt of *Redslob* to construct a history of Jewish antiquity on the basis of very arbitrary etymological interpretations of the names of Old Testament personages and nations, setting aside all biblical notices, is really the climax of critical absurdity. The Jewish history of *Dr Jost* is written from the modern Jewish stand-point.

(1.) *Steudel*, Glances at the Old Test. Revel., in the Tübingen Journal of Theol., 1835; and his Lectures on Old Test. Theol. The works of *Hengstenberg* and of *Hofmann* have in part already been, and will in the sequel be farther, referred to.

(2.) *Zahn*, the Kingdom of God on earth, 3d ed., vol. i., 1838; *Kalkar*, Biblical Hist., in Lectures addressed to educated persons, 1839, 2 vols.; *Ziegler*, Hist. Development of Div. Revel. in its principal phases, viewed speculatively, 1842; *Kurtz*, Manual of Sacred Hist., a guide to the proper understanding of the Divine plan of redemption, 1858.

(3.) *Winer* bibl. Real-Lexicon, 2 vols., 3d ed. 1848. *Bertheau*, Contrib. to the Hist. of Israel, 2 Dissert., of which the second bears the title, "The Inhabitants of Palest., from the most ancient times to the Destruct. of Jerus. by the Romans," Götting. 1842. *Ewald*, History of the people of Israel to the time of Christ, 1853-65, 3 vols. (The third vol. consists of two parts. A special part, in the form of an appendix to vol. ii., treats of the antiquities of the people. The work has since passed through a second edition). *Lengerke*, Kenáan, a history of the people and of the religion of Israel, vol. i., 1844. *Redslob*, the Old Testament names of the population, both of the real and of the ideal Jewish commonwealth, Hamb.,

1846. *Jost*, Hist. of the Isr. Nation to our own times, Berl., 1857—59.¹

¹ A large number of other works have since appeared, of which we shall only mention the most prominent. *Kitto's* Bibl. Encyclop., of which a new edition has lately appeared (by Dr Burgess), is, in point of thoroughness, not equal to the work of Dr Winer, which it frequently follows very implicitly. Especially does it furnish much fewer data to assist the student in making farther investigations. But it abounds in modern illustrations, and, generally speaking, is a work which, from its plan and execution, deserves the notice and respect of every Biblical student. The other English encyclopædias are chiefly for popular use. *Dr Herzog's* great "Real Encyclopædia for Protestant Church and Theology," is a work every way worthy of the cause, of the writers engaged in it, and of the learned editor. So far as it has hitherto proceeded, it may indeed be characterised as leaving little to be desired. Among other subjects connected with theology, it of course gives due prominence to all Biblical questions. Among other writers on Jewish history, we may mention *Prof. Newman*, whose work (History of the Hebrew Monarchy) is conceived in the peculiarly negative strain of his school; *Maurice's* "Prophets and kings of the Old Testament," which exhibit the mental excellencies and the theological characteristics of that author; *Smith* (Sacred Annals: The Hebrew People, or History and Religion of the Israelites); *Dr Raphall* (Biblical History of the Jews, from 420 B.C. to 70 A.C.) an American Jewish writer, whose history ignores Christianity, and combines an incredible amount of self-sufficiency with defective study and want of accuracy. The "History of the Jewish Nation," by the Translator of this volume (2d ed., Edinburgh, T. Constable and Co., 1857), properly commences *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, and attempts to give a complete survey of Jewish manners—of family, social, and political life—of commerce, trades, arts, sciences, theology, &c., from the time of Christ, making continual reference to previous periods. Among more popular works, we may mention *Dr Kitto's* Hist. of Palestine (London, Ch. Knight, 1850); *The Scripture Lands*, by the same author (London, Bohn, 1850); *Rev. W. Brooks' Hebrew Nation* (London, Seeley's, 1841); and others. In German or French a number of works on special periods of Jewish history have appeared (such as those of *Salvador*, of *Herzfeld*, of *Eisenlohr*, &c.), to which reference may be made when treating of the periods on which they respectively bear.—

THE TR.

II.

P R E P A R A T O R Y H I S T O R Y

OF THE

O L D C O V E N A N T.

PROVINCE OF THE PREPARATORY HISTORY.— ITS SOURCES AND AUXILIARIES.

§ 20. The preparatory history of the Old Covenant is also at the same time the primeval history of mankind. It comprises an account of the first developments of the whole race, to the period when heathenism and Judaism diverge in different directions. But it does not fall within its province to trace, in all their relations, the developments of this period, which offers so many problems, part of which are not yet solved. It follows them only so far as they are the condition or the basis of the origin, direction, and development of the Old Covenant.

(1.) Gen. i.—xi., which hands down the traditions of the primeval period, contains the BIBLICAL SOURCE of this preparatory history. The canonical authority of this document constitutes the warrant of its *contents*. These accounts are *legendary*, in so far as during many centuries they were handed down in oral tradition, before being embodied in a written record. But these *legends* possess the authority of *history*, because they are derived from the personal experience and the recollection of cotemporaries; because they were transmitted from primeval to historical times through the medium of comparatively few members of a family consecrated to God (Gen. v. 11), (the first man lived to the time of Lamech, the father of Noah, and his grandchild Shem to the time of Abraham); and lastly, because even though these legends should, in the course of time, have been impaired by mythical embellishments, the person or persons who wrote them down were under the immediate influence of the Spirit of God, who supernaturally assisted and corrected their merely human researches. It is indeed true that part of these accounts lies beyond the range of human experience or recollection. Such, more especially, is the case with the history of creation in Gen. i. ii. In respect of this account, we can neither

agree with rationalistic commentators in considering it a philosophumenon suggested by primeval sages, nor with *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr. i., pp. 231, &c., 243) in regarding it as an inference on the part of the first man, as to the mode in which all things had arisen, gathered from a *surrey* of that which had arisen. With *Delitzsch* (Genesis p. 49) we trace it to Divine *Revelation*. But while this scholar regards this revelation as communicated by special *instruction*, we hold that it was imparted through a kind of *prophetic intuition*, when he who first related the legend of creation learned the history of the developments which preceded the creation of man in a manner analogous to that in which later prophets learned to know the history of the future. In both circumstances, the period in which the seers lived formed the starting-point of Divine Revelation; in the former case as the close of the past, in the latter as the germ of the future. For farther details, v. the author's "Bible and Astronomy," 3d ed., ch. iv., § 1—3.

(2.) Two questions have been raised. It is asked whether the author of the book of Genesis, as presently existing, had been the first to write down the legend of primeval history, or whether, in the arrangement and elaboration of his work, he had made use of written records already existing? and again, at what period the author or his predecessors, of whose writings he had made use in the Biblical record, had lived? But a critical reply to these enquiries is of small importance to *us* in deciding as to the faithfulness, trustworthiness, or credibility of these legends themselves. For their *highest* authentication we depend not on the human origin of the Biblical records, but on the Divine co-operation which supported and assisted those who wrote them. Of this Divine co-operation we are not only assured by certain express statements to that effect in the Scriptures, and by the testimonies of Moses, of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, but also by the Divine power which has wrought and still works by them, by Christianity itself, which is their ripe fruit (for the tree shall be known by its fruit), and by the history of the world, which, on its every page, bears testimony to the Divine character of Christianity.

We may, therefore, confidently leave to critical research the task of replying to such enquiries; nor do we require to wait for the final and absolutely certain solution of every critical problem (which human science, as such, may perhaps never attain) before feeling warranted to compile a Biblical history which presupposes the credibility of Biblical records. For even if we granted to objectors like *Bertheau*, that not only the composition of the book of Genesis, and of the whole Pentateuch, as presently existing, but even that of the entire cycle of Old Testament his-

torical records, from Genesis to 1 Kings xxv., were to be attributed to Ezra as the restorer of the law of Moses and of sacred literature generally—that this prophet had collated the present Pentateuch from the relics of sacred literature then existing among the Hebrews, and from the legendary recollections of their history—nothing would be gained by our opponents. For in his investigations into the sacred laws and sacred history, Ezra himself was also moved and enlightened by the Spirit of God. We should therefore be warranted in regarding those relics of a former literature, which Ezra collated and elaborated, as the products of sacred historiography, *i.e.*, as historical compositions made by him with Divine co-operation. And surely to ascribe these compositions to Ezra is the utmost limit to which a *reasonable* criticism can push the point in question, at least with reference to the Pentateuch. To trace its origin, and that of the entire literature of the Old Testament, to the command of one of the Maccabean princes, is so wild a hypothesis as only to occur to the mad criticism of a *Sørensen*.

But let it not be supposed that we are obliged to make even this or any similar concession. On the contrary, it is a historical fact, better established than any other in antiquarian research, that the Pentateuch is the basis and the necessary preliminary of all Old Testament history and literature, both of which—and with them Christianity as their fruit and perfection—would resemble a tree without roots, a river without a source, or a building which, instead of resting on a firm foundation, was suspended in the air, if the composition of the Pentateuch were relegated to a later period in Jewish history. The references to the Pentateuch occurring in the history and literature of the Old Testament are so numerous and comprehensive, and they bear on so many different points, that we cannot even rest satisfied with the admission which *Bertheau* himself would readily make, that many portions of the present Pentateuch date from the time of Moses, and were only collated and elaborated by a later editor. We go further, and maintain that the whole Pentateuch, its five books, and all the portions of which it is at present made up, is the basis and the necessary antecedent of the history of the Jewish people, commonwealth, religion, manners, and literature. We have not reached that stage in our researches, when we shall submit proof for this assertion. This indeed is the object of the history which we propose to furnish in the following pages. We shall, in the meantime, therefore, only refer to some works which, in treating of Biblical introduction, have more or less satisfactorily and comprehensively discussed this train of argument. (Comp., besides *Hengstenberg's* Contributions to the Introduction to the O. T., vols. ii. and iii., and *Delitzsch's* Exposition of

Genesis, p. 4, &c., the works to which we shall immediately refer.)

The necessity of considering the Pentateuch as the basis of Jewish history, in all the relations of its internal development, on the one hand, and, on the other, the appearance, at the very period when the Pentateuch must have been composed, of the man whom Israel celebrated as the founder of its national and political history, has always induced, both the representatives of the synagogue and of the Church, to maintain, in accordance with the most ancient tradition, the Mosaic authorship of this, the fundamental work of the Old Covenant. But this principle may be held in a narrower and in a wider acceptance of it. In the former case, the whole Pentateuch, as at present existing, is held to be from the pen of Moses (of course, regarding the passage Deut. xxxii. 48—end as a later addition and conclusion written by a cotemporary who survived Moses). In the latter case, it is thought that only certain portions of the Pentateuch had been written by Moses himself, and the rest by his contemporaries or survivors (collaborators or disciples), either at his own behest, and under his own superintendence, or at least in the same spirit, and that with them the sections and fragments left by Moses himself had been combined into one work. The latter opinion has of late been advocated by *Delitzsch*, l. c.; the former (which is also the old one), has latterly been set forth in the following works: *Hengstenberg*, The Authenticity of the Pentateuch, 2 vols., 1836—39; *F. H. Ranke*, Researches into the Pentateuch from the point of view of a higher criticism, 2 vols., 1836—40; *Hävernick*, Manual of Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the O. T., vol. i. 1, 1836 (translated into English, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark); *Drechsler*, Defective Science in connection with the Criticism of the Old Test., 1839, and *his* Unity and Genuineness of Genesis. 1838; *Wette*, The Post-Mosaic in the Pentat., 1841; *Herbst*, Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the s. writings of the O. T., edit. by *Wette*, vol. ii., 1841; *Scholz*, Introd. to the s. writings of the O. and N. T., 1845, vols. i. ii.; *the Author's* Contribut. towards proving and defending the Unity of the Pent., 1844, and *his* "Unity of Genesis, a Contrib. towards the Criticism and the Exeg. of Genesis," Berlin, 1846; *Keil* on the Names of God in the Pentat., in the Luther. Journal for 1852, pt. ii. The same view will be maintained and defended by the author in the Introduction, which is soon to appear.

In his critical investigations, *Delitzsch* rightly starts from the testimony which the Pentateuch bears of itself. The books of Exodus and Numbers contain four references to a command of God given to Moses to record certain facts. In Ex. xvii. 14 he

is commanded to write for a memorial in a book the will of God concerning the destruction of Amalek by Joshua. According to Ex. xxiv. 4 he recorded the fundamental law given on Sinai in a book (called the covenant-book, Ex. xix.—xxiv.), from which he read to the people during their solemn covenanting by sacrifice. When this covenant, broken by the worship of the golden calf, was, through the mercy of God, again renewed, Moses was commanded (Ex. xxxiv. 27) to write down the fundamental laws declared on that occasion. Lastly, according to Num. xxxiii. 2, Moses kept a list of the various encampments of the people in the wilderness, manifestly the same which is given in vv. 3—49. As to the authorship, or the time and mode of composition of the other portions of these books, we derive no further information about them from the text itself. Some, indeed, think that Deut. xxxi. 9 affords such testimony in favour of the whole Pentateuch. In that passage we are informed that Moses had written “this Torah,” and given it to the priests and to the elders of Israel, with the injunction to read it to the people at every feast of tabernacles. But it can readily be shown that this expression could not have referred to the entire Pentateuch-Thorah. For when in Deut. xxvii. 8 it is commanded to grave, at a future period, all the words “of this Torah” on Mount Ebal, and when, in fulfilment of this command, Joshua (Josh. viii. 32) there grave into stones “a copy of the Torah of Moses,” we are surely not to believe that this expression refers to the whole Pentateuch, but only that it applied either to Deuteronomy, or, perhaps, only to the legal portions of that book. The same remark undoubtedly applies, also, to Deut. xvii. 18, where the future king of Israel is enjoined to make “a copy of this Torah,” and to Deut. xxxi. 10, according to which “this Torah” was to be publicly read once in seven years. We may add that the latter is the view handed down by the unanimous exegetical tradition of the Synagogue itself. Hence Deut. xxxi. 9 affords distinct testimony as to the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy up to this passage. But it does not appear whether the succeeding sections down to Deut. xxxii. 48 were written by Moses himself or added by another after the death of Moses (as doubtless was the case with chaps. xxxiii. xxxiv.) The Pentateuch itself gives no other explicit testimony about the composition of any of its other portions, while the distinct statement that certain sections had been written by Moses himself, seems rather to favour the supposition that the others had *not* been written by him.

In order to ascertain their origin, *Delitzsch* next enters upon an investigation into the manner in which the names of the Deity are employed in these sections. From Gen. i. to Exod. vi.

the terms *Elohim* and *Jehovah* alternate in such a manner that the exclusive or prevailing employment of one or the other of these two names constitutes a characteristic mark of entire and large sections. It is manifest that the employment of either of these peculiar terms was designed. But what, he asks, is the explanation of this design? We doubt not, he replies, in very many of these passages the special meaning attaching to these terms accounts for their use. (Comp. § 13, i.) But this explanation evidently does not suffice to account for some other passages—especially for such where the expression *Elohim* is exclusively employed, while that of *Jehovah* is purposely avoided, and that even where the latter seemed to tally with the bearing of the passage. It appears to him that Ex. ii. 6 throws light on this subject. In that passage Elohim declares to Moses that He had appeared to the patriarchs as El-Shaddai, but had not been known to them by His name as Jehovah (comp. below, § 96, 1, 2.) This declaration does not, indeed, imply that the name *Jehovah* had been wholly unknown to the Patriarchs, but it indicates that they had not had full knowledge of what this name implied concerning the Divine Being. On account of this circumstance, the historian who wrote that passage may readily have been induced to avoid the use of the name *Jehovah* in his record of pre-Mosaic history up to that period, and to prefer employing the more general name of *Elohim*. But a second historian, engaged in recording the pre-Mosaic history, may not have felt himself equally bound by this consideration. Thus, without contravening Ex. vi. 2, 3, he may have made use of either the one or the other of these names, being guided in his choice only by the difference of ideas attaching to them. We are, therefore, shut up to the conclusion that the record of pre-Mosaic history, as contained in Gen. i. to Ex. vi., was composed by two historians, whose writings are mingled and combined in the Pentateuch as presently existing. This view is further said to be confirmed by the fact that in the Elohist portions, and in these only, the name El-Shaddai frequently recurs along with that of Elohim, while the name Jehovah occurs only very rarely, in specially marked passages, and then, as it were, in a preparatory and fore-shadowing sense (as, for example, in Gen. xlix. 18). We are further told that a totally different *usus loquendi*, and certain favourite forms and terms, distinguish the Elohist from the Jehovistic sections—a difference which, if frequently, is not always accounted for by the difference of ideas conveyed by these terms. As after Ex. vi. the Elohist employs promiscuously either of the two names of God, and hence this criterion of his compositions ceases, the difference in the *usus loquendi* furnishes, also, the means of distinguishing what parts in the later sections

of the Pentateuch were written by each of these authors. Thus we gather that all Leviticus is from the pen of the Elohist, while both authors were engaged in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. If the foregoing statements are correct, we cannot any longer be in doubt as to the manner in which the labours of these two authors were combined into one work. Manifestly the Elohist portions form the basis of the whole. After separating them from the Jehovistic sections, they form by themselves an almost complete and coherent work. No doubt the Jehovist had the Elohist work before him, and enlarged and completed it by the addition of smaller or larger sections as required. In doing so he displayed great respect for the labours of his predecessor. Generally he inserted these compositions without any alteration, but occasionally, if necessary, he re-wrote them, or (as, for example, in the history of the Fall), omitted a whole section, substituting in its place another of his own composition.

Manifestly, this mode of viewing the question, both in the peculiar criticism applied to it and in the results to which it leads, resembles in many respects what is known as the "supplement hypothesis" advocated by *Tuch* (comment. to Genesis); by *Stähelin* (Critic. Invest. of Gen., 1830, and Crit. Investig. of the Pent., Josh., &c., 1843); by *De Wette* (Introduct. to the O. T.); by *C. v. Lengerke* (Kenaan). Indeed it may probably be designated as that prevalent in modern Theology.¹ But in the farther development of his views *Delitzsch* diverges

¹ *Ewald's Christallisation-hypothesis* (as *Delitzsch* calls it) although based on an assumption of critical omniscience and infallibility, and hence exacting implicit reception, has not found any support among the learned. *Ewald* supposes that seven works were incorporated in the "great book of what had taken place from the first, or in primeval history" (including the Pentat. and Joshua). (1) The oldest historical work, of which only very few fragments are preserved, was the book of the wars of Jahve. Then follows—(2). A biography of Moses of which also only a few scanty fragments have been handed down. Much more has been preserved (3) of the covenant-book, or the book of covenants, written during the time of Samson, and (4) of the book of origins, the author of which was a priest at the time of Solomon. These writers are followed (5) by the third narrator of primeval history or the first prophetic narrator, a citizen of the Kingdom of Israel at the time of Elijah or of Joel. —(6) by the fourth narrator of primeval history (or the second prophetic narrator) who flourished and wrote between 800 and 750, and (7) by the fifth narrator of primeval history (or the third prophetic narrator) who appeared not long after Joel, and who collated all former authorities on preparatory history. Then commenced the purely artistic application of primeval history "when the sacred soil of this history merely served as the material for prophetic and legislative purposes." This was done first by an unknown author, in the beginning of the 7th century, and then on a much more comprehensive scale by the author of Deuteronomy, the prophet who restored and completed the ancient Law, and who lived at the time of Manasseh and wrote in Egypt. Finally, during the time of Jeremiah flourished the author of the poem entitled

considerably from his predecessors. *Lengerke* supposes that the Elohist flourished at the time of Solomon and the Jehovist at that of Hezekiah; *Tuch* that the former lived under the reign of Saul and the latter under that of Solomon; and *Stühelin* places the one in the period of the Judges, the other at the time of Saul. But *Delitzsch* maintains that the Elohist and primary portion of the work had been composed either during the life time of Moses, or more probably soon after his death, and that the Jehovistic or supplementary portion had been written at a somewhat later stage, but at any rate at the time of Joshua. Besides, while the above-named critics consider Deuteronomy as the last composed portion of the Pentateuch (although *Stühelin*, differing in this from *De Wette* and from *Lengerke*, supposes that the author of Deuteronomy was also that of the supplemental portion), *Delitzsch* regards Deuteronomy and the sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, which Moses himself had written (and which these other critics ascribe to the author of the supplementary sections), as the most ancient portions of the whole work.

Delitzsch sums up his general conclusions as follows (p. 27): "The roll of the law (Ex. xix—xxiv.), written down by Moses himself, and now inserted into the general historical account of the giving of the law, must be regarded as the central part, as having formed the primary basis of the Pentateuch. The other laws promulgated during the stay in the wilderness of Sinai and up to the time when Israel occupied the plains of Moab were orally given by Moses, but written down by those around him, either at his command or of their own accord. As Deuteronomy, so far from indicating that the laws formerly given had been written down, repeats them, and that not literally, it is not necessary to suppose that during the passage through the wilderness these laws had ever been committed to writing. On the soil of the holy land and at the close of an era in the history of Israel was the sacred chronicle commenced. But any account of the history of the Mosaic period necessarily implied that the whole Mosaic legislation should be engrossed, and hence written down. A man, such as the priest Eleazar, the son of Aaron, may have

"the blessing of Moses." A somewhat later historian then combined the work of the author of Deuteronomy, which had originally been an independent composition, the smaller sections written by his two colleagues, and the work of the fifth narrator into one great work. Such "vicissitudes did this great work undergo before attaining its present form." Happily for us *Ewald* is able not only to assign to each of these ten authors his own part in the great work even to single verses and words, but generally also to distinguish and to characterise the sources from which each of them had again drawn his original materials!

written the large work commencing with "In the beginning God created, &c.," into which he also inserted the roll of the law, dwelling perhaps the more briefly on the last addresses of Moses that the latter had himself written them down. Then a second historian, such as *Joshua*, or one of these Elders on whom rested the spirit of Moses, supplemented the work and incorporated with it the book of Deuteronomy, the spirit of which had moulded that of the compiler himself. Thus probably was the *Thorah* formed, the two authors having certainly consulted many written documents. Both of them—the priestly Elohist and the prophetic Jehovahist—are each in his own way the echo and the copy of their teacher and prototype, the great Lawgiver. Just as the Evangelists wrote the Gospel after the ascension of Christ in His Spirit, so did these two after removal of Moses write his law and the history of which it forms part. It seems as if the remarkable passage in *Ezra* ix. 10—12, where a commandment of the *Thorah* given during the passage through the wilderness is mentioned as being the commandment of the servants of Jehovah, the prophets, were due to the consciousness that the *Thorah* had been written in this manner.

If we are asked to pronounce an opinion about these conclusions of the critical investigations of our respected friend, Dr Delitzsch, we cheerfully allow that much may be urged in their favour—(1) The method by which the learned author has arrived at them is neither liable to the objection of being rash, inconsiderate, and superficial, nor to that of being tainted by dogmatical prejudices; (2) he fully admits and defends all those elements for which, in the first place, those contended who defended the authenticity and unity of the *Pentateuch* against its antagonists; and (3) he gives their due weight to some of the arguments of opponents, which formerly apologetic critics had not sufficiently appreciated, while yet he has not abated aught of the just requirements of Apologetics.

In our two critical works (to which reference has already been made) we have, at considerable pains, attempted to refute the supplement-hypothesis, as represented by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*. We cannot think that our labour has been in vain; nor will we believe that we have failed in attaining our great aim and shewing that in that particular form the supplement-hypothesis is wholly untenable, that in many respects its method is erroneous, and that its arguments are inconclusive. We have not indeed at any time concealed it from ourselves or from others that, notwithstanding the able works of Hengstenberg, Ranke, Drechsler, and our own attempts, the argument which upholds the original unity of *Genesis* (and of the *Pentateuch*) was not wholly free from difficulties. Among these the following are the principal—

(1) The almost exclusive use of the name Elohim in the sections which manifestly form part of what is called the fundamental portion of the work. Granting that the term Elohim may in many or even in most of these passages be shewn to have been naturally and necessarily chosen on account of the idea attaching to that term, still many other passages might be adduced which require to be twisted in order to admit of this explanation. If, besides, we take into consideration Ex. vi. 2, it is indeed probable that the use of the name Jehovah and purposely been avoided in some passages; (2) the absence of all reference to the blessing of Abraham (Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxiv. 7; xxviii. 14—all Jehovistic sections) in Elohist sections where we should certainly have been warranted in expecting to find an allusion to it (for example in ch. xvii.); (3) frequently we notice a *usus loquendi* peculiar to each of the two sections. It is, indeed, true that *Stähelin* has urged this very much beyond what sound criticism warrants. We believe that in our two critical works we have irrefragably shewn that about nine-tenths of the words and modes of expressions which he mentions as characteristic of each of the two sections are entirely fanciful. But we confess that in some cases we have been unsuccessful in shewing that the differences in the mode of expression were due to the difference in the subjects treated. Among these we reckon the striking circumstance that the Elohist sections always designate Mesopotamia as *Pudan Aram*, and the Jehovistic as *Aram Naharajim*. Comp. also the other expressions, enumerated by Delitzsch at pp. 27 and 391. But despite these difficulties, which at the time we knew we had not *perfectly* removed, we thought with a good conscience to maintain and defend the unity of Genesis. The circumstance that individual difficulties attach to a fact do not warrant us in rejecting it as untrue, especially if it is otherwise authenticated. Besides, in the present instance the weight of these difficulties is as nothing when compared with the objections attaching to the hypothesis advocated by *Tuch* and by *Stähelin*; difficulties these, which render the reception of their views—at least to our mind—an impossibility.

Two considerations had especially induced us to maintain the unity of the book of Genesis and of the Pentateuch itself. We were and indeed are still firmly convinced that the Pentateuch is the basis of all Jewish history, whether it be that of the nation and the commonwealth, or that of the religion and literature of Israel. Hence its authorship must date from Mosaic times, a view directly contrary to the supplement-hypothesis as advocated by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*. But besides we are equally convinced that whatever original historical document is supposed to have existed, must have contained some account of the Fall. Even the account of

the deluge, furnished by what is now called the original document, presupposes such an event. But *Tuch* and *Stühelin* deny this, and consider that what they call the Elohist sections in Genesis, form when separated from the Jehovistic portions a separate work complete in itself. It must, however, be allowed that the modification of this theory, as advocated by *Delitzsch*, does not contravene either of the above two postulates which we cannot under any consideration consent to give up. For that author traces in the last instance the entire contents of the Pentateuch to the Great Lawgiver, and ascribes its composition partly to Moses himself (giving in this respect due weight to the testimony of the Pentateuch himself) and partly to contemporaries and assistants of Moses. At the same time he also holds that the original document had contained an account of the fall. But being viewed merely from the stand-point of the writer, who was a priest, *Delitzsch* supposes that the prophet who composed the supplementary part of Genesis had felt it to be defective, and hence wholly omitted it and supplied its place by another account in accordance with the view which he as a prophet took of these events.

But we confess that with all these modifications we hesitate adopting these opinions of Dr Delitzsch without at least again submitting them to a searching investigation, for which of course this is not the place. In the meantime we must express our misgivings as to the correctness of the opinion that while the party who composed the supplement had (as *Delitzsch* supposes) wholly rejected the history of the fall in the original document, he had still retained its heading in Gen. ii. 4. Nor can we exactly see how, without violence or else without leaving the question in an unsatisfactory state, we can, considering the many modifications of law which Deuteronomy contains, reconcile the idea of the Mosaic authorship of that book with that of a later origin of the other books in the Pentateuch.

(3.) The following are the principal AUXILIARIES for understanding the Biblical text of the preparatory history of the Old Covenant.

I. Among *exegetical* works, composed by *Rationalists*, we mention *Eichhorn's* Primeval History, recast by *Gabler*. 3 vols., 1792, and the commentaries of *Vater* (Comment. on the Pent., 3 vols., 1802); of *Schumann* (Pentateuchus hebr. et gr. cum annot. perpet. Only vol. i., Genesis, 1829); of *P. v. Bohlen* (Genesis transl. and with notes, 1835); of *Tuch* Comment. on Genesis, 1838; of *Sörensen* (Hist. and Crit. Comment. on Genesis, 1851). The commentary of *Vater* has no claims whatever to merit, that of *Schumann* is not without its philological value, that of *Bohlen* is equally remarkable for its confidence, super-

ficiality, and the frivolity and impudence of its negations without compensating for these blemishes, either by philological or archæological merit. On the other hand the commentary of *Tuch* has been of great use to Biblical criticism from the philological and archæological researches which it embodies, although it is entirely destitute of theological interest. All these works treat Genesis as being merely a collection of Myths destitute of all proper historical foundation. *Sörensen's* commentary affords a specimen of Rationalistic criticism developed to its full proportions of absurdity. In it we are informed that the Messiah of the Old Testament was the Maccabean prince John Hyrcanus, at whose command the Pentateuch was composed, as a kind of Directory for Public Worship to the Synagogue. The history of Genesis is not even regarded as a Myth, but as a deliberate fabrication on the part of the author. Most of the other books in the Old Testament, we are assured, were composed soon afterwards, in a similar manner and for the same purposes. The interpretations of the narratives in Genesis offered by this writer may safely be characterised as the climax of absurdity. His critical principles and his treatment of the sacred text are fundamentally the same as those of Hitzig and of others. But so far from employing this method even with the caution of his predecessors, *Sörensen* carries it beyond all bounds, and applies it in a manner hitherto unknown in the literature of the Old Testament. If "the commentary" had been meant to serve as a caricature of negative criticism, the writer had admirably succeeded in attaining his object only that in that case we should have expected to find some hint to that effect. *Rosenmüller's* Scholia are still useful, although somewhat superficial. The following are the more recent works of an apologetic character on the Exegesis of the Pentateuch: *Schmid* (Rom. cath.), Explanation of holy Scripture, of which only the first vol. (on Genesis) has appeared, 1834; *Tiele*, the first book of Moses, vol. i. (extending only to ch. xxv. 10), 1836; *H. and W. Richter*, Annotated Family Bible, vol. i., 1834; *O. v. Gerlach*, Comment. on the Holy Script., vol. i., 1844; *Schröder*, Explan. of the 1st book of Moses, 1844; *F. J. Ph. Heim*, Bible Hours, Comment. on the O. T. vol. i., 1845; *M. Baumgarten*, theolog. Comment. to the Pentat., 2 vols., 1843; *Delitzsch*, Expos. of the Book of Genes., 1852. The work of *Schmid* bears the character of theosophic speculation, but without that neglect of philological and historical considerations which commonly characterise that stand-point. *Tiele's* exposition is devout, although somewhat jejune, speculative, and verbose. Still, it deserves attention, especially for practical purposes (as for preachers), and it is matter of regret that the work has not been

completed. Among the popular expositions of *Richter*, *Gerlach*, *Schröder*, and *Heim*, all of which deserve attention for their original and comprehensive treatment of the text, that of *Gerlach*, is the best.¹ Notwithstanding its occasional exegetical errors, the work of *Baumgarten* (comp. § 14, 2) is distinguished by breadth of view, and by a fresh, lively method of presenting the subject. With the exception of an untenable opinion about the history of the Creation (comp. our "Bible and Astronomy, 3d ed., Berl. 1853"), and of some other mistakes of minor importance, the latest work by *Delitzsch* is equally ingenious, learned, and stirring. It is to be regretted that the second part of Genesis (from chap. xii.) had not been treated at greater length.

II. The following works claim special attention, as bearing on the *history* and the *historiology* of the subject: *J. H. Heidegger*, hist. ss. Patriarch, 2 vols., 1667, of which the 1st vol. treats of the patriarchs and of primeval history; *Herder*, the Oldest account of man, 2 vols., 1774—76; *F. Pustkuchen*, the primeval history of man, vol. i., 1821; and Hist. and Crit. Investig. of the primeval history of the Bible, by the same author, 1823; *Beke*, Origines biblicæ, or researches into primeval history, vol. i., 1834; (*J. L. Hug*), the Mosaic history of man, to the rise of nations, 1793; *F. A. Krummacher*, Paragraphs on Sacred History, 1818; *Kapp*, on the origin of men and nations, according to the Mosaic account, 1829 (based on the Lectures of Schelling at Erlangen); *J. H. Pabst*, Man and his history, Vienna 1830; *Al. Guiraud*, phil. catholique de l'hist., ou l'hist. expliquée, Par. 1841 (theosoph.).

III. With reference to *Dogmatics* and the *history of religion*, comp. especially: *Beck*, Science of Christianity, 1841; *J. P. Lange*, posit. Dogmatics, 1851; *J. Chr. K. Hofmann*, Prediction and Fulfilment, 1841, and the Scriptural Demonst., by the same author, vol. i., 1852; Lectures on the Old Test. Theol., by *Steudel* and *Hävernicks*.

(4.) The scientific results of ASTRONOMY, GEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, and of COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY must be applied with great caution, but may still be considered as *subsidiary* sources, as, starting from the status quo of what appears, they trace back the history of its origin. But even irrespective of the insecurity of this method, these sciences really furnish fewer points of coincidence than might have been anticipated, because the kind of information which the Scriptures communicates is,

¹ The works on this subject written in the English language, such as those by *Henry*, *Scott*, *Clarke*, *Gill*, *Ainsworth*, *Bush*, &c., are well known — THE TR.

from its nature, beyond the province of empirical investigation. Comp., however, *Tholuck*, the inferences of Science as to the primeval world, in his "Minor Works," 1839, vol. ii.; *Keil*, *apologia Mos. traditionis de mundi hominumque orig. exponentis*, i., 1839; *Dr Wiseman*, *Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, 1836; *Marc. de Serres*, the *Kosmogony of Moses*, translated into German by *Steck*, 1841; *Fr. Rougemont*, *fragmens d'une hist. de la terre d'après la bible*, 1841; *Mutzl*, *primeval history of the earth and of man, according to the Mos. account and the results of science*, 1843; *Wagner*, *Hist. of the primeval world, with a special view to the races of men and the Mos. account of creation*, 1845; *Ebrard*, *The Bible's account of the world and natural science*, in his *Journal: The Future of the Church*, Zurich 1847; and *our* "*Bible and Astronomy*," 3d ed., Berlin 1851.¹

(5.) Although many works have appeared showing the resemblance between the LEGENDS of *other nations* about the primeval history of man and the Biblical account, we have not yet any trustworthy and critical treatise on the subject. It has, especially, been overlooked that the ancient writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of heathen legends mostly belonged to the Alexandrian school of Syncretism, which, making use of the LXX., attempted to draw the Old Testament tradition into the circle of its Eclecticism. Even *Delitzsch*, who in his *Commentary* takes occasional notice of heathen legends, over-estimates their importance. At any rate, we do not feel disposed to adopt his opinion that some genuine historical traditions, not mentioned in the Biblical record, had been preserved in heathen legend.—Comp. *Grotius*, *de verit. relig. Christ.*; *Huetius*, *demonstr. evang.*, prop. iv., c. 3—11; *Pustkuchen*, l. c. (v. sect. ii.); *H. J. Schmitt*, *Orig. Revelat.*, 1834; *C. J. H. Windischmann*, *Philos. in the developm. of history*, 1827, *et seq.*, part i.; *Stolberg*, *Hist. of the relig. of Jesus*, vol. i., *Append.*; *Mutzl* and *Rougemont*, ll. cc.; *H. Lüken*, the unity of races and the spread of men over the globe, 1845; lastly, most recently the excellent treatise by *A. Wulke*, on the *Kosmogony of heathen nations before the time of Christ and of His apostles*, 1850.

¹ Among English works on the subject we may specially mention those of *Drs Pye Smith* and *King*, and among more modern productions *Dr Reginald Poole's* *Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, Edinb. 1856, and especially the *Rev. D. M'Donald's* *Creation and the Fall*, Edinb. 1856—a work equally distinguished for its ability and its learning.—THE TR.

THE CREATION AND DESTINY OF MAN.

(Comp. *F. W. C. Umbreit*, Specimen of an Expos. of the Account of Creation, in the "Theol. Studies and Critiques," 1839, i.; (*Hengstenberg*), Account of Creation, Evang. Kirchenzeit. 1841; *Werner*, Histor. View of the first three chapters in Gen., 1829; *Hirsch*, Relig. Philos. of the Jews, 1842, p. 1, et seq.; *Krabbe*, Doctrine of Sin and Death, 1836, (ch. iii.); *E. Sartorius*, Doctrine of Holy Love, i. 25—85; *The Author's Bible and Astronomy*, 3d ed., ch. iv.; *Hofmann*, Script. Demonstr., sect. ii.)

§ 21. (Gen. i. ii.)—In the beginning God created heaven and earth. The earth was *desert* (without form) and *void* (1). But the Spirit of God moved over the chaotic, dark, and watery mass, and filled it with powers of life. These the Almighty word of God's creative Will individualised as the *work of six days* (2), and called them into separate existence. Starting from the broad basis of telluric life, it ascended, like a pyramid, to vegetable and animal life, and reached the goal and high-point of creative activity in *man*, who comprises in himself all the former degrees and stages of life, only in an elevated manner. In man two elements were combined; the one Divine, the other purely human—the one the *form of clay*, the other *the breath of Divine life* breathed into it. Thus man is of twofold origin. In respect of his *body* and *soul*, he belongs to nature (to the animal sphere), and is the highest product of nature. Again, in so far as a godlike *spirit* dwells in him, he is above nature, and the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28, 29). In virtue of this twofold character, he forms the link between God and nature, and is the representative of God, the Priest and the King of Nature. The indwelling of the breath of the Lord constitutes him the *image of God*, destined for, and capable of, Divine Wisdom and Power, Holiness and Blessedness. Thus he is intended to rule over nature, and to lead it onwards to perfection. A *garden in the land of Eden* (3) is his first abode and sphere in usefulness; to dress it and to keep it is the *commencement* of an activity whose end and aim is dominion over the whole earth.

But even as Nature, so man also was both *capable of development* and—*dependent*; with this difference only, that as Nature is destitute of freedom, it requires to be *conducted* to the goal of its development, while man, as a free and personal spirit, was himself to rise to it in the exercise of a free choice and of personal activity. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to emerge from the stage of mere existence, by making a personal choice and decision. *The tree of the knowledge of good and of evil*, with the command not to eat of its fruit—and, on the other hand, *the tree of life*, which, by the positive purpose it was to serve, supplemented the negative purpose of the other tree and formed its counterpart, became the occasion of this choice. But before this free development of man could commence, the absence of generic distinction must give place to *sexual contrast*. *Marriage* must be instituted as the commencement and the condition of all historical development, and as the *means* by which alone the various races of men (4) could people *of one blood* the whole earth, and have dominion over it. Man is a free and a personal being, nor could any kind of development be forced upon him. Even that of the distinction of sexes presupposes at least the *consent* of his desire and longing. To awaken the latter, the Lord brings to Adam the animals in whom the sexes were already marked—at the same time also *an act of homage* on their part as his vassals, and a means for developing his *knowledge* and *capacity* of language. Thus the desire after an help-meet of the same kind with himself is awakened in man, and then God builds from a צֶלֶב (a rib? the side?) of man, woman, whom he at once recognises as flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.

(1.) The question, what exact meaning attaches to the expression הָיָה נֶחֱדָה — whether it indicates entire absence of life, or only that creation was *not yet* pervaded by life, or whether it implies an actual *desolation*, succeeding a former state of order and of life—is indeed of great importance to, and influence on, sacred history, but not with reference to that part of it which constitutes the history of the Old Covenant. In another place (Bible and Astron., 3d ed., Berl. 1853, ch. iv., and suppl. 1), we have expressed, and shown ground for, our opinion that the account of the creation does not oblige us to decide either one way or the other, inasmuch as the narrator, like a faithfull witness,

only relates what (with prophetic retrospect, § 20, 1) he had *beheld*. At the same time, a comparison of other Scriptural statements point to it as very probable that the original Tohuva-Bohu was the theatre and the consequence of the first fall, viz., that in the angelic world.

(2.) With reference to the much-mooded question whether the days of creation in Gen. i. are NATURAL OR PROPHETIC DAYS, we have shown at large in our work, "Bible and Astron.," 3d ed., ch. iv., § 4, that criticism must, if impartial, explain these creative as *natural* days, i.e., such as are bounded by light and darkness, and consist of evening and morning, day and night. But of course the duration of these days, according to the measure of the clock, cannot be determined, at least with reference to the first three days. In the same work, we have also shown that the conclusions of geology may be reconciled with this exegetical inference, and that, even though we were to grant that geology could claim thousands or even millions of years for its premundane creative periods.

(3.) The question as to the GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF PARADISE has in part been set aside as irrelevant (by those who advocate the mythical view), in part given up as indeterminable on account of the changes which the flood had occasioned on the face of the globe, and in part been attempted to be answered in various ways, by a combination of the geographical data of the text with certain other inferences and conjectures. Comp. *Winer's Real-Lex.*, sub v. *Eden*, and, besides the authorities there quoted, also *Bertheau* (the Geographical views on which the description of Paradise is based, 1848).¹ The latter has discharged his task in a thoroughly scientific manner, and brought to it an equal amount of acuteness and of learning, although the materials at his disposal were not sufficient to enable him to reach perfectly secure conclusions. *Bertheau* starts with the view that, in determining the statements of Genesis, we require wholly to discard, in the first place, our present geographical knowledge, and to keep exclusively by the most ancient opinions concerning the surface of the earth, and the geographical distribution of its countries, seas, and rivers. He identifies the *Pison*, which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, with the *Ganges*, as the Fathers and Josephus had done. Hence he supposes that *Havilah* must, according to the geographical views of the Israelites, be considered as the eastern part of the earth, beyond the country of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The river *Gihon*, which compasseth the whole land of

¹ Comp. also an article by *Rüetschi*, in Herzog's Real-Encycl., vol. iii. p. 642, et sq.—THE TR.

Cush (*i.e.*, according to Gen. x., the countries of the southern zone), he identifies with the *Nile*, supposing that, according to the defective geographical knowledge of his time, the narrator had supposed that it rose in Asia, and that, flowing first from north to south, then turning and encircling the Persian and the Red Sea, and finally passing northwards and through Egypt, it flowed into the Mediterranean. From a passage in Strabo (15, 1, 25), and in Arrian (6, 1), which states that Alexander the Great had fancied that the rivers of north-western India were the commencement of the Nile, and from a legend recorded by Pausanias (ii. 52), to the effect that the Nile and the Euphrates were the same river, the latter losing itself in the mud, and descending from Ethiopia under the name of Nile—Bertheau infers that the connection of the Persian Gulf with the Southern Ocean had been unknown in ancient times, and the rise of the Nile generally supposed to have been in Asia. He also reminds us of the settled tradition concerning the identity of the Gihon and the Nile, expressed so early as by the LXX. translation of Jer. ii. 18, and even retained by Josephus, the Fathers, and the Byzantines, long after a more accurate knowledge of the connection between southern Asia and eastern Africa had been obtained, and which obliged those who continued to hold by the above-mentioned tradition to have recourse to the supposition that the Nile flowed under ground, and suddenly reappeared in Africa. The other rivers are the Euphrates and the Tigris (the Hiddekel), with which the narrator was better acquainted, and which he therefore represents as flowing into the Persian Gulf, without making them encompass any land. The נַחֲלֵי, whose branches become four rivers, *Bertheau* supposes to represent the Caspian Sea. This “river,” it is suggested, recalls the Okeanos of Homer, from which all the rivers and seas of the globe are declared to derive their water, and which the poet also designates as ποταμός. Hence the land of Eden had, in the opinion of the narrator, lain on the northern boundary of the earth, even as all the nations of Asia, south of the Armenian and Persian highlands, had, from the most ancient times, placed the dwelling-place of the gods in the farthest north.

But even if the geographical views underlying the Biblical record were as defective and erroneous as *Bertheau* supposes them to have been, this would not materially affect the character of the narrative as a revelation, for revelation has only religious knowledge for its aim. Thus in the case under consideration, it is the religious purport of the narrative about Paradise to communicate instruction about the blessedness and the holiness of the original state of man, and about the starting-point of his development, which became the history of the world and of sal-

vation. Hence to describe the appearance of Paradise was absolutely necessary for the purposes which the narrator had in view. But in order to give to such a narrative a definite and stable form, he had to indicate the *situation* of Paradise. What sacred tradition recorded on the subject, the writer of Genesis only placed in the frame of the geographical views of his time. If these were defective and erroneous, it formed no part of the object of revelation to anticipate by centuries or thousands of years the progress of geographical science. *The circumstance that the sacred record is a revelation, only authenticates that situation of Paradise which the description of the text would indicate, according to the geographical notions of that time, but it does not authenticate those geographical notions themselves.*

However, we feel convinced that Bertheau's argumentation cannot by any means be taken as conclusive. We cannot believe that a writer who knew Egypt so well could have supposed, far less that it was the communion opinion in Egypt itself, that the Nile and the Ganges were identical, and that the Persian Gulf, together with the Red Sea, was a lake, bordered on the south by an immense tract of land, which connected Asia and Africa. The strange (and, perhaps, merely legendary) ignorance of Alexander is the less intelligible, as Herodotus had already entertained more correct notions, nor is it warrantable, from the views current among the Greeks at a later period, to draw inferences as to the knowledge possessed by the Egyptians of an earlier age. Far less can we regard the ideas of Josephus and of the Fathers as to the identity of the Nile and the Gihon as justifying us in assuming that the author of the book of Genesis had shared the same opinion. It rather appears to us that this notion, which afterwards retained so firm a hold on the minds of writers, had originated among the Eclectics of Alexandria, and thence found its way into the LXX., Josephus, and the Fathers. Just as the inhabitants of Palestine wished to substitute the Jordan for the Gihon (Wisd. of Sir., xxiv. 28), so the Hellenists naturally sought to vindicate this honour for their Nile. The absurdity of such a hypothesis, in a geographical point of view, was no obstacle in their way. They assumed that the Gihon had forced its way under ground to Egypt, and propounded it the more readily as, even at the time of Herodotus, the sources of the Nile were unknown in Egypt. But it must be held as decisive against this view that the river in question is not designated by a term usually given to, but, on the contrary, by one which is never applied to the Nile in the Old Testament. The opinion of *Delitzsch* that the Upper Nile may have borne the name of Gihon is altogether unfounded, and does not meet the difficulty; for, had the narrator meant that river, why eschew

the name of the Lower Nile, so well known to the ancients, and choose a less known name of the Upper Nile, which would so readily lead to mistakes?

In fact, we feel convinced that other interpretation have equal, if not greater, claims to our consideration than the hypothesis started by Bertheau. Among them, that proposed by *Calvin, Huetius, Bochart, &c.*, has this advantage, that it actually points out a river with four "arms" (manifestly the greatest difficulty in the matter). According to this interpretation the *Shat-el-Arab*, or united Euphrates and Tigris, is the *Nahar* of the Garden of Eden—the Euphrates and the Tigris, together with their two mouths, are the four *Rashim*—the Persian province of *Chusistan* is the land of Cush—and Havilah the same as the *Cholotai*, who, according to Strabo, lived in an adjoining portion of Arabia, celebrated for its gold. But this hypothesis also, irrespective of other difficulties which might readily be mentioned, does not agree with the description in the text of a river which divides into four branches outside of the garden.

Reland and *Calmet* identify the river Pison with the *Phasis*, which rises in the Moschus mountains and is connected with *Colchis* (= Havilah), the ancient gold-land; Gihon with the Araxes (גִּיחוֹן = ἀράκτις = to break forth), which to this day bears the same name among the Persians, and also rises in the mountains of Armenia and falls into the Caspian Sea; and Cush with the country of the Cosseans in the vicinity of Media and of the Caspian Sea. Irrespective of the objection that this hypothesis does not point out any common *Nahar*, it would have seemed to us the most probable. It is, indeed, true that the explanation which identifies Cush with the land of the Cosseans contravenes the general Biblical statements concerning Cush (= Ethiopia). But perhaps the remark of *J. P. Lange* (pos. Dogm., p. 400) may meet this difficulty. He observes: "Even the Nile does not *compass* Ethiopia. Probably it may be assumed that the land of Cush had, so to speak, moved southwards, just as, for example, a portion of the Norwegians brought with them their Normandy and the Greeks their Hellas into Italy. Perhaps the country of the Cosseans may indicate a similar movement of the Cushites southwards."

Among the other numerous hypotheses, we only mention that of *Karl v. Raumer* (Palest., 3d ed., p. 424), although we cannot admit its correctness. That scholar also seeks the original Paraisaical abode of men in the Arminian highlands. The river Pison he identifies with the Phasis of Xenophon, which, as *Mannert* has shown, is the *Araxes*; the land Havilah, compassed by the Pison, is then the country anciently inhabited by the Chvalissi, and which had formerly been an island. The

name is still preserved, as the Caspian Sea is still called by the Russians "Chwalinskoye More." But this hypothesis leaves the *Gihon* unaccounted for.

Reland, *Bertheau*, and *Raumer* agree in this, that the highlands of Armenia possess the highest claim to be regarded as the garden of Eden. This must appear the more certain, as the mention of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which must have been well known to the narrator, point to this locality beyond the possibility of doubt.

Manifestly the chief difficulty in our way is presented by the wording of Gen. ii. 10. This verse is commonly rendered—"And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads (arms, branches)."

If this translation is correct, we admit that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile the narrative with geographical facts. In that case, nothing would be left but to cut the knot by accounting for the irreconcilable difficulty by the geographical ignorance of the period when the narrative was composed, or by assuming that some tremendous catastrophe had so changed the appearance of Eden, that rivers which had formerly been branches of one and the same river, are now parted in their sources by hundreds of miles. To ascribe this revolution to the flood is neither warranted by the Biblical narrative, nor in accordance with the conclusions of geology. But we cannot account for it on the ground of geographical ignorance, regarding, as we do, the whole narrative as a tradition from primitive times, and not as an apocryphal collection of myths dating from a later period. For even if we supposed that the *names* of the rivers were derived from the geographical notions current at the time when the record was composed—in which indeed there might be room for mistakes—the *Nahar* and the *Rashim* into which it parts would still have to be considered as belonging to the original tradition. But a more accurate examination of the words shows that the above rendering of the verse is not correct. It is an obvious mistake to interpret ראשים as branches or arms. A figure of speech so thoroughly reversed and misplaced can scarcely be supposed in any language or among any nation. If ראש is to indicate any portion of a river, common sense would seem to demand that it should only apply to its source or upper part. A river with four heads cannot be one which, after having for some time flowed as *one* stream, is afterwards parted into four branches. Evidently it must mean a river formed by the junction of four sources. If the narrator had wished to express the meaning which our translators convey, he would have designated the נהר as the ראש, and the ראשים as the נהרים. But if these four rivers are themselves sources (heads) then the נהר of

the garden can no longer be viewed as their common origin. We are therefore inclined to adopt the oft-controverted explanation, according to which נָהָר must be viewed as a collective noun, indicating the abundance of water in the garden. This view is farther confirmed by the addition of the expression “*to water*,” while in this light the absence of the numeral *one* (with reference to the river), by way of contrast to the *four* (heads or branches), appears also striking. Nor does the expression נִפְסָם יִפְרֵד militate against this view; for the niph. of פָּרַד is never employed to indicate the divergence into many of what formerly had been one, but, on the contrary, the divergence of things which had formerly independently existed side by side with each other. Comp. especially the parallel instances in Gen. xxv. 23, and x. 32. The meaning therefore appears to be this, that the river-system of the garden (*i.e.*, the rivers which, during their course in the garden, had still flowed side by side with each other) diverged outside of the garden, and then flowed in different, and partly in opposite directions. In that case, the expression ראשֵׁים must, with *Luther*, *Rosenmüller*, and others (also our English authorised version), be taken as designating *flumina principalia*, a view which, in other respects, appears to be quite correct.

(4.) Some naturalists and philosophers, such as *Borg*, *St Vincent*, *Desmoulin*, *Oken*, *Burmeister*, &c., have, on the ground of the differences of colour, hair, cranium, and bodily structure among the so-called races of men, as well as on that of the difference of languages, denied the original unity of the human race. Among the vast number of those who have controverted their arguments and defended the unity of the race, we select the following:—1. Among *Naturalists*—*Buffon* disc. sur la variété dans l'espèce humaine; *Cuvier*, tableaux élément. de l'hist. nat. des animaux, 1827; *Blumenbach* de generis humani varietate nativa, 1795; *Rud. Wagner* Anthropol. ii., p. 209, et sq.; *Andr. Wagner*, Hist. of the Primeval World, 1845; *G. H. v. Schubert*, the Kosmos, p. 651, et sq.; and especially *Lüken*, the Unity of the Race, and its spread over the face of the globe, 1845. 2. Among *Philosophers* we mention—*H. Steffens* Anthropol. ii. 365, et sq.; the same author's Relig. Philos. of Christ., i. 287, et sq.; and his Miscellan. Writings, ii. 365, et seq.; *Hillebrand* Anthropol., 1822, vol. ii.; *H. H.* on the various Races, in pt. ii. of the German Quarterly; *A. v. Humboldt* in Kosmos, vol. i.; *Wuttke*, History of Heathen., i. 27, et sq. 3. Among *Geographers*—*Wimmer*, Cosmol. Propæd. to Geogr., 1833; *Roon*, The Globe, its Nations and States, vol. iii, 1, sect. iv. The most important work is *Prichard's* Researches into the Physical History of Mankind,

London, 1828. 4. Among Divines we name—*Tholuck*, Miscell. Writings, ii. 239, et sq.; *J. P. Lange*, Miscell. Writings, i. 89, et sq.; and *Dr Wiseman*, Connection between Science and Revelation. The necessity of assuming the unity of the species may be shown on *anatomical*, *physiological* (among others, from the continuous and fruitful intermarriages of members of various races), on *psychological*, and on *ethical* grounds. But it must be allowed that the problem regarding the *formation* of different races has not yet been fully solved. The co-operation of powerful physical (especially climatic) and ethical causes during the infancy of the species must, in the meantime, be taken as affording a sufficient general explanation for a divergence which by and by became fixed.

THE FALL AND THE FIRST PROMISE OF REDEMPTION.

(*Liter.* of the subject—*J. P. Lüderwald*, the Allegor. Interpret. of the Fall shown to be unfounded, 1701; *Tholuck* in the Append. to “Sin and the Redeemer;” *Krabbe* of Sin and Death, ch. iv.; *Jul. Müller*, the Christian Doctr. of Sin (transl. by Rev. W. Urwick—Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark), vol. ii.; *Hävernicks*, the Theol. of the O. T., p. 86, et sq.; *E. Sartorius*, Doctr. of Holy Love, i. 86, et sq.; *The Author’s Bible and Astron.*, ch. iv.; *Hofmann* Scriptur. Demonstr., sect. iii. and iv.)

§ 22. (Gen. iii.)—The hints apparently thrown out even in Gen. i. 2, and ii. 15, that *evil* already existed in the world, which, however, man was to overcome and to set aside, so far as he was concerned, are soon confirmed. The tempter, in the form of a *serpent* (1), meets man, and man is seduced by him. The tempter succeeded in introducing into the soul of man lust after the forbidden fruit, and lust brought forth sin, and sin death. (James i. 15.) It actually happened as the seducer had promised, though in malice and in an evil sense. *Their eyes were opened* (v. 7), but they only saw their nakedness and were ashamed; *they knew good and evil*, but only by their sad loss of what was good, and by their disastrous experience of what was evil. Man *became as God* (v. 22), *i.e.*, he ceased to be the representative and vicar of God, he emancipated himself from God,

and assumed independent command and action. Such “becoming as God” did not, however, make him *blessed*, but, on the contrary, infinitely *wretched* and *poor*. *Death*, the wages of sin, took hold on his whole being, and brought along with it a whole host of miseries, of sorrows, and of curses. Man, formed from the dust, who had dared to attempt *without* God to be *as* God, must, on account of this rebellion, return to the dust whence he was taken. But man had not of his own accord produced sin in himself. It was rather something foreign to, and forced upon him by a seduction from without, which indeed he *might* and *should* have withstood. His whole being had been *pervaded* and *poisoned* by sin, but it *had not itself become sin*. Something is still left within him that opposes sin, and does not find pleasure in it; the Divine image in man is *not* wholly annihilated (Gen. ix. 6; James iii. 9; Acts xvii. 28, 29)—on the contrary, it asserts its existence in relation to sin, as the voice of *conscience* in feelings of shame and of repentance. Hence man both *requires salvation* and is *capable* of it, and God does not leave him to himself and to his misery, but, in the prosecution of an eternal counsel of grace, commences to prepare and to train him for salvation. The first manifestation of this council is the curse pronounced against the seducer (2), when God distinctly and avowedly takes the part of man *against* the tempter, and promises to man a final and decisive victory over the author of evil. Marriage, which had been the vehicle of the *fall*, is now also to become that of *salvation*; the *seed of the woman* is to bruise the head of the seed of the serpent. *Eve*, the mother of all living, is to *bring forth children*, although in *sorrow*, and through child-bearing is salvation to be brought about. An unbroken succession of children are to become links in the Old Testament development, and to prepare the way for salvation. But Paradise is henceforth shut against man, and Cherubim with flaming sword (3) prevent his access to the tree of life. The *ground* which had been *cursed* becomes now his place of abode and of discipline; *labour in the sweat of his brow*, to be followed by death as the sum of all earthly ills, is his *lot*, inasmuch as sin *must* meet its reward, and all its consequences must appear; all its effects must be endured, and Divine justice exact a full and unconditional vindication of its demands.

(1.) It can scarcely be called in question that the record had the agency of an evil *spiritual* being in view when it speaks of the SERPENT, although it is a point of considerable difficulty to ascertain in what manner the writer understood that the will of Satan was executed by the serpent. It is difficult, if not impossible to gather the idea in the mind of the writer from the data before us. The *reason* of this want of distinctness was no doubt a desire, instead of interrupting the childlike and simple character of the narrative (which, indeed, makes it so sublime), which was a sacred and venerable relic of primeval times, to present it in all its plainness, and without the addition of any gloss or comment. In fact, the sacred record faithfully presents the *recollections and perceptions of the first man*, as preserved by tradition. So much, however, is certain, that the teaching of the Bible concerning Satan has its foundation in what is here recorded about the history of the fall and about the serpent. So soon as man had commenced to reflect on this event, he must have gathered from it the existence of a spiritual being opposed to God. For this he did not require the aid of a special instruction or revelation. Satan had historically manifested himself in the serpent. Where facts speak, any further verbal instruction becomes unnecessary.

2. This interpretation throws light on the CURSE, as *pronounced against the serpent*. So far as its form is concerned, it seems to apply, *solely and exclusively*, to the serpent. But as, in reality, the curse was pronounced *for the sake of man*, and not for that of the serpent, the language was adapted to man's peculiar mode of conception, in which the outward appearance of the serpent and the spiritual principle of evil were not yet separated. The seducer had appeared to man as a serpent, and hence he viewed the curse pronounced against the *serpent* as applying to the *author of sin*, and the distinction of, and victory over, the *serpent* by the seed of the woman as deliverance from *his* power and influence. Thus we have here a "PROTOEVANGELIUM," which evidently conveyed to man that the relationship subsisting between the seducer and the seduced was not to continue such as it had become when the tempter prevailed. Although man had allowed himself to be drawn into fellowship with the seducer, this fellowship was not to be permanent. Instead of friendship and fellowship between them, there was to be enmity and a continual contest, which was at last to terminate in the complete defeat of the seducer. All mankind (the seed of the woman) was to wage this battle with the author of sin, and in virtue of the Divine will, to come victorious out of the conflict.

(3.) Although Gen. iii. gives little information as to the

character and import of the CHERUBIM, it affords sufficient completely to refute the views of *Bähr* (Symbol of the Mos. Rit., i. 340, et sq.), who regards them simply as the creations of Symbolic, and destitute of all objective reality—in short, as the representations of perfect creature-life. The fact that even such scholars as *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. 643; Comment. on Revelat., translated by Professor Fairbairn—Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark); *Keil* (Temple of Solomon, p. 107—147); and *Hävernick* (Comment. on Ezek., and Theol. of the O. T., p. 80) have endorsed this hypothesis cannot affect our opinion of its character. So long as Gen. ii. and iii. are regarded as historical accounts, and not as fabulous myths or arbitrary speculations, the real, personal and historical existence of the Cherubim also is necessarily implied. The character, the original position, and the purposes of the Cherubim may be gathered from Ps. xviii. 11. From the context of that verse, we learn that properly they were the attendants and the bearers of the Divine Glory and Majesty in its presence and activity in the world. They are, as it were, the chariot in which Elohim, the God of the universe, is borne, when He manifests Himself in the world, and there displays His glory as King and Judge. A further comparison of this passage with Ps. civ. 3, 4, will prove that the Cherubim are part of that spiritual world of creatures who are elevated above this world, and whom we commonly designate by the general term of *angels*. Bearing in mind our former distinction (v. § 13, 1) between the Divine manifestation as Elohim and as Jehovah, we shall refer them, as indeed angels generally, more especially to the sphere of the former, without, however, of course, wholly excluding them from that of the latter, inasmuch as Elohim and Jehovah is one and the same God, and the two spheres of the Divine agency are not eccentric but concentric circles (do not exclude but intertwine with each other). But Gen. iii. 24 indicates the period when these angels were first transferred from the Elohistic to the Jehovistic sphere of action. “And Jehovah Elohim *drove out the man, and placed* (caused to dwell) at the east (the entrance to) of the garden of Eden, Cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way to *keep* the way of the tree of life. This passage is evidently intended to imply a contrast to Gen. ii. 15: —“And Jehovah Elohim *took the man and put him* (caused him to settle in) into the garden of Eden to dress it and to *keep it*.” The cherub is in the meantime to take the place of man. For man should have dwelt in the garden to *keep* it, as it contained the tree of life, the most precious treasure of terrestrial nature. However, man was also to *dress* the garden. But this duty is *not* now imposed upon the cherub. A being of different kind, he is not suited for discharging the positive duty devolving on

man. It follows that the Cherub is only intended to occupy Paradise *in the meantime*, and that *man* has the prospect of returning to it at a future period. This prospect is to become a reality at the close of the history of salvation. (Rev. xxi. xxii.) The heavenly Jerusalem in the transformed earth is Paradise renewed, enlarged, transformed, and perfected, and there we again find the tree of life, and the river of the water of life. There also man is to dwell again with, and by the side of God. Then we read no more of the Cherub. Having faithfully preserved the treasure entrusted to his keeping, he has restored it to its original possessor.

Elohim, of whom Gen. i. speaks as the God of the universe, becomes, in the second and third chapters, Jehovah, or the God of salvation. He becomes such when He plants and prepares the garden of Eden to be the dwelling-place of man, and the starting-point in his history. His throne is in the heavens, borne by Cherubim, and surrounded by myriads of angels. He now purposes to prepare for Himself also a dwelling-place upon earth; Paradise is meant to be the place of Jehovah's throne on earth, and man is intended to be *the terrestrial Cherub*, even as the Cherub is the heavenly man. But the Fall changes the whole aspect of things; man must now be driven forth, and yet Paradise, with its tree of life, be preserved. Hence God places, in the meantime, in it heavenly beings instead of man, to dwell there, and to keep it. The Cherubim of heaven are substituted for the Cherub of earth. Wherever the Cherubim are there is also God, for they bear and accompany the glory of God in the universe. The flaming sword, which turns every way to prevent the presumptuous and premature return of man on whatever side he might seek to force an entrance, symbolises the consuming fire of Divine holiness.

From that period the Cherubim appear not only as bearing the glory of Elohim in the world, but also as supporting the glory of Jehovah in salvation. Accordingly we find them in the most holy place both in the tabernacle and in the temple. They appear in the sublime vision of Ezekiel (i. 10), and in that of the New Testament seer (Rev. iv). Ezekiel describes them as having four faces—that of a man, of a lion, of an eagle, and of an ox. According to *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr., i. 322), these four faces “represent the union of all powers of life—that of free consciousness, characteristic of man; that of power and courage, characteristic of the lion; that of firmness and strength, characteristic of the ox; and that of certain and unchecked rapidity, characteristic of the eagle.” Besides this, the reference pointed out by *Schmieder* (in *O. v. Gerlach's Bible*, iv. 1, p. 431) is no doubt apt:—“We readily perceive that the four faces are

borrowed from the four chiefs (kings) of terrestrial creation. The lion is king of all the animals of the field, the ox king of the flocks, the eagle king of birds, and man king of all the earth." It is only from the point of view to which we have above adverted that we understand why, in the representations of art or of prophetic vision, the Cherubim assume a terrestrial shape. The Cherubim are substitutes of man. If it is objected that as man is "king of all the earth," to assume his form would itself have sufficed for the purpose in view, we reply that both this question and the other as to the reason why the Cherub was substituted for man to inhabit and to keep Paradise, are answered in Gen. iii. Before his fall, man, created in the likeness of God, was unconditionally and absolutely the climax and the sum of all terrestrial and creature perfection, and also unconditionally and absolutely lord and king over all the animals. But the Fall deprived him of this high place. The animal world has in part at least emancipated itself from his dominion; and to humble him it also appears that it even possesses powers and capabilities which man has not, at least to the same extent or in the same perfection. Hence every creature perfection found on earth, and no longer existing in man, had to be comprehended and combined along with the form of man, in order thus to exhibit in the Cherubim an appearance corresponding to the purpose in view.

The record furnishes no farther notice of Paradise or of its new inhabitants and keepers. But during the time of Moses the tabernacle is constructed, in which the most holy place (as shall more fully be shown in another volume) bears so manifest a relation to Paradise, that we cannot but recognise in it both a representation of what Paradise had been, and a type of what, in its perfect state as the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. xxii.), it shall be. The tabernacle, however, was not the immediate counterpart of what Paradise had been, but a portraiture of the heavenly and ideal pattern shown to Moses on the mount. (Ex. xxv. 9—40.) Hence between Paradise and the rearing of the tabernacle a series of events must have intervened, in the course of which Paradise, or rather that which constituted it Paradise, was taken from earth, as formerly it had been taken from man. The Lord withdrew the fulness and the powers of life which He had formerly bestowed on Paradise, to reserve them for His plan of salvation, and again to communicate them, only in higher development, to the earth and to man, in a history which was to start from a new point. When the earthly sanctuary is constructed, He again restores these powers in the meantime to His chosen people, and in the form of a symbol, but not merely as a *representation* of the Paradise which had been lost, but also as the *type* of the

real Paradise which was afterwards to be restored to man. (Rev. xxi.) It is scarcely necessary to add, that our above remarks express *our understanding* of these events, and not that which, at the time, either Adam or the Jewish Lawgiver had possessed. What Adam or Moses could understand or divine of these spiritual transactions must be gathered from the history of their time, and from a view of the stage to which they had attained in the consciousness of salvation.

The fact, inferred from Ex. xxv. 9—40, that since the Fall Paradise was removed from earth, or, to speak more accurately, that it was deprived of its paradisaical powers, which returned to Him who had given them, we conceive to have taken place at the time and to be coincident with the record in Gen. iii. 24, according to which Paradise was committed to the charge of Cherubim, whose dwelling-place is properly in heaven. Man was not only to be driven from Paradise; he was also to see and to experience that it had been entrusted to others. Hence the miraculous appearance of heavenly beings, manifest to his senses. The impression of terror and of awe which this heavenly apparition must have left on him had, no doubt, for a long time deprived him of all desire to return to the garden; and if at any after period he had been sufficiently bold to seek again for the place of his former blessedness, he would only come upon what everywhere surrounded him—thorns and briers.

This view of the Cherubim, and of their relation to the history of man's salvation, is entirely different from that which *Hofmann* has declared (Script. Demonstr. i., 179, et sq.; 317, et sq.) to be the only scriptural one, and which *Delitzsch* has implicitly adopted (Gen., pp. 145, 199, 282, 401). *Hofmann* represents the Cherubim as the vehicles of the presence of God in the world, "through whom the eternal 'To be' of God adapts itself to the world, and He '*who in Himself Is*' becomes present in the world, yet as above the world," so that whenever the Cherubim appear, "the world has its beginning." "They are beings which bear the same relation to the presence and manifestation of the super-mundane God in the world as the chariot does to him who sits upon it. His appearance and manifestation rested not on the soil, but freely moved about, borne up by moving beings. In this sense we read that Jehovah *walked* (Gen. iii. 8) in the original dwelling-place of man." From this it would follow that from the first, and even before the Fall, God manifested Himself to Adam only by means of the Cherubic chariot. *After* the Fall this appearance becomes "terrific to man and drives him from that place." Still the Garden of Eden remained "the place of God, and the beginning of the world." Thence God reigned over the world, and thither did man turn

to find the Lord. This continued up to the period of judgment by the flood. Then the cherub-chariot mounted from earth to heaven, and ever since heaven, and not earth, is the place of God's presence in the world. God now comes down when He is about to manifest His presence upon earth, and having done so He again returns to heaven.

In proof that at the time of the flood the throne of Jehovah was transferred to heaven, Ps. xxix. 10 is quoted. We allow that the flood spoken of in that passage is that of Noah. Still, we cannot agree with *Delitzsch* that any such inference from the verse is warranted. We find no mention in it that the throne of God had been transported from earth to heaven. Even though, with *Hofmann*, we would render the passage: "Jehovah seated Himself *for* the flood (to send the judgment of the flood) and since then Jehovah sitteth as king for ever"—this translation, so far from enabling or obliging us to adopt his mode of interpretation, seems not to afford any point of contact for it. But the parallelism demands that we should render the לִמְצוֹתָיִךְ in the same manner as in לִמְעֻלֶיךָ, *i.e.* as bearing reference to *time*. Hence we must translate: "As Jehovah was enthroned at the flood, so is Jehovah enthroned a King for ever;" *i.e.*, as Jehovah had manifested Himself as Judge and King at the flood, so does He still, and will through eternity, continue to manifest Himself in the same capacity. Nor do we gather from Gen. iii. 24 that the record "from the first represents the presence and appearance of Jehovah in the garden of Eden only in connection with the Cherubim," or that the walking of Jehovah in the garden must be regarded "not as a touching of the ground, but as free moving, borne up by moving beings." We do not read that God had looked from Paradise upon the sacrifice of Abel, nor do we anywhere learn that man turned toward Paradise in order to find God. It is, indeed, true that when Cain became a fugitive he said "from Thy face shall I be hid," and that the narrator remarks: "And Cain went forth from the presence (Hebr., from the face) of Jehovah." But from this we cannot infer that *before* the flood the throne of God had been on earth, and *after it* in heaven, as *after* the flood, also, we are told of Nimrod that he was "a mighty hunter before (in the face of) the Lord" (Gen. x. 9), and the Psalmist entreats: "Cast me not away from Thy presence (Heb. from Thy face)," Ps. li. 11, while the expressions לִפְנֵי יְהוָה and מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה occur in innumerable places. No doubt the smoke of Noah's sacrifice after the flood ascended towards heaven, but it is to be presumed that the *same* had been the case with the sacrifice of Abel *before* the flood. It is equally undeniable that at the confounding of language Jehovah "came down" in judgment to the earth

(Gen. xi. 5), and that, four hundred years afterwards, after having entered into covenant with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 22), He "went up again." But, although in the one case we do not read of His having gone up, nor in the other of His having come down, it would manifestly be unwarrantable to conclude from this that at the confounding of languages Jehovah had transferred His throne again to the earth, and continued it there till after He had entered into covenant with Abraham. We account for the express mention of His having "come down" as intended to convey a contrast to the blasphemous language of those who built the tower (Gen. xi. 4), and for the silence about the "going up," after said judgment, 'on the ground that the latter needed no express mention. But this very circumstance must convince us that in the manifestations of God on the earth there may have been a "coming down" and "going up," without any express statement to that effect in the Biblical record. We also hold that the word of the Lord to Cain (Gen. iv. 10): "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground," must convey to the mind of every unprejudiced reader that it had cried *toward heaven*. Nor can we help thinking that the expression in Gen. vi. 12: "And God looked upon the earth," rather implied that the Lord had looked down from heaven than that from some place on the earth He had looked abroad upon it. Hence, however ingenious in its conception and application the idea of *Hofmann* may be, it does not bear the test of examination. Thus much of truth there may be in it, that the "walking" of the Lord had, so long as man abode in Paradise, been more intimate and near by far than at any time since the Fall. Only redeemed earth and a renewed Paradise (Rev. xxi., xxii.) shall again witness such close communion.

We have to confess entire ignorance as to the derivation of the term Cherub. *Hofmann* has declared his preference for the explanation which makes כְּרִיב merely a transposition of רֶכֶב = chariot, and which attaches to the term the meaning of that word. In corroboration, he appeals to Ps. civ. 3. But we cannot agree in this view, not merely because this transposition, of which there is no other example, is too arbitrary and curious, but chiefly because the idea of a chariot as attaching to the Cherub, is not characteristic, and attaching to it under all circumstances, but only accidental, and occurring under certain given circumstances. It is well known that in the Cherubim of the tabernacle and of the temple, as well as in those of the New Testament vision, there is no allusion to "chariots." As little, perhaps even less, can we adopt the derivation suggested by *Delitzsch*, according to whom the verb כָּרַב—which nowhere occurs—is referred to the cognate root of the verbs קָרַב, and

supposed, according to the analogy of the Sanscrit *grih*, of the Persian *girišten*, and of the Gothic *gripan*, to bear the meaning of *to grip, to seize, to hold*. Thus the word Cherubim is interpreted as they who take hold of, or who bear the throne of God. But Scripture nowhere implies that the Cherubim seize, or hold, or take hold of the Divine Throne. So far indeed from confirming this idea, Ezekiel's vision implies that the "firmament" of "crystal" on which the throne of God stands, rests only on the tips of the outspread wings of the Cherubim. Neither can the derivation of the word from the Syriac ܥܪܘܒ, which is represented as equivalent to *secare, sculperere, formare*, and according to which כרוב means *forma, imago*, an artistic formation or representation (*Keil*, Temple of Sol., 107; *Hüfner's Ezek.*, p. 5) command our assent, if it were only on the ground, that it rests upon or leads to the erroneous opinion that the Cherubim were merely symbolical formations of art or of fancy. Considering the idea attaching to the Cherubim, we should incline to the derivation proposed by *Hyde* (*Rel. Vett. Pers.*, p. 263), who traces the term to קרוב, and explains it as equivalent to those who are near to God; or else to that of *Maurer* (*Comment. on Is.*, vi. 2), who explains כרוב = כרם, Arab. كرم, *nobilis fuit*, and hence interprets Cherubim as *nobiles principes*. These explanations would also tally with the probable derivation of the term *Serafim* (comp. § 79, 1), beings of kindred nature with the Cherubim. But there are philological objections to these interpretations. Perhaps the view most deserving of, and yet receiving the least attention, is that which results from a comparison of Ezek. i. 10 with x. 14 (in which latter passage, among the "four faces," that of a Cherub is substituted for that of an ox), according to which the word כרוב had originally been equivalent to ox (*arator*, from the Syrian root ܐܪܐ = *arare*.) But this derivation also leaves us in hopeless difficulty.

We shall not, in the meantime, enter on the relation between the Jewish view of the Cherubim, and the similar or kindred representations of other nations. Suffice it at present to remark, that however striking the analogies (especially in the Assyrian sculptures, which are now being rescued from the oblivion of thousands of years, comp. *Vaux* *Niniveh and Persepolis*, and fig. 10 and 11), this does not in any way invalidate either the originality or the historical character of the narrative in Gen. iii. These similarities, be they great or small, may all be traced back to a common source, in the oldest traditions of mankind. For the literature of this subject, comp. *Winer's Real Lex.*, s. h. v.

(4.) We close with a few general remarks. It has been thought strange that the canonical writings of the Old Test.

contain so few, or, as some have affirmed (for ex., *Ammon* Bibl. Theol., 2d vol., V, 281; *Baumgarten-Crusius* Chief Points in Bibl. Theol., p. 349; *Lengerke* Kenaan, i., p. 17, etc.) do *not* contain *any* allusions to the history of the creation and of the Fall, as related in the passage under consideration. From this it has been inferred that the "myth" of Gen. ii. and iii. had originated at a *much later* period, or had been imported into Palestine. Against this view, comp. Th. Sherlock's remarks on the views which the Jews had entertained, before the birth of Christ, about the circumstances and the consequences of the Fall; *O. Krabbe*, Doctrine of Sin and of Death, ch. vi.; and *Hofmann* Script. Demonstr., i. 364, et seq. It is indeed remarkable that special references to these events occur so rarely. But we have to remember, first, that express references to former writings were much more rare in ancient Oriental Literature than they are in ours. Even the New Test. contains only very few, and, comparatively speaking, equally few express references to Gen. i.—iii., although we might have expected to have found many more. Among the Old Test. references to these events, we may mention Ps. viii., comp. with Gen. i. 28; —2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 16, ciii. 14, civ. 29, 30; Job x. 8, 9, xxxiii. 4—6; Is. ii. 22, xxix. 16, xlv. 9, lxiv. 8, comp. with Gen. ii. 7;—Is. lxxv. 25; Micah vii. 17, comp. with Gen. iii. 14;—Ps. cxlvi. 4, civ. 30; Eccl. iii. 20, xii. 7, comp. with Gen. iii. 19. Equally clear is the reference of Job xxxi. 33, and of Hos. vi. 7, to the history of the Fall. Even such authorities as *Hitzig*, Exeg. Manual, i. 95; *Umbreit*, Pract. Comment. on the Prophets, iv. 1, p. 41; comp. also *Nitzsch*, System, 4th ed., p. 223, have of late declared in favour of this interpretation, for the rendering פְּאָדָם "after the manner of men," is manifestly unsuitable. The same remark applies to Is. xliii. 27, where the expression, "thy first after hath sinned," can, as the best commentators (for ex., *Hitzig*, *Umbreit*, *Knobel*, and others) have shown, only refer to Adam. However, *Hofmann*, l. c., views the latter passage as an allusion to Abraham. Let it also be borne in mind, that all the sacrificial services of the Old Test. are based on Gen. iii., nor can we be mistaken (comp. also *Krabbe*, l. c. 98, et seq.; *our Contrib.* i. 98) in finding in the expression גִּזְרֵי יְהוָה, which so frequently occurs in the Mosaic Criminal Legislation, a reference to the גִּזְרֵי הַמִּצְוָה of the first legislation in Gen. ii. 17. If any doubt should still occur, we submit that the facts recorded in these chapters are chronicled with a child-like simplicity, and that hence the manifold deep bearing of this narrative required a lengthened training before it could be perfectly apprehended in the consciousness of the individual. So rich and deep is always the *commencement* of a

development, that the *continuation* of it is not sufficient fully to bring its treasures to light. It is only at its *completion* that all which had lain concealed in it appears. As another important consideration, in opposition to the above assertion, we may call attention to the gradually increasing expectancy of salvation. Thus, while Gen. iii. 14, 15, traces salvation to the medium of mankind generally, Gen. xii. 3 limits it to the seed of Abraham, ch. xlix. 10 to the tribe of Judah, and 2 Sam. vii. 12—16 to the family of David. Here the promise attains its narrowest limits, which it henceforth preserves throughout the whole Old Testament.

THE TWOFOLD TENDENCY MANIFEST IN THE PRIMEVAL RACE.

(Comp. *Dettinger*, Remarks on Gen. iv. 1—6, 8; in the Tübingen Theol. Journal for 1835, pt. 1; *Fr. Bötticher* de inferis rebusque post mortem futuris, 1845, p. 121, et seq.)

§ 23. (Gen. iv.)—The two first sons of Adam and Eve become immediately the starting-points and the prototypes of the twofold tendency apparent in man: the one planted and nourished by sin, the other by salvation. These two tendencies re-appear everywhere in the history of mankind, and become more and more distinct, in the one case in a believing surrender *to*, in the other in a determined alienation *from*, God, and from His plan of salvation. *Cain* (= the acquired) is the *first* fruit of Adam's marriage (1). At his birth, Eve triumphantly exclaims—"I have gotten a *man* with Jehovah," in the belief that she had now got one who would victoriously *contend* against the seed of the serpent. But speedily she becomes sensible of her error, and accordingly calls her second son הַבֵּל, for her premature and impatient hope had vanished like *breath*. Both sons *offer sacrifices* (2). Abel brings the firstlings of his flock, and Cain of the fruits of the ground. The Lord graciously had respect to Abel's sacrifice, but not to that of Cain. This excites the envy and the wrath of the latter, and he slays his brother. Henceforth Cain is cursed to be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth. He dwells in the land of *Nod* (נֹד = flight) on the east of Eden, where he builds for his son *Chanoch* (Enoch) a city of that name (3). The posterity of Cain follow in the course of estrange-

ment from God on which their ancestor had entered. They invent arts, and they devise the pleasures of life; they deify themselves and their ancestors (4). The Cainite *Lamech* introduces polygamy, and boastingly confides in his own strength, as in his God. His son *Jabal* was the ancestor of the nomadic tribes which dwell in tents. *Jabal* invented stringed and wind instruments, *Tubal-Cain* was "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." These statements, as well as the names of his daughter *Naamah* (the lovely), and of his wives *Adah* (ornament, beauty) and *Zillah* (shade, perhaps so called from her rich tresses; according to *Fürst* = Song) furnish abundant indications of the peculiar development in the family of Cain.

(1.) Before marriage could take place, or its fruits appear, it was necessary for man to pass beyond the stage of mere life, and to undergo the trial of his freedom, recorded in Gen. iii. For, as a thinking, feeling being, possessed of freedom, personality, and self-consciousness, man was not to be induced to this union merely by impulse like the beasts, and without being conscious of its high purpose. Indeed, this the highest stage in the manifestation of his life, presupposed his knowledge of good and evil. To this we may add as another reason, that the race was to be *one* organism, both in joy and in sorrow, in blessing and in curse, for its destination depends on this unity. Hence the unfolding from original unity into plurality could only take place after man had made choice of his peculiar direction.

(2.) Here, at the threshold of the development of mankind, we come upon the mystery of 4000 years—the institution of SACRIFICES. What was their origin, and whence the strange accord by which sacrifices are the central point in the religion of all ancient peoples? Manifestly the Biblical record does not give us light on this subject, but at the same time it seems to imply that God had given instructions concerning, and that He had instituted, this ordinance. Many theologians have thought that the statement (Gen. iii. 24) that the "Lord God made coats of skins (to our first parents) and clothed them," refers to the institution of sacrifices. The reason why the Lord had respect to the one and not to the other sacrifice must chiefly be sought in the disposition of those who offered it; Heb. xi. 4—"By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain." However, the view so often expressed that Abel's bloody sacrifice expressed a more profound religious apprehension than that of Cain, which was "without shedding of blood," seems to agree

with the general bearing of the text. The view (that man had only learned to offer bloody sacrifices after they had become cruel), founded on a statement of *Porphyry*, de Abstin. ii. 1, § 5, according to whom at first sacrifices of fruits had been brought, shows a most wretched want of criticism, assuming the vague talk of a Pythagorean as sound historical testimony, while it sets aside all real historical evidence to the contrary. Comp. *Meiner's* Crit. Hist. of Religion, ii. 3, et seq. The sacrifices of Cain and of Abel are Shelamim (peace-offerings). Their relation to the later institutions of the Mosaic law has formed subject of discussion (comp. *Deyling* Observ. ss. ii., obs. 4; *Heidegger* i., Exerc. 18; *Reland* Antiqu. p. 195; *Iken* Diss. ii. 5) which has led to no definite result.

(3.) In the circumstance that CAIN BUILT A CITY we recognise the same tendency and the same felt want on the part of man alienated from God which afterwards reached its climax in the rearing of the Tower of Babel. Nor do we feel any difficulty about the inhabitants of that city—especially considering that the expression is chiefly meant to convey a contrast to the scattered tents of shepherds. Centuries may have passed before Cain commenced to build this city. The attempts of *Bochart*, *Huet*, and even of modern writers, to identify the name of the land and of the city of Cain, are equally needless and useless. Some particulars connected with the narrative about Cain presuppose that men had already spread over the face of the globe; a view this which we hold to be quite tenable. According to hints gathered from Gen. iv. 25, the murder of Abel must have taken place immediately before the birth of Seth, or 130 years after the creation of man. During that period Adam must have had a large number of descendants. Some have felt difficulties in connection with the evident necessity of intermarriages between the nearest relations, as implying incest. But that idea cannot attach to *such* connections. In incest homogeneous points must meet. But this could only take place after mankind, which, in our first parents, were as yet one unseparated whole, had developed and settled into individual and separate families. Comp. on this subject, against the view of *J. D. Michaelis*, an article (by *Hengstenberg*?) in the evangel. Kirchenzeitung, 1840, Nos. 47—52, 58, 59, and *Br. Bauer*, Crit. of Revel. i. 192, et seq. We shall return to this subject when treating of the Mosaic legislation.

(4.) *Ph. Buttmann* (on the mythic period from Cain to the flood, in the "Mythologus, 1828," p. 152—179)—and before him many others (as, for example, *G. Vossius*, *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and others)—has attempted to trace a connection between

the NAMES of the DESCENDANTS OF CAIN and those of heathen mythologies, but for purposes different from those of his predecessors. Tubal-Cain was = Vulcan, Jabal and Jubal = Ἀβέλιος = Apollo, &c. The suggestion by the same author that the genealogy of the family of Cain was originally the same as that of the family of Seth (in Gen. v.), has gained more general support than the other hypothesis. According to that view Noah was the son of Zillah (Simla = Semele), and the same as Bacchos; Lamech and Chanoch occur in both genealogies; Adam was = Enosh, Cain = Kenan, Irad = Jered, Mechujael = Mahalaleel, Methushael = Methushaelach. This hypothesis has been adopted by *Tuch*, ad h. l., by *Ewald* (Hist. i. 313, et seq.), and by *Lepsius* (Chronology of the Egypt., i. 396, et seq.); it has been controverted by *Hüevernick* (Introduct. i. 2, p. 262) and by *Rasm. Rask* (oldest hebr. Chronol., from the Danish, by *Mohrnick*, 1836, p. 37, et seq.). *Buttmann* himself allows that there is a great difference in the roots and in the meaning of these names. Besides, the two series of names are differently arranged, while some names are wholly omitted; a circumstance the more important when we bear in mind the respect paid to such data in ancient times, a feeling to which we owe the preservation of names and geologies during the lapse of thousands of years. Still, the identity of two of these names, and the similarity of others, is remarkable. *Hüevernick*, l. c., accounts for this on the ground "of the paucity of names in primeval times;" *M. Baumgarten* (Comment. i. 1, p. 93, et seq.) thinks "that, by adopting the names of the family of Cain, the descendants of Seth had intended to shew that they had taken the place of the first-born but degenerate line;" while *Delitzsch* (Gen., p. 157) infers that the two families had continued intercourse with each other. *Dettinger*, l. c. p. 9, et seq. very aptly calls attention to the fact that the text furnishes more detailed particulars about Chanoch and Lamech, whose names were so similar, in order to prevent the possibility of their being identified, and to shew more clearly that the direction in which the development of these two lines tended was opposite. Indeed, without doubt this is the reason why the genealogy of Cain is given. On this ground, also, it closes with Lamech, the sixth from Cain, in whom the ungodliness of a family which only sought after the things of this world reached its climax, as may be gathered from his polygamy, from his godless confidence in, and hymn to, the sword, and from what is recorded of his sons, who directed their energies to cultivate exclusively the worldly side of life by arts and industry. His family foreshadowed the later stage of heathenism in its twofold aspect (§ 31). For further particulars we refer to the exposition of this chapter by

Delitzsch. *Ewald* constructs, from the data furnished in the genealogy of Cain, quite an *Olympus*, with gods, heroes, and demi-goddesses; for particulars of which we refer the curious reader to the works of that writer.

§ 24. (Gen. v.)—In room of Abel, who had been slain, Eve now gets *Seth* as *compensation*. Nor is this a misnomer. Seth is the ancestor of a family, which, continuing in the faith, become heirs of the promise, and whose aims, character, and tendency are in direct contrast to those of Cain (1). Even during the time of *Enos* men began formally to serve Jehovah, in opposition to the worship of self and of ancestors, which had at the same time commenced in the family of Cain. *Enoch* (the dedicated), the seventh from Adam, walked with God, and was in consequence “taken away” (2). *Lamech* (Lemech), as formerly Eve, hoped to have found in his son *Noah* (*rest*)—(probably as being the *tenth* from Adam, with whom he had anticipated this era would close)—one to comfort him concerning his work and toil, on the ground which Jehovah had cursed. Adam lived till Lamech had attained his sixty-fifth year (3).

(1.) The separation of the race into Sethites and Cainites was not stopped by the circumstance that, according to Gen. v. 4, Adam begat many other sons and daughters. According to their respective tendencies, these would join either the one or the other party.

(2.) From Heb. xi. 5, we learn that “by faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death”—a view which certainly agrees with the purport of the original account. We do not, however, see that the explanation offered by *M. Baumgarten* has either proved “the internal necessity of this fact,” or “removed every difficulty connected with it.” That writer has left out of consideration the principal difficulty which arises from a comparison with Rom. v. 12—14, and with 1 Cor. xv. 20—23. If Enoch was removed from communion with God here to communion with Him there, the latter can, according to 1 Cor. xv. 20—23, not represent the state of perfect glory. He was translated that he should not see death, but he cannot have been exempted, any more than those to whom 1 Cor. xv. 50 refers, from those two elements connected with death, according to which it is both the result of sin and the condition of the resurrection. The manner, the character, and the place of the translation of Enoch must all be fixed within these limits. Our

ignorance of the circumstances and relations after death precludes our knowledge of further details. The son of Sirach says (xliv. 16)—“Enoch was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations,” while the pseudepigr. book of Enoch, and after it Jude, 14, 15, expressly speak of him as having, during his life-time, preached repentance and judgment. Comp. *Cave*, in *Fabricius’* Codex pseudepigr., i. 201; *Hoffmann*, the book of Enoch, p. 69; *Fr. v. Meyer* in the “*Studien und Kritiken*,” 1841, p. 640, et seq. On Enoch, comp. generally *A. Pfeiffer* decas exercit. ss., ex. ii.

(3.) Adam attained the age of 930 years, Methusalah that of 969. On the *duration of life* among the patriarchs before the flood comp. *Kanne*, bibl. Researches and Expos., 1819; *Schlegel*, Philos. of History, 1829, i., 60 et seq. The attempts of others (*Henster*, Remarks on some passages in the Ps. and in Gen., 1791, p. 287 et seq.; *Hufeland*, Macrobiotic i., ch. 5; *Rask*, Oldest chronol., 1836), to bring those ages within our present limits of life by assuming that those years consisted of only 1, of 3, or of 6 months, are simply absurd. Equally unsatisfactory is the view of *H. Leo* (Evang. Kirch.Zeit. 1842), who suggests that the names of individuals represented entire groups of generations. Against the opinion (of *Bertheau*, *Lepsius*, &c.) that these numbers indicated cyclical periods, such as we find in the mythic dynasties of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, &c., we urge the decisive fact that the only number of astronomical importance is that in connection with Enoch. The statement of *Tuch* that these numbers were meant to shew that the duration of human life was continually decreasing, refutes itself, as no such decrease appears in the genealogies. The duration of life decreases, indeed, with Mahalaleel to 895 years, but it rises again with Jared to the figure 962, which had never before been attained; with Enoch it again decreases to the minimum of 365, once more to rise with Methusalah to the maximum of 969 years, &c. The question as to the possibility of a life of 7, 8, or 9 centuries cannot be settled by the rules of modern Physiology. Any assertion of impossibility must be regarded either as a piece of arrogance or as a proof of rashness. Instances of lives prolonged for 150 or even 200 years occur almost in our own days, and if under peculiarly favourable circumstances men may attain an age three times that of ordinary duration, why should, under much more favourable circumstances, life not have attained ten times its present average length? And we are warranted in inferring that, during the first ages of our species, conditions had taken place which singularly favoured longevity, but which for thousands of years have ceased. Among them we reckon an undiminished youthful vigour in the men of the

first generations, and a corresponding deeper energy in telluric and natural life generally. All that geology discloses about the antediluvian state of the earth proves that these suppositions are founded on fact. Besides these we might urge, in support of the Biblical statement, other reasons derived from the Divine plan concerning the world and salvation.

On the CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES between the Hebrew original, the Samaritan version, and the LXX., comp. *J. D. Michaelis* de chronol. Mosis ante diluvium, wo attaches authority only to the statements of the Hebrew text. Comp. also the remarks of bibl. chronolog. generally, and *L. Reinke*, contrib. to the elucidat. of the O. T., 1851, p. 70 et seq. The two other recensions have arbitrarily altered the text, to make it agree with some of their own suppositions. Böckh rightly suggests (*Manetho* p. 86), that the Alexandrians had made the periods longer in order to reconcile the chronology of the Bible with that current in Egypt. The alterations in the LXX. would no doubt have been as readily discarded as those in the Samaritan version, if it had not been for the use made of the former by New Testament writers. *Js. Vossius*, *Joh. v. Müller*, and *Seuffarth* have followed the LXX. According to the original the flood had taken place in the year 1656, according to the LXX. in the year 2242, according to the Samaritan text in the year 1307 of the world. At present it is pretty generally allowed that only the statements of the Hebrew original are authentic. Of course this statement does not of itself imply the general credibility of these data. We can scarcely wonder that Rationalists should, in consistency with their principles, deny their accuracy. But the objections of students of Egyptian history would, if well founded, raise more grave difficulties. *Bunsen* maintains that the chronology of Egyptian history can be satisfactorily traced to the year 4000 before Christ, while *Lepsius* as confidently asserts that the Egyptian king Menes commenced his reign in the year 3893 before Christ. But even scholars who cannot be accused of entertaining prejudices in favour of the Bible have admitted that the correctness of this chronology has not yet been proved. We may, therefore, in the mean time, dismiss this objection. The same remark applies still more strongly to the ingenious hypothesis of *Bertheau* (comp. the Annual Report of the German Orient. Soc., 1846, p. 40—58), who supposes that all the three recensions are chronological systems, drawn up in cycles, all equally trustworthy or non-trustworthy, and invented in order to fill up a gap in historical tradition. The Hebrew text—according to *Bertheau*—speaks of 1656 lunar years (= 1600 solar years) in order to assign a duration of 160 to each of the ten generations.

It is scarcely necessary to comment on so arbitrary and groundless a hypothesis.

We subjoin a table of the three recensions. (A refers to the *Hebrew* text, B to the *Septuagint*, C to the *Samaritan* text.)

		Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.			Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.
ADAM,	A	130	800	930	JARED,	A	162	800	962
	B	230	700	930		B	162	800	962
	C	130	800	930		C	62	785	847
SETH,	A	105	807	912	ENOC,	A	65	300	365
	B	205	707	912		B	165	200	365
	C	105	807	912		C	65	300	365
ENOS,	A	90	815	905	METHUSALAH,	A	187	782	969
	B	190	715	905		B	187	782	969
	C	90	815	905		C	67	653	720
CAINAN,	A	70	840	910	LAMECH,	A	182	595	777
	B	170	740	910		B	188	565	753
	C	70	840	910		C	53	600	653
MAHALALEEL,	A	65	830	895	NOAH,	A	500		(950)
	B	165	730	895		B	500		(950)
	C	65	830	895		C	500		(950)

THE JUDGMENT OF THE FLOOD.

§ 25. (Gen. vi.)—From the long duration of life the race increased very rapidly (1). But their alienation from God increased in the same ratio. It attained its climax when *the sons of God* intermarried with the *daughters of men* (2), and the offspring of these connections, the *Nefilim*, committed their deeds of violence. This corruption spread even into the ranks of the pious descendants of Seth, until only one man, *Noah* ("a preacher of righteousness," 2 Pet. ii. 5), was found who walked with God. But the Lord allowed other 120 years to pass to "give space for repentance" (3). In the mean time Noah had, by Divine command, built an ark of three stories, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high (4). But despite all warnings men continued in their course of godlessness (comp. Matth. xxiv. 37—39).

(1.) Computations of the number of men in existence at the

time of the flood, being the result of a calculation of probabilities, become sometimes really absurd. Thus *S. Baumgarten* (contrib. to *Univers. Hist.* i., Ann. 175) computes their number at 2,238,030,282,752. Before the flood the human race apparently inhabited only a part of Asia.

(2.) The following three are the leading views about the *BNE ELOHIM*:—(1.) They are represented as “*fili magnatum puellas plebejas rapientes*,” (2.) They are supposed to have been angels; or (3.) pious persons = the descendants of Seth, while the daughters of men are supposed to have been descendants of Cain. The first-mentioned is the view of the *Samaritan* version, of *Jonathan, Onkelos, Symmachus, Aben-Esra, Rashi, Varenius*, &c., but is at present generally abandoned. The second view is that most generally entertained both by the ancient Synagogue and Church. It was possibly shared even by the *LXX.*—at least the authority of the Manuscripts is divided between the readings *υιοι του θεου* and *αγγελοι του θεου*. It is, however, adopted (with mythic embellishments) in two old apocryphal works: the *book of Enoch*, and what is known as *little Genesis* (*λεπτή γένεσις*, of which Dillmann has given, in the annual survey of Ewald, a German translation based on the Ethiopic). It is also adopted in the *epistle of Jude* (vv. 6, 7), and in the *second epistle of Peter* (ii. 4, 5), as well as by *Philo*, by *Josephus*, and by most of the *Rabbins* (comp. Eisenmenger’s *Judaism Unmasked*, i., 380), and by the most ancient of the fathers, such as *Justin, Clemens Alex., Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrosius*, and *Lactantius*. Since that time it has, however, been gradually discarded; *Chrysostom, Augustine*, and *Theodoret* contended vehemently against it, *Philastrinus* directly stigmatised it as heresy, and the older German Theologians turned from it almost with aversion. It was also opposed in the Synagogue. Rabbi *Simon ben Jochai* excommunicated all who advocated this view. In our own days all the Divines who have held that the book of Genesis was mythical have adopted this view; but others also, and among them a large number of interpreters who believed in revelation, have pronounced in its favour. Among them we may mention *Köppen* (*The Bible, a work of Divine Wisdom*, i., 104); *Fr. v. Meyer* (*Blätter für höh. Wahrh.*, xi. 61); *Twisten* (*Dogmatics*, ii. 1, p. 332); *Nitzsch* (*System*, p. 234); *Drechsler* (*Unity of Gen.* p. 91 et seq.); *Hofmann* (*Predict. and Fulfillm.*, i. 85 seq., and *Script. Demonstr.*, i. 374 seq.); *Baumgarten* (*Comment. on the Pentat. ad h. l.*); *Delitzsch* (*Comm. ad h. l.*); *Stier* (*Ep. of Jude*, p. 42 seq.); *Dietlein* (*Comment. on 2 Pet.*, p. 149 seq.); *Huther* (*Comment. on the ep. of Peter and of Jude*, p. 204 seq. 341).¹

¹ Dr Maitland, in his *Essay (on False Worship*, London 1856), advocates

The third mode of interpretation which we have above mentioned is advocated by *Chrysostom*, by *Cyrillus Alex.*, by *Theodoret* (who supports it by the curious argument that Seth had, on account of his piety, obtained the *cognomen* Θεός, and that his descendants had on that ground been called *υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*), and by almost all the later orthodox Theologians. In our own days it has been zealously advocated by *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. ii., p. 328, &c.); by *Hüevernick* (Introd. i., p. 265); by *Dettinger* (l. c. v. § 23); by *Keil* (in the Luther. Journal for 1851, ii., p. 239), and by many others.

Weighty arguments may be adduced in favour of both the last-mentioned interpretations, so that it is almost difficult to decide on their respective claims. In favour of the view according to which the designation is applied to the descendants of Seth, it is urged (1.) that the context is in favour of it. Ch. iv. is said to give an account of the family of Cain, ch. v. of that of Seth, and then ch. vi. of the commingling of these two lines, and the corruption ensuing from it, which afterwards led to the judgment of the flood. (2.) The expression "they took them wives" seems to indicate *legitima conjugia*. (3.) The remark which follows "of all which they chose," is supposed to prove that their sin consisted not in *taking wives*, but in choosing them *according to their lusts*—a statement which could only apply to men, not to angels. (4.) In ch. iv. the beauty of the female members of the family of Cain is repeatedly adverted to. However, none of these arguments is decisive. On the other hand, it is decisive against this view that in v. 2 the Bne-Elohim are placed in contrast to the *Bnoth-Adam*, nor can the latter expression be limited so as to refer to others than those spoken of in v. 1. But that verse refers without doubt to the daughters of men generally, without distinction of families or of religious views. Besides the general meaning of the term Bne Elohim, as ascertained from other passages, and—unless the authority of the epistles of Peter and of Jude be denied—the testimony of the New Testament, are in favour of the other view. Deep dogmatic prejudice only could have induced any to deny that certain angels are there represented as having fallen in consequence of their intercourse with the daughters of men. Comp. *Dietlein*, *Stier*, *Huther*, *Hofmann*, ll. cc.

For the interpretation which renders the Bne Elohim by angels it is urged:—(1.) That the *usus loquendi* is in its favour. The term Bne Elohim is elsewhere always applied to angels, as in Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 7; Job i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25.

this view, carrying it, however, into fanciful particulars, and deriving the whole ancient mythology from this union of angels and men.—THE TR.

The contrary reference to Deut. xiv. 1, 2; xxxii. 5; to Ex. iv. 22, comp. with Is. i. 2—and even to Gen. iv. 25, is not to the point, as the expression in the passage under consideration is not Bne Jehovah but Bne Elohim—a fact the more striking that it occurs in a Jehovistic section. Nor is there any force in the appeal to the term Elohim in Gen. v. 1, as in the sense there implied the descendants of Cain are also Bne Elohim. Of greater importance is the expression in Ps. lxxiii. 15, where, in the address to God, the pious are designed in opposition to the wicked as “the generation of thy children.” But then the expression Bne Elohim is throughout the Old Testament applied to angels, while the filial relation between the pious and God is conveyed by the term, “children of Jehovah” (Ex. iv. 22; Deut. xiv. 1; xlii. 5; Is. i. 2). Ps. lxxiii. 15 must, therefore, be understood in the latter sense. The objection that the common term “*Maleachi*” would have been employed if angels had been meant, may be removed by the remark that Maleach is the official designation of angels, Bne Elohim their *nomen naturae*. (2.) It may be argued that if the Bne Elohim had referred to men, the expression “*daughters of men*” would not convey any idea of contrast. (3.) The statement in v. 4, “The same became mighty men, men of renown which were of old,” manifestly traces the heathen mythological legends about the sons of Gods and the heroes to this event. (4.) 2 Pet. ii. 4 and Jude vv. 6, 7, are decidedly in favour of this interpretation. (5.) A consideration of the position and of the bearing of this event on history will lead to the same conviction. We call attention to the fact that it seemed to be necessary to destroy all mankind, and to commence as it were a new race—a circumstance which can only be accounted for on the view which we have advocated. It surely cannot have been an arbitrary arrangement that, when a new development of grace commenced with Abraham, the rest of mankind were allowed to continue, while in this case it seems to have been necessary that they should be destroyed. But in declaring ourselves in favour of this view, we must notice the objections urged against it. *Keil* (l. c.) lays great stress on the circumstance that the passage reads Bne haelohim (and not Bne Elohim, without the article). Haelohim, he argues, is “the true God,” and hence Bne haelohim can only apply to holy angels. But we cannot see the force of this argument. Angels are called the sons of God on account of their heavenly origin, not of their holiness, and this remains the same after as before their fall. If fallen angels may be called Bne Elohim they may equally bear the title of Bne haelohim, for *that* God from whom they derive their origin is the true God, whether they continue in or fall from their original holiness. Another argument, drawn from

v. 4, has more weight. It is inferred from it that *Nefilim* had not merely been the offspring of marriages between the sons of God and the daughters of men, but also of other and not unfrequent connections. But—so runs the inference—if the Bne Elohim were angels, their progeny would also have been specifically different from that of any other union. This reasoning, however, rests on an erroneous interpretation of the verse quoted. The latter does not imply that *Nefilim* had been the offspring of any but the marriage of angels, and the assumption that the expression “and also after that” bears any reference to *Nefilim* in Palestine at the time of Moses is perfectly gratuitous. On the contrary the verse explicitly says: “There were (sprung up) *Nefilim* in the earth in those days,” i.e. during the 120 years of grace which the Lord granted to the race that had so fearfully deteriorated in consequence of these intermarriages. Afterwards the origin of these *Nefilim* is traced to these unions between angels and men. *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr. i., 375) translates the expression “Again, in future when they shall come and when they shall bear,” the terms “the same are the mighty men” being then a kind of inference and the whole forming a prediction concerning “a future degeneracy of mankind similar to that which had taken place before the flood, in consequence of which there would again be mighty men such as had been of old, men of renown.” But we prefer the interpretation of *Delitzsch*, who renders the verse as follows: “*Nefilim* arose in those days (of long-suffering), and also after that, when the sons of God joined themselves (came) to the daughters of men, and they bore to them—these are the mighty men, &c.” He adds, “The Divine warning did not put a stop to the connection between angels and men, which continued despite the threatening. The words ‘after that’ cannot refer to a period posterior to the flood, as the latter was intended to put an end to this iniquity—which was also done, especially as the angels who had carnally lusted were at that time bound with chains (Jude v. 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4). Hence the pretension of the Anakim to have sprung from these *Nefilim* could not possibly have been well-grounded, although their claim was admitted by some of their cotemporaries (Numb. xiii. 33).” This interpretation is, on the whole, satisfactory, although it is not perfectly natural. Hence we prefer with *Deltinger* to refer the נִפְלִיִּם not to something additional, but to interpret it as indicating an emphasis, in the sense of “just” or “since” (comp. the instances in Gesenii thes. s. h. v. No. 3, and especially the meaning of the word in the second clause of Gen. xxix. 30). The verse would then be rendered, “There were *Nefilim* in the earth in those days, and that just after the sons of God came in to the daughters of men and they bare children to them. These

are the men of renown which were of old." We cannot agree with *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfillmt. i. 86), in deriving the word נפילים from נפל *to be cast out, to be born* (Is. xxvi. 19), in which case it would "indicate those who were cast out or born in a way different from that in which the race is commonly propagated." We prefer to abide by the old derivation of the word from נפל = *to attack*, and to render it by "*violent men*."

Dogmatical arguments are also urged against our view. These have, since the days of Chrysostom and of Augustin, had so powerful an influence on orthodox criticism, that commonly the simple and natural meaning of the words has altogether been set aside. The chief reasons against our interpretation have always been either that drawn from Matth. xxii. 30, with which it is supposed to be incompatible, or the notion that angels were merely spirits without any corporeity. To the first argument it may be replied that the statement of the Lord (that the angels of God neither marry nor are given in marriage) only implied that all sexual connection is entirely contrary to the nature of holy angels, not that they may not have fallen from their original holiness and then have been guilty of sinful conduct contrary to their nature. If we bear in mind that there is something mysterious about the love and connection of the sexes, and that in all who are not wholly sunken, the animal aspect of it—which sin isolates—is pervaded by a more elevated and noble principle; when we farther think of its importance in the history of the world and of salvation, we may perhaps not regard it as quite impossible that the angels should have not only desired to look into this mystery of human nature, but also to share in it. Comp. *Twisten* (Dogm. ii. 332): "That this idea may not be quite so absurd as it may appear at first sight, could scarcely have been more brilliantly shown than in the beautiful poem of Moore." The refutation of the objection drawn from the absolute incorporeity of angels we leave to those who can reconcile belief in this doctrine with a correct interpretation of Gen. vi. The view of *Hofmann*, with whom *Delitzsch* agrees (p. 175), is unsatisfactory. He thinks that "the possibility of progeny in consequence of the influence of a spiritual nature may be inferred from the fact that the virgin had conceived by the influence of the Holy Spirit." But the human nature of the second Adam was not *begotten* by the Holy Spirit, like that of the first Adam it was *created*. The eternal Word was *begotten into* the holy child which the virgin bore in consequence of the *creative* influence of the Holy Spirit. But no such *creative* influence could possibly be ascribed to any *created* spirit. Besides, spirit could only beget *spirit*. We can only conceive a sexual connection between angels and daughters of men if the idea of corporeity

attaches to the former, and if their body was entirely subject to the spirit which inhabited it, so as entirely to adapt itself not only to the peculiar purposes for which that spirit was created, but also to lusts which in themselves are contrary to its original nature.

The question whether the Bne Elohim of Gen. vi. were angels which had already fallen or were only *then falling* cannot be fully decided from this passage alone. The most ancient testimony (that of the book Enoch, of little Genesis, and of the oldest of the fathers) is in favour of the *latter* view, and the epistles of Peter and of Jude seem distinctly to bear it out.

It is scarcely possible to do more violence to historical facts than *J. P. Lange* (pos. Dogm. 569) has done. His statement that "the more celibacy came to be in repute in the Church the more did the fathers entertain this hypothesis" refutes itself. This "hypothesis" was generally entertained (in the 2d and 3d centuries) when celibacy was not yet, or at least only began to be in repute while it was attacked and declared to be heresy ever since the fourth century, when so much value was attached to celibacy.

(3.) Contrary to the manifest meaning and connection of the passage, *Josephus* (antiqu. i. 3, 2) thinks that the period of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS was not a space given for repentance, but a shortening of the duration of life to 120 years—a view which has recently been adopted by *Tuch* p. 157, by *Ewald* i. 324, and by *M. Baumgarten* i. 1, p. 102. Against it comp. *Hofmann* (Predict. i. 86; Script. Demonstr. i. 445), and *Delitzsch* (Gen. 177).

(4.) The ARK was neither intended or suited for *nautical* purposes. It was not meant for *navigation*, but for *carrying freight*, for which it was much more suited than if it had been constructed according to the principles of shipbuilding. The vessel, after the model of the ark, which *P. Jansen* built at Hoorn in the year 1609, was capable of carrying one-third more freight than ordinary vessels of the same tonnage, but was unfit for navigation (comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Orient. Libr. xviii. 26 et seq.). *N. Tiele* shews in his Comment. that the ark was sufficiently large to receive all those animals which were to be preserved. Of the 3,600,000 cubic feet which it contained he reserves 9-10ths for the victualling department, and assigns a space of 54 cubic feet to every species of animals, and accordingly finds that there was room for nearly 7000 different species. Fishes, worms, and insects were, of course, not received into the ark. Comp. also *Silberschlag*, Geogony ii., 63 et seq.

§ 26. (Gen. vii. viii.)—The space given for repentance had passed by unimproved, and Noah entered the ark with his wife,

with his sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, and with their wives. (Shem = Name, Glory; Ham or rather Cham = Heat; Japheth or Jepheth = widely-diffused, Enlargement). Of every kind of beasts which live on dry ground he took *one pair* with him into the ark (and of *clean* beasts, *i.e.* of such as may be sacrificed, by sevens), and of all food that is eaten; and Jehovah shut him in. Then the flood began on the 17th day of the second month, in the 600th year of Noah, or 1656 after the creation of man. The fountains of the great deep were broken up, the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights, the waters rose 15 cubits above the high hills (1), and all flesh that moved upon the earth died. The ark rested upon the mountains of *Ararat*. Gradually the waters again decreased, and on the 27th day of the second month of the following year (2) Noah went forth out of the ark (3.)

(1.) The account of the flood bears all the marks of being a carefully kept diary. Hence we infer that the STATEMENT OF THE DEPTH OF THE WATERS was derived from actual measurements made on board the ship itself, which rested upon one of the tops of *Ararat*. Similarly we conclude that the expression: "all the high hills that were under *the whole heaven*" referred to the mountains in sight, *i.e.* to the highlands of Armenia. A volume of water 30 feet above the top of *Ararat* (which according to *Parrot* is 16,254 feet high), and which prevailed for almost a year, must have found its equilibrium, and thus covered the face of the whole globe. According to the calculation of *Lilienthal* (v. 69) the quantity of water necessary to cover the surface of the earth to a height of one mile above the level of the sea is only equal to the 272d part of the volume of the earth.

(2.) The flood prevailed for a year and 10 days. But although in this and other places we have certain definite data, the computation of the year of the flood (comp. the chronologies of *Bengel*, *Bennigsen*, *Tiele*, and others) is not without its difficulties, partly from the inaccuracy necessarily connected with the calculation of a year computed according to lunar months, and partly from the uncertainty attaching to the question whether or not the 40 days of rain were included in the 150 days during which the waters increased.

(3.) We have now to advert to some points of importance in the history of the flood. (1.) The GATHERING OF THE DIFFERENT ANIMALS to be taken into the ark does not imply very great difficulties when we remember the equableness of climate before the flood, and the instinct of animals, who generally gather

around man in anticipation of any great natural catastrophe. Besides, it is not necessary to understand the words of the text as conveying that literally all kinds of beasts had been taken into the ark. We know that some species have died out with the flood. The collection of *food* became more easy, as the event took place in autumn (in the second month of the year, which always commenced in autumn). It is more difficult to explain how the *animals spread* after the flood. *Prichard* (in his *Natural History of Man*) proposes one of two solutions of this question. He suggests that either the flood had only covered and laid waste that portion of the earth which was inhabited by man, or that a partial creation of animals had again taken place after the flood. In favour of the latter hypothesis he mentions that certain strange and abnormal organisms are found in Australia (New Holland). *Prichard* inclines to the latter view, and in its favour adduces as an argument from analogy that fresh creations marked every new geological period of the earth. The difficulty might also be removed by supposing that the various continents had formerly been connected together—a view borne out by geographical considerations, and supported by the legends of other nations (comp. also Gen. x. 25), especially by that concerning Atlantis. (2.) On the LEGENDS and ACCOUNTS of the flood current AMONG OTHER NATIONS comp., besides the authorities mentioned in § 20, 5, also *L. v. Stolberg* in app. ii. to vol. i. of his history; *Buttmann* *Mythologus* i., 180 et seq.; *v. Bohlen*, *Tuch*, and *Delitzsch* in their respective Comment., and *Paravey* *documens sur le déluge de Noé*, 1838. On the Indian tradition comp. *Fr. Bopp*, The flood with other three of the most important episodes of the Mahá—Bhárata. Transl. from the orig. 1829. The popular accounts current both in the old and in the new world agree in part with those of the Bible in so striking a manner that we can scarcely err in supposing that the former were derived *from*—or at least *modified by* the latter. Comp. the remarks of *Hengstenberg* in Egypt and the books of Moses, pp. 242, 274. An impartial critical enquiry into the whole subject might be of importance. But however strictly carried on, sufficient would be left to warrant the remarks with which *Delitzsch* concludes his survey of this tradition: “A survey of all these traditions carries to our mind the conviction that the flood was a historical event, which had struck deep root in the memory of nations. The recollection of it extended from Armenia to Britain, and from China across Eastern Asia to America. The biblical account of this event is equally free from all mythological and merely national elements, and presents the only faithful and purely historical representation of a tradition which had spread over all the nations of the world.”

On the GEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS involved comp., besides the works mentioned in § 20, *Buckland* reliquiae diluvianae, Lond. 1823, *K. v. Raumer* Manual of Univers. Geogr., 2d ed., 1838, p. 395; *Rud. Wagner*, Natural Hist. of Man, 1838, vol. ii.; *G. H. v. Schubert*, Kosmos, 1852, p. 659 et seq.; *A. Wagner*, Hist. of the Primeval World, pp. 215, 526 et seq.; *A. Ebrard*, in the Journal, "The future of the Church" (3d year), p. 357 et seq.; *Fr. Klar*, Original state of the earth, 1833.

NOAH AND HIS SONS.

§ 27. (Gen. ix. 17.)—The development which had preceded the flood had not attained its goal, viz., to exhibit salvation by the seed of the woman. If this purpose was not to be given up, the former development had to be broken off by a universal judgment and a new development to be commenced. The latter begins with *Noah* as the former commenced with Adam. On the part of man its starting-point is that emphatic confession of his sinfulness and hope of salvation, which finds in *sacrifice* an appropriate expression. On the part of God we have a gracious acceptance of the sacrifice and the promise: "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth. . . . While the earth remaineth seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." The result is a *new* covenant between God and the new race (1), in virtue of which He again bestows on man dominion over nature and the blessing of being fruitful, and gives them a *preliminary law* (2) to be their first (elementary) schoolmaster (Gal. iii. 24). The *rainbow* is to serve as the handwriting of the Lord, and to bear witness of this solemn translation both in the sight of Noah and of all succeeding generations (3)—as it were a writing in sympathetic ink which always becomes legible when the dark storms which recall a former judgment give place to the glowing rays of the sun, which remind of the grace dispensed since that period. It is the characteristic of this covenant that through *the forbearance of God* sin is now to be passed over until the fulness of time (4.)

(1.) But even the generation which perished in the flood is not

absolutely and entirely shut out from the blessings of this covenant (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20), inasmuch as salvation was not only to spread but also to extend into the past and the future. *Delitzsch* (p. 180 et seq.) aptly remarks about the bearing of the flood on the history of salvation: "It is a universal judgment and forms a period in history, so extensive and well-marked, so powerful and universal as only to be placed by the side of the final judgment, which constitutes the outmost boundary-line of all future history. But this Judicial Act is at the same time also an act of salvation, the flood is also a flood of grace, and in this respect a type of baptism (1 Pet. iii. 21). This destruction has preservation, this drowning purification, this death of the race a new birth for its aim; the old and corrupt world is buried in the flood that from this grave it may emerge a new world. Then Ararat points to Sinai: the Elohim-covenant into which God enters with the holy seed which He had preserved and with all nature points to the covenant of Jehovah; the few and brief precepts given to the descendants of Noah are the commencement of a positive Thorah, and in their contents and purpose the basis and the commencement of the law given from Sinai."

(2.) From this preliminary legislation the Synagogue has derived the seven Noachic ordinances, which were held to be binding on all heathen proselytes (of the gate). These are (according to Buxtorf *lex. talm. s. voce* נֹחִי, p. 407 et seq.), (1.) prohibition of Idolatry, (2.) of Blasphemy, (3.) of Murder, (4.) of Incest, (5.) of robbery and theft, (6.) of eating blood and strangled animals, (7.) injunction of obedience to magistrates.

(3.) The impression conveyed by the text is that the RAINBOW appeared then *for the first time* in the firmament. Some have inferred, among other passages, from Gen. ii. 5, that rain had not fallen before the flood. *De Luc* and *Schubert* have, on grounds drawn from natural philosophy, maintained the probability of this supposition. Comp. also *Hofmann* *Script. Demonstr. i.*, 247.

(4.) The Lord admits the fact of universal sinfulness as something actually existing—it forms an element in the economy of His government and in part determines its direction (comp. the significant word "for" in the promise Gen. viii. 21). The *compassion* of the Lord, who, until all possibility of his salvation has passed away, regards and pities the sinner as one *wretched* and *miserable*, and His *long-suffering* which bears with the sinner and spares him so long as his return is possible, retard the second and final *universal* judgment of Divine *Holiness*—which must view and punish this sinfulness as *guilt*—until His *grace* shall have accomplished all that it had afore devised and determined

for the salvation of sinful man. Comp. also *Hofmann* Script. Demonstr. i., 448 et seq.

§ 28. (Gen. ix. 18 et seq.)—*Noah* became an husbandman, and planted a vineyard. And when he drank of the wine he was drunken, and lay uncovered in his tent. *Ham*, his youngest son, mocked him, but *Shem* and *Japheth* covered the nakedness of their father, their faces being averted from him. In this apparently insignificant act—the first on the part of Noah's sons in the new development—their hidden character and tendency became manifest. These traits could only develope in their race as the peculiarities of character descended in their generations. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done he predicted, in the language of prophetic blessing and curse, the fate of the nations which would descend from his sons:

(v. 25.) "Cursed be Canaan!

A servant of servants be he to his brethren!

(v. 26.) Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,

And Canaan shall be his servant!

(v. 27.) God enlarge Japheth!

May he dwell in the tents of Shem,

And Canaan shall be his servant!"

(1.) *Clericus* understood THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE OF NOAH to refer to the subjugation of Canaan by the Greeks and Romans; *von Bohlen* considers it as a prediction *post eventum* referring to the passage of the Scythians through Asia at the time of Josiah (according to Herod.), and *Movers* applies it to the subjugation of Canaan by the Hebrews, and to the cotemporary subjection and expulsion of the Phenicians from their colonies by the Greeks who took their place. According to this writer this blessing could only have been uttered or written down at that period. *Tuch*, viewing it from his peculiar stand-point, aptly remarks (p. 193): "It cannot possibly be intended to convey that conquerors descending from Japheth would take possession of the provinces held by the descendants of Shem. *The statement refers rather to the co-operation of these two brothers, who are influenced by similar pious considerations, and to point out the ideal union in which as the ancestors so their descendants also shall combine for higher purposes.* The idea, which is soon afterwards more distinctly expressed, that the salvation of man is to flow from Shem (Gen. xii. 3) appears here for the first time, and in the most general outlines." Viewed

along with the context the expression can certainly not imply that Shem was placed at disadvantage. Noah intends to bless Shem, not to curse him. For farther particulars we refer to *Hengstenberg's* Christol. i., p. 47, &c.; *Hofmann's* Predict., 89 seq.; *Hävernich's* Theol. of the Old Test., p. 120 et seq.; *Baumgarten* and *Delitzsch* ad h.l. Hengstenberg renders it: "Japheth shall dwell in the (spiritual) tents of Shem," i.e. he shall be received into the fellowship of that salvation which is to proceed from the race of Shem. *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr. i., 161) and *Baumgarten* decide in favour of an interpretation less suitable. They render: "Elohim shall dwell in the tents of Shem," i.e. as *Onkelos* had already explained it: May the Shechina of God dwell in the tents of Shem. *Delitzsch* has (p. 210) well shewn that the subject in the second clause of v. 27 can only be Japheth. He observes: Even the expression, "*Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,*" implies that God's gracious presence was to be with Shem. But that Japheth is the subject of the clause in question may be inferred from the fact that v. 27 treats of Japheth, as vv. 25 and 26 had respectively treated of Canaan and Shem. Besides, the short and enigmatic exclamation: "*May Elohim enlarge Japheth,*" is in favour of the supposition that the following clause is supplementary to it; the God of Shem is designated as Jehovah in contradistinction to Elohim, the God of Japheth; the term "enlarge" indicates local extension; and, lastly, the childlike and delicate action which Shem and Japheth had performed in concert may be expected to point to such a final blessing as would involve a mutual relationship of concord between these two sons of blessing. Comp. Ps. cxxxiii. 1. At any rate the prediction of Noah connects itself with the promise of salvation in Gen. iii. 15, adapts it to the new circumstances, and thus further develops it. *Jehovah*, the God of salvation, who had decreed and who executes the council of salvation (comp. § 57, 2) is the God of Shem; Shem is the chosen one of Jehovah: the promised salvation of man is to come not from the race of Japheth, nor from that of Ham, but from the tents of Shem. The judgment of the flood had destroyed sinners, but not sin. Sin again makes its appearance in Ham, as formerly in Cain; and the twofold tendency which in the primeval race had been represented by the descendants of Seth and of Cain (§ 23) is now reproduced in the races of Shem and Ham. The descendants of Japheth occupy an intermediate position. With reference to Ham, but not to Jehovah, they stand in the same relation as the descendants of Shem. *Jehovah* is not properly the God of Japheth, but *Elohim* prepares for Japheth a way to the tents of Shem, where he is to find both Jehovah and His salvation. His participation in salvation is brought about through Shem.

The enquiry why the curse was pronounced against Canaan, and not against Ham who had transgressed, is not without its difficulties. *Hofmann* thinks that the sorrow which Ham, the *youngest* son of Noah, had occasioned to his father was to be requited by similar sorrow occasioned by Canaan, whom he supposes to have been the youngest son of Ham. But Gen. x. 6 can scarcely be held as bearing out this supposition. The table of nations in that chapter is manifestly arranged on a principle different from that of comparative seniority. The difficulty would be removed if we were warranted in assuming that Canaan was at that time the only son of Ham. Besides, Canaan is no doubt singled out because of the special relation in which he stood to Israel. Hence, what is said of Ham's son, *as such*, applies equally to all his sons. Comp. also *Drecksler* l. c. pp. 114, 115. From the fact that deliverance from the curse of bondage and participation in the salvation of Shem are not *promised* to Ham, it may not be inferred that such will never take place. On *this* occasion Ham is only to be *curled* and not to be *blessed*. The blessing which, proceeding from the tents of Shem, was designed to extend to the later descendants of Ham was on *this occasion* to be still withheld from him. In his peculiar state at the time, Ham was not capable of receiving, nor was Noah, indignant against his son, capable of prophetically apprehending or apportioning such a blessing. Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 32.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES AND THE DISPERSION OF NATIONS.

§ 29. (Gen. x. xi.)—From the Highlands of Armenia (1) the descendants of Noah first journeyed to the plain of the land of *Shinar*, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. In the presentiment that their dispersion would soon become necessary, they are anxious to fix upon a central point of union; with a presumption like that of the Titans, they attempt to reach unto heaven, and thus, by a combination of all the forces of man, to oppose Him who dwelleth in heaven (2.) But Jehovah descends, and rends the only remaining bond of unity, *that of language*, which was the first and the most necessary condition of common action (3.) God breaks up their sinful union, and scatters them abroad, in order afterwards again to combine them into a true union. Henceforth every nation is to pursue its own course (Acts xiv. 16) till they at last again meet in the tents of Shem.

Thus this course of development also has not led to the goal; it also must be broken off and another commenced. The *period* of this catastrophe is not definitely fixed (4.) The *table of nations* (in Gen. x.) (5.), constructed on the twofold principle of descent and of geographical settlement (6), exhibits the dispersion, of which the Divine interposition was the occasion.

(1.) *Raumer* (Palest. App. v. p. 447, et seq.), and after him more fully *Rud. Wagner* (Nat. Hist. of Man, ii. 256, et seq.), have well shown the importance of Mount ARARAT, not only geographically, from its central position, but also in respect of civil and natural history, as being the *central* and *starting point* of civilisation, of languages, of the various races of men, and even of domestic animals, and of all plants that are cultivated. In opposition to *Bredow* (Researches into Ancient Hist., p. 130, et seq.), who identifies *the land of Shinar* with the neighbourhood of Babylon, *P. Schleyer* (Reply to Obj. against the Predict. of the O. Test., 1839, § 48—52) has shown that it—(“the country enclosed between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and extending from the southern border of Armenia to the Pasitigris”)—included a much larger tract of land. Its peculiar name is still preserved in Mount *Sindshar* (*Niebuhr*, Journey, ii. 338). The expression “eastward,” as applying to the land of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2), must be understood as referring not to the point whence the wanderers started, but to that which the narrator occupied.

(2.) It is somewhat difficult to determine the precise INTENTION, and hence the degree of ungodliness, OF THOSE WHO REARED THE TOWER. *Josephus*, Antiq., i. 4, 2, says that they had wished to set the vengeance of God at defiance, and to protect themselves against another flood. To this *Perizonius* (Origines Babylonicæ, ch. 10—12) replies:—*Turris illa (ܐܒܕܐ = στήλειον) futura erat signum, quod ut aquila legionem Romanam in acie sic hosce homines (pastores) per pascua et prata vagantes cogeret denuo et colligeret identidem in unum et proprium sibi locum, ne singuli facile dispergerentur etc.* Similarly *Ed. Nügelsbach* (The prophet Jeremiah and Babylon, 1850, p. 7): “If we consider that those who reared the tower regarded the earth as a large disk, and that they expected that an increase of the population would lead to its being peopled to its utmost boundaries, we can readily conceive that they sought to prevent any estrangement on the part of those who might be scattered to the utmost ends by erecting a great monument of which the top would be visible from all points of the disk.” But fear of dispersion seems only to have been a subordinate element; the chief

consideration was: "let us make us a name (עֲשֵׂנוּ)" which *Shem* seems to bear some reference to the *Shem* in ch. ix. 26, 27. It is the more probable that a hostile antagonism to the race of Shem and to the salvation which was to proceed from it was intended, as according to ch. x. 8—12 the statement of Josephus that this rebellious movement had originated with *Nimrod*, the descendant of Ham, is apparently correct. In their rebelliousness they refuse the עֲשֵׂנוּ appointed by God, and wish to make themselves a עֲשֵׂנוּ, and to prepare salvation for themselves by combining all human forces; they are, so to speak, the socialists and the communists of primeval times. Besides, v. 6 distinctly indicates that God had regarded this building of a city and tower as only the *commencement* of a much more dangerous course, the further development of which the confusion of tongues was intended to arrest. On the probable *ruins of the tower* comp. *S. Preiswerk*, "The East," for 1839, Fasc. i. Commonly this tower is identified with that of Belus, of later times, described by *Herodotus* (i. 181) and *Strabo* (i. 16 c. 1) (comp. *Prideaux* i. 98; *Universal Hist.* i. 308 et seq.; *Münter*, *Relig. of the Babylon.* p. 48). But this opinion is rightly controverted by *Preiswerk*, who identifies the *hill Anram* on the eastern bank of the Euphrates as the ruins of the temple of Belus, and the *Birs Nimrud* on the western bank of that river as those of the tower of Babel. *Delitzsch*, however, deems it improbable that "stone ruins of this edifice reared by the race after the flood should still be preserved."

(3.) It is very difficult to realise the PROCESS OF THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES. In his treatise de confusione linguarum (in his observ. ss. i. 1) *C. Vitringa* objects to the view commonly entertained, and attempts to shew that so far from the dispersion of nations having been caused by the confusion of tongues, the opposite had been the case. The expression: "And the whole earth was of one lip and of the same words (of one language and of one speech)" applies in his view to their agreement of thoughts and councils, which they were about to perpetuate by the building of a tower; the "confusio labii," of v. 7, he explains as a "dissensio animorum, per quam factum sit, ut, qui turrem struebant, distracti sint in contraria studia et consilia," just as we read in Ps. lv. 9, "Divide their tongues." He also argues that the verb שָׁמַר in v. 7 does not necessarily mean *intelligere*, but as in many other passages *auscultare*, *obtemperare*. According to another view (*A. Feldhoff* the table of nat. in Gen. Elberf. 1837, p. 5 et seq., and *Hofmann* *Predict.* i. p. 96) the problem may be solved by assuming that the organs of language had been violently affected in this catastrophe, while according to the common interpretation language was divided and multiplied by a miracu-

lous and direct interposition on the part of God. In deciding in favour of the latter view as being indicated by the language of the text we would not, however, absolutely set aside the other two, but rather incorporate them with ours, and especially wish to call attention to the *natural* aspect of this event, and to the *natural* basis from which the diversity of tongues sprang. Since the fall all the relations which in the life of man primeval had been joined into unity have become separated and disjointed. But this separation was not sudden, nor did it take place immediately after the fall, but only after the powers derived from original creation, which had still preserved the unity of man, had been consumed, and the elements which caused the separation had accumulated; and even then only in consequence of a violent catastrophe, in which the separating obtained the victory over the binding and uniting forces. Thus the death of the body only takes place after a life of 900 years' duration, the climatic changes in nature only after the flood, and lastly the separation of men in respect of language, nationality, and race, only by the violent catastrophe here recorded. But as death or the separation between body and soul in the life of the individual is the condition of a future and real re-union of the two (in the resurrection), so are these revolutions also in the life of nature and of mankind.

If an empirical, one-sided, and unphilosophic Anthropology has raised objections to the Biblical doctrine of the unity of races, a mistaken Philology controverts, in connection with the objections already mentioned, the Biblical statement concerning the original UNITY OF LANGUAGES; and as the former maintains that man had gradually developed from the lower and animal stage, so the latter would attempt to derive human language from a gradual development of sounds natural to animals. In opposition to this, comp. the opinions and conclusions of eminent philologists, such as *Adelung*, *Fr. v. Schlegel*, *Merian*, *Klaproth*, *Abel Remusat*, *Prichard*, *Lepsius*, and above all, *W. Humboldt* (on the Kavi-language, *Introd.*, 1836—40); *J. Grimm* (on the Origin of Language, 1852). *Delitzsch* (*Jesurun, Grimmae*, 1838) has, by showing the relation between the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic languages, most satisfactorily established his belief that a comparison of different languages affords a glimpse of their former and original unity. Comp. for the elucidation of this subject, also *Tholuck*, *Mutzi*, and *Wiseman*, II. cc. (§ 20, 4); *G. P. Chr. Kaiser* on the Original Lang., 1840; *Leop. Schmid*, *Explan. of H. Script.*, 1834, i., p. 423, et seq. It is another and not less important or difficult question, which had been the ONE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, and in what relation the languages presently existing stand to it. In former times, it was universally

held that the Hebrew was the original language, preserved from primeval times,—a view which *M. Baumgarten* (i. 155) still entertains. Comp. *Löschner*, de causis Linguae Hebraicæ, c. iii.; *Morinus* de Lingua Primæva; *G. Carpzovii* Critica S., 1748, p. 174; *J. Buxtorf*, Dissert. Philol. Theol., 1662, Diss. i. et ii.; *Calmet*, Bibl. Researches, with Notes by *Mosheim*, 1741, i. 1. On the other hand, even *Gregor Nyss.* (Orat. 12 c. Eunom.) already maintained that the oldest language had been lost. The same view was afterwards advocated by *Grotius* ad Gen. xi. 1; by *Huetius* Demonstr. ev. Prop. 4, c. 13; and especially by *Clericus*, in the Diss. de Ling. Hebr. in vol. i. of his Comment. Of late, the view that all existing languages are only derived from the *one* original tongue, and are of nearly the same age, has almost generally been entertained. Comp. *Delitzsch* Gen., p. 230, et seq. The principal ground for the former opinion—in the fact that the Biblical names from the time before the flood are all of Hebrew derivation—is not convincing. It proves no more than what we already know—that the Hebrews had preserved these ancient traditions. In general, the *word*, but especially the *name*, is the body with which the mind clothes its representations and ideas. But if the descendants of Shem had carried with them the representations and the recollection of the persons and facts of primeval times through *that* catastrophe in which the capacity of the mind to form language underwent so thorough a transformation, these, even as all other representations and ideas, had to be re-moulded, in accordance with the altered principle at the basis of the formation of language, in order to be capable of being communicated. Nor may we overlook the fact that in antiquity—and that increasingly as we ascend—a most intimate connection subsisted between the idea attaching to a person and the name of that person.

(4.) It has rightly been supposed that Gen. x. 25 furnishes an approximative indication of THE TIME OF THAT CATASTROPHE—"The name of one (son of Shem) was *Peleg*, for in his days was the earth divided." Accordingly, some have fixed the date of the dispersion of nations as in the year 101 after the flood, being the year of the birth of Peleg. But against this we have to urge, first, that the expression "in his days," seems to indicate a later period, when Peleg was already a man of note; then, the common use of names; and lastly, the impossibility that so many persons as would have been requisite for the building of the tower should have existed at that period. Peleg lived 239 years, and we may therefore place this event towards the close of the third, or the commencement of the fourth century after the flood. For the want of definiteness in the Biblical

statement, we may account from the fact that the narrator designedly follows the chronological thread only *in* and *for* the race to whom the promise attaches. Others (as for ex. *Kapp*, l. c., § 119, et seq.; *Kaiser*, "the Original Language") understand by this division of the earth a severance of the continents; and *Kaiser* thinks that the expression "let us go down," (Gen. xi. 7) refers to the natural event which caused this separation, (and rendered a return impossible to those who were scattered abroad).

(5.) For an explanation of the REGISTER OF NATIONS, comp. the monographs of *Bochart*, Phaleg et Canaan, in vol. i. of his works; *J. D. Michaelis* Spicilegium Geogr. exterae post Bochartum, 2 vols., 1769; *Rosenmüller's* Biblical Archæol., vol. i.; *Feldhoff*, Table of Nations, 1837; *Krücke*, Explanation of the Table of Nat. in the book of Gen., 1837; *Beke* Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primeval History, 1834; *Görres*, the Table of Nations in the Pentateuch, vol. i., 1845: the Descendants of Japheth; *A. Knobel*, the Table of Nations in Genesis, 1850; also *Ch. Forster*, the Historical Geography of Arabia, 2 vols., 1844; and besides the Comment. and Diction., *Fr. v. Meyer*, Bible-Interpretations, p. 155, et seq.; "Pages for Higher Truth," xi. 65, et seq.; *J. P. Lange* Misc. Works, i., 122, et seq.; and *v. Braunschweig*, Outlines of Univers. Hist., 1833, p. 8—27. As to the historical character of this register of nations, comp. *Hüvernich* Introduct., i., 2, p. 273, et seq.; *Hengstenberg* Egypt and the books of Moses (transl. by Robbins and Taylor; Edinb. T. & T. Clark). As to their importance in Univers. Hist., consult the opinions of *J. v. Müller* in *J. G. Müller's* Examin. of the Bible, ii. 458; and of *Fr. v. Schlegel* Philos. of Hist. i. 227 et seq. *J. G. Müller* l. c. aptly describes it as "a genealogical map of the world, shewing how the descendants of Noah had settled in the vicinity of that part of Asia." It brings down the development and the spread of nations to the time of Moses (comp. Gen. x. 19, *Ewald* Hist. i. 278 et seq., and *the Author's* Essay on the original inhabitants of Palest. in the Lutheran Journal for 1845 Fasc. 3).

To take THE NAMES OCCURRING IN THE TABLE OF NATIONS as applying merely to single individuals or to founders of tribes, is to misunderstand the eastern mode both of viewing and of writing history. They chiefly refer to groups of nations, the later name of a nation being transferred to its ancestor, as according to oriental ideas a tribe and its founder are in reality one. Besides in many cases the same name applies both to the land and its inhabitants. Thus the names Canaan, Aram, &c., were in the first place transferred from the country to the nation and then from the latter to its founder, who represented the nation in its

totality and unity. When the personal name of the founder of a tribe was not preserved by the remembrance of events connected with him, it gradually sank into oblivion, and the name of the nation took the place of that of its founder. Besides, we have to bear in mind that the table of nations starts with the *status quo* at the time when it was written down, and only solves the problem of the origin of nations *formally* by shewing their *evolution* (from one to many), while *materially* it proceeds on the plan of *reduction*, inasmuch as it only traces the origin of those nations which were either of importance at the time or lay within the horizon of the water. With *Hengstenberg* and *Delitzsch* we regard patriarchal tradition enriched by that acquaintance with the history of nations which the Israelites derived from the Egyptians as the *source* of this table of nations. *Hengstenberg* has in part shewn that the knowledge of other nations, which, as the monuments prove, was possessed in Egypt, was also rendered available for constructing this table of nations. *Knobel* fixes the composition of this portion of Genesis (as forming part of the original document) about the year 1000 before Christ, and hence concludes that assistance had only been derived from Phenician sources. On the importance of this table for *sacred hist. comp.* *Ranke* Research. i., 182; *Drechsler* Unity, 110; *M. Baumgarten* i., 132 et seq.; *Delitzsch*, 212 et seq. The preservation of the names of these nations, while sacred history is about to leave them to pursue their own ways, indicates that they are not to be wholly erased from the records of sacred history, and that they are not entirely omitted from the council of eternal love. The special interest for the history of the old covenant attaching to this table consists in this, that it generally "indicates the genealogical position which Israel holds among the nations of the world." Besides, as all primeval Biblical history, it forms a striking contrast to the philosophical notions and to the myths of heathenism which speak of gods, of heroes, and of millions of years.

It has been specially objected to the HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY of the *table of nations* that the affinities of languages render it impossible to credit this account of the origin of nations. More particularly while we are here told that the Canaanites were descended from Ham, their language, it is asserted, proves their affinity to the race of Shem. But even granting that in the present defective state of our knowledge of the relations then subsisting it were impossible satisfactorily to remove these difficulties, it is certainly very unhistorical to set aside definite historical data for any abstract and *a priori* reasoning or presumption such as that of the affinity of languages; especially when not a single tenable argument has been brought forward to shew that these data are false. With reference to *Canaan* it has indeed

been urged (as for ex. by *Tuch* p. 245) that the national hatred of the Israelites had induced them to represent the former as the descendants of Ham; but to this it has often been replied that although the Israelites had no doubt cherished similar prejudices against Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Amalek, such feelings did not induce them to deny that they had sprung from the same stock. Besides, this method of tracing the peculiarities of the table of nations to supposed sympathies and antipathies is entirely refuted by the similar mention of Elam and Ashur. On the other hand the statement of classical writers that the Phenicians had originally inhabited the southern zone of the earth, whence confessedly the nations sprung from Ham had migrated, furnishes an important, because an entirely independent, historical testimony in favour of the Biblical account of the affinity between the Canaanites and the nations belonging to the family of Ham. Comp. *Bertheau* Contrib. to the Hist., &c., p. 172, and *Ewald* i., 328, 436. In our opinion *Knobel* has (l. c. p. 315) completely removed the difficulty by suggesting that when the Canaanites migrated into Palestine they adopted the Shemitic language spoken by those descendants of Shem who had resided there before their arrival, comp. § 45, 1. The same remark most probably applies to the descendants of Terah who at a later period migrated under Abraham into Palestine (§ 46), as from Gen. xxxi. it may safely be inferred that the ancestors of Abraham had spoken the Aramean and not the Hebrew language.

(6.) THE DIRECTION WHICH THE DESCENDANTS OF NOAH TOOK on their disperison was neither the result of mutual accord, of choice, nor of chance. They followed each an unconscious and, as it were, instinctive motive, a kind of internal "rapport" between *their* character and *that* of *the zones* towards which they directed their steps. Japheth, easily excitable, was only adapted for the north and for the temperate zone. His descendants, who constitute the moving and impelling element in history, settled in northern Asia and all over Europe (comp. Hor. Od. i., 3: *audax Japheti genus*). *Ham* turned toward the south—the heat of a southern sun corresponded both with his name and his character. He settled at first in the southern peninsulas of Asia, from whence he migrated into Africa. The race of *Shem* forms the stable fixed element in history. In accordance with this its character it was probably less affected than any other by the storm that caused the migration of the nations. It struck its roots in anterior Asia. The circle described by the settlements of Shem is drawn by *Ewald* (i. 327) as "commencing in the south-east with *Elam* (Elymais), on the other side of the Tigris by the Persian Sea, extending thence through *Assur* (the Assyrians) northwards, along the Tigris, turning with *Arpaxad* to the

northwest, then continuing with *Lud* (the Lydians) westwards to the Shemitic nations of Asia Minor and again returning with *Aram* in a south-easterly direction to the Euphrates." This threefold division of nations according to the sons of Noah, does not, however, completely tally with the division of races as at present exhibited. Comp. *Feldhoff* l. c., p. 134, and *J. P. Lange* l. c. i., 127. The latter rightly remarks that this very circumstance speaks in favour of our table of nations. It were inconceivable that the three kindred original types, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, should at that period have already become completely separated and formed into individual races. The formation of races must necessarily have taken place at a later period in the development of the life of these original tribes. The descendants of Japheth develop into the Caucasian race; the African descendants of Ham into the negro race. The sympathy subsisting between Shem and Japheth and the antipathy between them and Ham, as well as the fact that the two former had settled beside each other around Ararat, occasioned the common features in their bodily conformation and their difference from the race of Ham, while the Mongolian conformation of the race of Ham in southern Asia and in the north-east of Africa, which holds an intermediate place between the Caucasian and the Ethiopian or pure negro race, indicates the many points of relation in intercourse, commerce, culture, and language which subsisted between the descendants of Ham and those of Shem and Japheth. For an excellent sketch of the peculiarities of each of the three great races we refer to *Görres* l. c. i., 52.

HEATHENISM.

(Comp. *Ad. Wutke* Hist. of Heathen. in its bearing on Relig., Science, Art, Morality, and the State, vol. i., 1852; *J. A. Möhler* Heathenism, in the Munich hist. polit. Journal iii., p. 185 et seq.; *Volkmuth* on the Rel. of the anc. World to the Christian age, Bonn (Roman) Catholic Journal, Fasc. xxv., p. 38; *J. P. Lange* Life of Jesus i., 45; *J. H. Steffens* Anthropol. i., 354; *Schubert* View of the dark side of Nature, &c., 4th ed., pp. 50, et 241; *Sack* Christ. Apologetics, 2d ed., 1841, p. 92; *c. Drey* Apologetics, 1843, vol. ii., 53; *c. Hirscher* Chr. Ethics 3d ed. i., 346; *M. Baumgarten* Apost. Hist. (transl. by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, Edinb. T. & T. Clark) ii., p. 159.)

§ 30. The birth of heathenism may be dated from the moment

when the presumptuous statement was uttered: "Go to, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name." Viewed in its *negative* aspect it is the principle of heathenism to deny the living and personal God and to slight the salvation which He has afore-determined; viewed in its *positive* aspect, heathenism cherishes the vain hope that man is able, even as he is shut up, to deliver himself by his own power and wisdom, and hence is an attempt to bring about salvation with the means at the disposal of man (1.) The undertaking to which the text refers brought this principle for the first time clearly to consciousness. Thus the building of the tower became the commencement of a new development which, as it could neither attain its goal nor was to be cut short by a universal judgment like that of the flood (Gen. viii. 21 et seq., comp. § 27, 4), could only terminate in ruin. But the Providence of God could render even this ruin subservient to its purposes and yet ultimately conduct towards salvation even this development which had formerly renounced the way of salvation (2.) The circumstance that the text represents the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations in which it resulted as being a *judgment* and a *punishment* does not exclude—it rather implies that it was also the *natural consequence* of the development which had commenced, and that as being a *means of chastisement* it was also fraught with *blessing* in its bearing upon the development which was yet future. While God allows the nations to follow *their own* ways, He has set even to these ways a goal, in agreement with *His own* good pleasure, and while He *leaves* them to themselves He does not *forsake* them. In *this* sense heathenism also has its *Divine Sanction*.

(1.) Even *Josephus* is of this opinion. Of Nimrod, whom he describes as the originator of the scheme for building the tower and as the father of heathenism, he says (Ant. i. 4, 2): "He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through His means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness."

(2.) *Heathenism* is the *prodigal son* whom, because he will no longer remain in his father's house and under his special superintendence, care, and instruction, the father allows to depart into the world, well knowing that when at last he shall have wasted

all his goods and would fain fill his belly with the husks which the swine eat, both present wants and past experience will make him willing, gladly and thankfully to occupy the place which had been kept ready and open for him. The relics of his original state, of primeval times and of primeval religion, these are the portion of goods which the son takes with him and which he wastes in the riotous worship of nature—but they are also the solemn and ever-present monitor who had followed him; “the law written in the heart” followed him wherever he strayed, and however far he may have wandered from his father’s house it still constitutes *a* bond of connection with it. Hence the drawing which is the consequence of his descend and affinity as the “offspring of God” (Acts xvii. 29), hence also the felt want within which ever manifests itself, and the longing after the lost peace of heart which can never be wholly suppressed. The prodigal could not find the bliss for which he had hoped in those ways which he had chosen. On the contrary, they led to misery, hunger, and nakedness. But still these thousands of years of wandering were not to be wholly lost nor to pass without leaving any result. On his wanderings he was to acquire experience and possessions, he was to develop powers and capacities, with which on his return he could become the more useful and serviceable to his father’s house, that *there* they could not have been acquired in *the same* measure, because there the whole energy and all the force of development was in the first place to be applied for the attainment of other and more important objects which could only be realised there.

§ 31. We have to acknowledge the existence of, and to distinguish between, a brighter and a darker aspect in heathenism. If from this point of view we regard first the *religious* development of heathenism, we must admit that it was not entirely destitute of every element of truth. Else, whence the almost inconceivable fascination and the seductive power which it exercised during its brightest period? Falsehood, if unmitigated, is not attractive—it only attracts by means of the partial truth which it contains (1.) Among these elements of truth we reckon not only the relics of a primeval religion, but also and especially its anticipations of future truths. Heathenism was throughout and wholly Pantheistic; it was a religion for time, and wholly ignored both a future salvation and a hereafter. It wished to *enjoy* where it could only hope, to *know* where it could only have anticipated, to *behold* where it should have believed. It turned

away from the living God, because He was a God not only *at hand* but also *afar off*, because He pointed His people to the future and to a hereafter, while on the other hand it wholly surrendered itself to nature, whose fulness of life and of enjoyments was ever present and at hand. It broke through the boundary-lines of organic development, it anticipated that truth which could only make its full and healthy appearance at a later period, and hence presented it not as truth but immature, and as a caricature of the devil's invention. The nature-worship of heathenism is a hot-house in which the exotic plant of a future and of a hereafter is made to grow on soil foreign to it, through powers not natural to it, and with a premature development. Thus for example the Shibboleth of Pantheism "that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28) is such a truth. But it is a truth which can only attain its full and perfect realisation after thousands of years of development, and at the termination of the present order of things. But heathenism anticipated this truth and placed it at the top of its development. The hot-house plant bore *blossoms* among them, some that were lovely, but they could not ripen into fruit. This mixture of truth and falsehood, of the Divine and the devilish, this premature anticipation, this deceptive splendour of early blossoms constituted both the power and the seductive fascination of heathenism. Its power could only be broken when what was false in it had wholly absorbed every remainder of truth, when the blossom had faded and was fallen off without giving place to the fruit. Then it could no longer withstand the charge of hollowness and of entire impotence to satisfy the cravings of the soul. At that stage it had reached both its natural and necessary termination, and the Divinely decreed goal of its development.

(1.) If heathenism had been *merely a delusion* and *entirely a lie* it could not again and again have entangled in its meshes the people of God, who were daily witnesses of Divine omnipotence, and possessed in their worship the richest and most profound mysteries. Nor could it have enabled its adherents to make those unparalleled sacrifices which they continually and willingly rendered in its service. It could not have been merely an empty superstition which produced the resignation necessary for offering to the gods whole hecatombs—it could not have been ordinary

madness which induced the priests of Cybele to make themselves eunuchs—it was not low carnal lust which induced the noblest virgins to give themselves up to any stranger in the temple of Mylitta—nor was it want of love to their children or unfeeling cruelty which induced parents to throw their children into the arms of Moloch, &c.

§ 32. In respect of *worldly civilisation*, heathenism was intended to lead to another issue than that of its *religious* development. It was not *negatively* only, but also *positively*, to prepare the way for the perfection of the kingdom of God. In this respect heathenism also was to furnish materials for that magnificent building, the kingdom of God, which was designed to cover everything. Indeed, what heathenism has produced in philosophy and poetry, in art and science, or, in general, in worldly culture, remains, and is in part unsurpassed, while it has also materially aided that Christian culture which is destined to pervade every department, and to render it sacred. *These* blossoms were followed by fruit, which remain and form the imperishable and living bases of Christian culture. On this ground heathenism has its preparatory character as well as Judaism, and occupies a parallel and independent place. These two directions could only be joined into one, when both had attained maturity—and the fruit of their union is Christian culture.

(1.) Our remarks about heathenism refer, of course, only to the period *before the coming of Christ*. Its later stage is wholly without the Divine sanction, which, in some measure, attached to its former era. Ancient heathenism, as well as Judaism, had fulfilled its purpose at the time of the Lord. In its present shape, heathenism as well as Judaism is only a caricature. It may be compared to decaying ruins, or to lifeless and decaying members of the body. Hence, neither art, nor science, nor culture, can develop in it.

APPENDIX ON THE LIMITS OF A PREPARATORY HISTORY.

H. A. Hahn (in Reuter's Repert. 1849, P. 9, p. 201) has objected to the limits within which we have traced this preparatory history. This critic holds that sacred history bears, after the

time of Abraham, essentially the same character as before that patriarch; and he would extend the bounds of the preliminary history to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, where, in his view, the history of the Old Covenant really commenced. We cannot, however, share this opinion. We do not agree with this scholar that "the covenant with Abraham was essentially the same as the transference of the promises to Shem, and from the latter to Arphaxad, with this difference only, that the latter transferences were not expressly recorded." We are not warranted in inferring this, since it is not mentioned in Scripture. On the contrary, the silence of the text implies that no such transference had taken place. The register of names in Gen. xi. 10, et seq., as well as the short remark in Gen. x. 21, are only of importance in respect of genealogy, not of historiology, while Gen. x. 25 has only a chronological bearing, and cannot be regarded as a testimony that the promise had been exclusively transferred to Peleg. If such had taken place, we would, in agreement with the plan and spirit of the record, have expected that, just as in the case of Isaac and Jacob, so in that of the patriarchs in Gen. xi. 10, et seq., the fact would have been expressly mentioned. Besides—and this decides the question—the character of the history before the calling of Abraham is essentially different from that subsequent to that event. His selection constitutes a new principle in sacred history, which continues to develop till it reaches its climax in the incarnation of God in Christ, so that in Abraham and in Christ we have the beginning and the end, the promise and the fulfilment, of this one and unbroken portion of sacred history. The giving of the law on Mount Sinai does not break off this development, as the judgment of the flood and of the confusion of tongues had broken off former series' of development. The history which commences with Abraham continues unbroken till the judgment which Titus was called to execute against the covenant-people. The giving of the law on Mount Sinai is only a high point, although the most prominent, in the history between Abraham and Christ. It is not the commencement of a new history. True, it is called *a covenant*, but it does not differ essentially from that with Abraham. It does not stand in the same relation to the Abrahamic as the latter to the Noachic covenant. The covenant with Noah was made with all man-

kind; the covenant with Abraham was made with him as the ancestor of the holy people, while that on Sinai was made with the people as the seed of Abraham. When the building of the tower commenced, the principle of heathenism appeared indeed for the first time, and after that all nations followed in their own ways. But at that time not only the descendants of Japheth and of Ham, but even—although at a later period, yet no less decidedly—those of Shem also went astray, as, according to Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, even Terah, Abraham's father, had been an idolater. Then, if ever, a new period must have commenced; and this really took place when God chose, called, and entered into covenant with, Abraham. Hence we do not think that the separation of the nations in the plain of Shinar is the point where heathenism and Judaism, or, more correctly, where the two antagonistic series' of development in the history of the world before Christ, which appeared in heathenism and Judaism, diverged. The latter only takes place when Abraham is called; and here the separation of the two really commences. *Hahn* is indeed right in thinking that the history of the *Theocracy* only commences with the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. But then we write the history of the Old Covenant, and not that of the Theocracy. The Noachic covenant is indeed *more ancient* than the Abrahamic (which is called the *old* in contradistinction to the *new* covenant). If we had treated of this covenant, we should have commenced with the history of Noah, and brought it down to the period when, by means of the missionary activity of Paul, the descendants of Japheth entered the tents of Shem. Lastly, we do not intend to write—what *Hahn* would entitle—"A History of the Pre-Christian Development of the Kingdom of God," else we should have commenced with the Fall, if not with the Creation. Nor could we have *scientifically* finished our undertaking. If the *kingdom of God* is the subject, a scientific treatment of the subject would require that it should be continued to its perfection at the end of time.

III.

HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

THE MEANING, PURPOSE, AND GOAL OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 33. After the Fall, *deliverance* from sin and from its consequences had become the object and aim of history. This salvation was to appear among men as the fairest blossom, and as the climax of all historical development, directed as it was by the Divine purpose of grace. But soon afterwards this development took a direction contrary to the will of God and fundamentally wrong, and that to such an extent that a universal judgment from the Lord had to break it off, because, had it continued in the same direction, it would have led, not to salvation, but to absolute *destruction*. *One* man only was rescued from the general ruin, and he became the commencement of a *new* development, which again tended to the goal formerly set. But it also degenerated, not, indeed, to the extent of necessitating another universal judgment in order to preserve the Divine plan of salvation, but so far as to become incapable of sustaining or carrying out the Divine purpose of grace. Yet, if not in a *positive*, still in a *negative* manner, this development might prepare the way for the coming deliverance. Having started with confidence and reliance on personal power and wisdom, it could only end in despair of all possibility to attain the salvation of man *by its own efforts*. But this also prepared the way for the advent of that true deliverance which *God Himself* had in the meantime prepared.

§ 34. Although the descendants of Shem had resisted longer than others the threatening aggressions of the principle of heathenism, they ultimately succumbed to it. (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.) It is manifest that when even the race, in whose tents, according to the promise, salvation was to be wrought out, fell victims to the antagonistic power, something new required to be created, in order to prepare the way of salvation. A new development, in direct opposition to that of heathenism, required

to be commenced, the *positive* fruits of which could alone give import and value to the negative results of heathenism. Connecting itself with the former prediction and in fulfilment of it, this new development must proceed from the race of Shem. As a brand plucked from the burning *one* man was to be rescued from this race which had already become entangled in the common degeneracy and to be transplanted into fresh soil, there to be placed under new conditions and to be furnished with fresh powers and new aid. With this chosen one God entered into covenant; *he* is destined again to become the commencement of what was to prepare the way for salvation. The care of the sanctuary is committed to him and to his successors; they become the centre of all revelation and of every preparatory institution; there the salvation is prepared in which, when it has appeared, all nations are to share. Hitherto deliverance had been expected through *the seed of the woman*; now the circle narrows and all nations of the earth are to be blessed in *Abraham's seed*.

§ 35. This third commencement in the development of salvation is distinguished by its *Particularism* from the *Unirversalism* of the two former commencements. The *latter* principle lay at the foundation of the two former series' of development: the care of the sanctuary had formerly been committed to *mankind generally*. This arose from the circumstance that in each of the two former cases the development had always commenced with one universal ancestor. *Creation* had given a universal character to the first, the *general judgment of the flood* to the second series. But if the new development of salvation were a third time to have been committed to mankind *generally*, the whole degenerate race, with the exception of that individual with whom the new development was to have commenced, would have required to have been swept from the earth by a universal judgment. But its corruption was not so manifestly and entirely contrary to God as it had been at a former period, when a universal judgment had become absolutely necessary. It had rather taken a direction which, despite its erroneous character, did not render it *wholly* incapable of coming under the influence of salvation. But this susceptibility was so much pushed into the background that it could only re-appear when the seeds of destruction, by

which it was overshadowed, had attained to maturity, and then and thus destroyed themselves. Mankind was therefore still capable of being brought within the pale of salvation. But this could not be done either in a sudden manner or by violent and magical means, nor could it be immediately applied to mankind generally. Mankind had to be prepared for salvation, and this salvation prepared for them. Hence the deliverance about to be commenced started from a *particularistic principle*, and tended towards a *universalistic goal*. As every true development of the creature must organically unfold and progress, salvation also had to unfold from germ to fruit, and to grow from the one root into the tree with its many branches; it bore the character of separation only till it had matured so far as to become capable of becoming universal. And as salvation destined *for* man could only develop *in* man, it could only be entrusted to one single individual, with the development of whom salvation also was to develop. Hence we see Judaism develop by the side of heathenism—the *latter* was to prepare mankind for salvation, the *former* salvation for mankind.

§ 36. Judaism and heathenism are two series' of development running parallel and yet opposed to each other, conditioning and yet excluding each other. In distinct *contrast* with heathenism the chosen race exhibit from the first the characteristics of deep humility, of confident faith, and of longing, hope and waiting. These traits appear also throughout the whole course of their history in so far as the latter was in agreement with the idea and the requirements of the covenant. This people does not expect anything from its own power or wisdom, but everything from the interposition of Jehovah. It does not expect deliverance from anything present but from something future—thither its longing gaze is directed, thither do predictions, worship, and national institutions point. Israel is emphatically the people of longing and expectation; the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness "prepare ye the way of the Lord." True, the common corruption of the human heart appears frequently in this race also, and that the more painfully the more it contrasts with everything around. Too frequently the spirit of the world claims this people also as its own, and too often does it voluntarily subject itself to the

essential principle of heathenism; but under the discipline of God the manifestations of its own peculiar tendency by and by always re-appear again, and that generally in each case more distinctly than formerly. On the other hand heathenism and not Judaism is distinguished by art and science, by culture and worldly civilisation. But that which was wholly wanting in heathenism appeared the more richly in the people of God. It is rich in religious culture and in Divine wisdom, it is strong in hope and mighty through a faith which conquers the world. *Science*, art, worldly culture, and in general the vessels for the coming salvation *were to be prepared by the heathen, but SALVATION itself solely by the Jews* (John iv. 22). However this is not to be understood as if heathenism had in the fruits of its development become serviceable only and for the first time to Christianity, as the perfection of Old Testament revelation. Heathenism exercised also a mighty influence on the development of the preparatory religion of the Old Testament (1); and that to such an extent that the history of the Old Testament might even be divided into periods according to the heathen elements under which it developed (2.) Israel is brought into contact with all the forms of heathenism, and all of them give a fresh impulse to a new and more full development of its religious consciousness.

(1.) This influence of heathenism on Old Testament revelation is threefold. It is *formal* in so far as heathenism offers a suitable form in which its contents may be presented. This remark applies specially to religious *Symbolic*. Another source of influence may be designated as *material* and that *negatively* in so far as the lie of heathenism became the occasion and motive for the unfolding of the opposite truth; and *positively* in so far as the distorted and prematurely developed truth in heathenism passed through the sanctifying and purifying flame of the Old Testament religious principle, and of the progressive Old Testament revelation, thereby losing its distortion and impure additions, and then became an element in the religious consciousness of the Israelites.

(2.) The banks of the Euphrates and of the Tigris were the common birth-place of heathen culture. Without doubt the races which sprung from Terah, and to whom through the seed of Abraham the chosen race belonged, had shared in this common original culture. And when this original culture had separated into various forms, Israel shared in each of them whenever they

had each attained to maturity. In the sense above explained Israel came first under Egyptian, then under Phœnico-Babylonian, then under Persian, and finally under Greco-Hellenistic influences.

§ 37. It is the *purpose* and *aim* of the old covenant to exhibit that salvation which is indeed to *proceed from* Israel alone and is *intended for* Israel, yet not for *Israel* alone but in him for *all nations*. From this twofold point of view we gather at what period salvation shall make its appearance, and with it the history of the old covenant close. That fulness of time in which the two series' of development—the Jewish and the heathen—with their fruits and results meet and unite to produce a Christian and all-comprehensive culture, presupposes that an objective and subjective development have at one and the same time attained to maturity. As in Judaism so in Heathenism that which each had to exhibit—the one salvation, the other science—must have attained to *such* a degree of maturity as is requisite if the meeting of the two is to lead to appropriate results. Again, viewing it *subjectively* both Jews and heathens must have become meet, or rather everything must have taken place by which they might be rendered meet for *individually* receiving salvation. Then have both Heathenism and Judaism reached their destination, and if either of them should seek to continue any longer it has lost its Divine sanction and with it its import in the history of the world. Henceforth it is only a dead body from which the living soul has fled—nor is there other hope left for it but this, that when the breath of life shall breathe on the dead bones that they may return to life (Ezek. xxxvii.) it also shall arise and become part and member of the living body.

A.—THE SCENE OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

(Comp. the works mentioned in § 15, 2.)

BOUNDARIES AND NAME OF THE HOLY LAND.

§ 38. Separated from the great mountain chain of Western Asia, and like an advanced post to oppose the irruptions of the

Mediterranean, a mountain tract rises from the valley of the Eleutherus, extending eastward to the wilderness of the Euphrates, southward to that of Arabia, and westward to the Mediterranean. The first and most northerly division of that country includes two parallel mountain-chains extending from north to south-west, embracing in the west, *Lebanon*, which descends in many gradations from the snow line to the valley of the Leontes, which above Tyre flows into the sea; and in the east, *Anti-Lebanon*, which stretches farther south, and, in the snow-covered *Great Hermon*, attains a height of more than ten thousand feet. Between these extends the valley *el-Bŭkâ'a*—some hours broad,—the ancient Cœlesyria, from which in a southerly direction the Leontes and in a northerly the Orontes flows into the sea. At the foot of Hermon, but separated from the valley *el-Bŭkâ'a* by a low mountain-chain running parallel to Hermon, commences the Jordan valley, which divides the southern continuation of this mountain-chain longitudinally also into two parallel mountain-ridges, running from north to south. This country, on both banks of the Jordan, bounded on the east by the desert of the Euphrates, on the south by that of Arabia, on the west by the Mediterranean, on the north-west by the valley of the Leontes, and on the north-east by Hermon (1), was the scene of our history and the place where all the institutions preparatory to salvation were enacted. The central part of this country, its western division (2), bore the name of *Canaan* from its former inhabitants. Since the time of the Romans the whole country has been called Palestine.

(1.) Comp. *Iken* diss. iii. de *finibus terrae promissae* ii. 95, and *de Laborde* comment. géogr. sur l'exode et les nombres. 1841 ad Num. xxxii. xxxiv. For a geographically accurate indication of the boundaries of the land *assigned* to the people of God v. Numbers xxxiv. 1, &c., with which for the eastern division comp. Num. xxxii. 33—42, and Joshua xiii. 1, &c. According to these passages the country east of Jordan extended southwards to the banks of the Arnon, while the country west of Jordan stretched from the southern shore of the Dead Sea to the river of Egypt or the Wady el-'Arish (in Coptic *auradsh* = boundary), called by the Greeks, *Rhinocorura*. It is more difficult to trace the northern boundary. According to Joshua xiii. 5, 6, and Num. xxxiv. 8, all Lebanon, together

with the country of the Sidonians, *from* Hor (probably = הר = Hermon) *till you come to Hamath*, formed part of the territory of Israel. The expression “till you come to Hamath” is probably meant to indicate the northern part of the Orontes valley, el-Būkâ’a, which forms the northern entrance to the country. *Hamath* is either the modern Hamah on the Orontes (the Ἐπιφάνεια of the Greeks), comp. Burkhardt’s travels i., p. 249 and following, or Hums, lying a few miles to the south of it, called by the Greeks Emesa. It follows that properly the whole mountain-range which we have above traced, including the two Lebanons, which with Palestine forms an organically connected whole, was originally *destined* for and *given* to the Israelites, with the exception only of the barren wilderness south and east. This territory they never wholly possessed. Gen. xv. 18 (comp. Ex. xxiii. 31, and Deut. xi. 22—24) seems to promise a still greater extent of country, from the *Nile* in the west to the Euphrates in the east. In opposition to *Iken* and *Laborde* we maintain that the *river of Egypt* means the Nile, and may not be confounded with the rivulet of Egypt or the Wady el-’Arish. But against *Hengstenberg* we hold that the passage in question is not meant to give an exact geographical account of the boundaries. In perfect accordance with the prophetic contents of that passage the general extent of the land of promise as situated between the two great historical rivers, or rather between the two empires which they represent, is there delineated. According to this promise the country which the seed of Abraham was to possess would be of *such* importance as to maintain its independence by the side of the powerful Egypt, and the still more vast Asiatic empires—and all other nations and empires which might rise between these two great monarchies would either be unable to maintain themselves, or else, on account of their insignificance not deserve special mention.

(2.) The NAME OF CANAAN כְּנָעַן (= low country) is always exclusively applied to the country west of Jordan. It is as much the name of the people as of the country. The strange circumstance that a land so decidedly mountainous should obtain such a name becomes only intelligible by the historical statement in the table of nations Gen. x. 15—19, according to which the Canaanites had first settled in the *low country of Phœnicia*, whence they gradually spread to the Dead Sea. The name Παλαιστίνη sc. Συρία is the Greek mode of pronouncing the word כְּנָעַן which originally applied to the territory of the Philistines along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, but was extended by the Romans to the whole country (comp. Ptolem. v. 16: “Palestine, which is also called Judea”). In the

Bible the following names also occur: the land of the Hebrews, Gen. xl. 15; the Lord's land, Hosea ix. 3; the holy land, Zech. ii. 12; the coast, or the land of Israel, Judges xix. 29; Ezek. vii. 2; the land of promise, Heb. xi. 9.

THE JORDAN VALLEY.

(Comp. *W. F. Lynch*, Report of the Expedition of the United States to the Jordan and the Dead Sea; *K. Ritter's* Geogr. vol. xv. (1) (and in Translation).)

§ 39. The Jordan valley commences at the foot of Hermon, and runs parallel with the sea-shore, at about eight geographical miles to the east of it, from north to south between the two mountain chains which issue from Lebanon. The deep *depression* of the valley below the level of the sea, and the *abrupt rise* of its mountain sides, induce enquirers to account for the peculiarity by some *volcanic disturbance* which had taken place at a period anterior to history (2). *Jordan* itself issues at the foot of Great Hermon from three or four sources, which unite in *Lake Merom*, a beautiful, deep hollow in the valley (3). From the mountains which enclose this lake, the Jordan falls, and rapidly flows for about two geographical miles, to pour its waters into the charming Alpine lake of *Gennesareth* (4). Issuing from this lake, which is fringed and shut in by high and fertile mountains, the Jordan takes innumerable bends and windings, forms twenty-seven larger, and about eighty smaller waterfalls, and very rapidly passes—having gained a breadth of from thirty to seventy paces—through the *Jordan valley*, the el-Ghôr, a valley thirteen German miles long, and, on an average, about two hours broad, and shut in by steep and bare, calcareous mountains (5), and then flows into the *Dead Sea*, a deep hollow, in a valley surrounded by steep and naked rocky mountains, which occasionally rise to a height of 2500 feet (6). On both sides a number of wadys and defiles, which intersect the high lands, carry the streamlets from the mountains, either to the Ghôr or to the Dead Sea. But for three-fourths of the year, these wadys are dry, and indeed are only filled with water during the rainy sea-

son. Perennial streams flow into the Jordan only from the eastern high lands (vide § 42). It is at present impossible to determine whether the valley of the Jordan, together with the southern portion of the Ghôr (the Arabah), had at one time (before historical records existed) been filled with water, and thus the waters of the Jordan flowed into the Red Sea (7).

(1.) However often the Holy Land had formerly been visited, the course of the Jordan and the Dead Sea had never been properly investigated, and attempts to NAVIGATE *both* have only been made within the last twenty years. The *first* attempt was made in 1835 by *Mr Costigan*. In a small open boat, which was conveyed from the Mediterranean to Tiberias, and only accompanied by one Maltese servant, he made the bold and almost romantic attempt to navigate Jordan and the Dead Sea. But he succumbed under the terrible heat, the continuous labour of rowing, and the want of provisions. His servant was obliged to hasten to Jericho for assistance, leaving his master half dead on the shore. He was carried to Jerusalem, where he died after a few days. Having only left illegible short notes of his journey around the margin of some of his books, the results of an undertaking, so dearly purchased, were wholly lost. (2.) Two years afterwards, *Messrs Moore* and *Beek* renewed the attempt. But impediments thrown in their way by the authorities, and the refusal of the Arabs to assist, forced them to abandon the undertaking. A few measurements were the only result of it. *Schubert*, who soon after, from Jericho, visited the Dead Sea, was not a little surprised to descry on its waters a small boat adrift, bearing the British flag. (3.) The expedition under Major Scott and Lieutenant Symonds, sent by the British Admiralty to survey the coast of Syria, attempted also (in 1841), under the direction of Lieutenant Symonds, an investigation of the Dead Sea. Hitherto only the principal results, bearing reference to the measurement of level and of depth, have been published. (4.) In 1847, Lieutenant Molyneaux had his ship's boat conveyed by camels from the Bay of Acre to the Lake of Tiberias, and, for the first time, not only succeeded in navigating Jordan and the Dead Sea, but made a tour which rendered essential service to science. Although all his sailors had fled to Tiberias on account of the attacks of Bedouins near Jericho, he was not deterred from prosecuting his undertaking. With only two companions, who, however, were ignorant of navigation, he explored the Dead Sea. But the immense fatigues of the journey exhausted even his vigorous constitution. He returned to Beyrout completely worn out, and died before he could scientifically

elaborate the observations he had made. (5.) The last and most successful navigation was that made, at the instance of the United States Government, under the direction of Commander Lynch, in 1848. With two iron boats, which were conveyed by camels from Acre to Tiberias, Lynch commenced, on the 10th April, the navigation of the Jordan, and nine days after, that of the Dead Sea, where he remained for twenty-two days. At the same time, a caravan, under the command of Lieutenant Dale, explored the western bank of the river. When returning through the valley of Kedron to Jerusalem and Jaffa, the comparative levels of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea were ascertained. The important results of this expedition were communicated to the Admiralty of the United States, with the intention that, previous to their official publication, they should be scientifically elaborated. But when Mr Montague, one of the members of that expedition, published a popular and superficial account of this interesting journey (Philadelphia, 1849), Commander Lynch felt obliged to anticipate the proposed full and scientific description by giving, in the meantime, a correct account of his journey, in a style adapted for the public generally (London, 1849).

2. On the FALL OF LAND, in which the Jordan valley must have originated, comp. *v. Schubert*, *Cosmos*, 1852, p. 261:—“Where the hollows on the surface of the globe (which arose when it was formed) approached each other most closely, where its vaults came out more distinctly from among the vast continuous mass of its surface, there these vaults sometimes fell in, and the hollow which had formerly lain below the surface of the soil became a longitudinal or cauldron-valley. It was such a fall of these vaults above former subterranean hollows and caverns which gave to the bed of the Jordan a depression unique among all other similar phenomena on our planet.” This savant was the first to call public attention to the *unexampled* DEPRESSION of the valley of the Jordan, of the lake of Tiberias, and of the Dead Sea. But his measurements, for which his former long journeys through the wilderness had only left him one barometer, and that one defective, are not so accurate or reliable as might be desired. But in general his observations were confirmed by the careful measurements of *Russegger* and *Berton*, as well as by the surveys of *Symonds*. No doubt the most reliable measurements were those made by Lynch, who had the best instruments, the most able assistance, and most leisure at his command. The depression of the valley commences at the bridge of Jacob, half an hour below the place where the Jordan issues from Lake Merom. Here the river is on a level with the Mediterranean. Thence it falls so rapidly that, after a course of

about twelve hours, the surface of the sea of Tiberias is, according to the measurement of Lynch, 653 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The depression of the Dead Sea amounts to 1235 feet, so that where the Dead Sea attains its lowest depth, it is 2462 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and 3800 feet lower than the mountain chains which surround it.

(3.) JORDAN (יַרְדֵּן = the flowing down, called by the Arabs *Sheria*, or *Sheriat el Kebir*, i.e., the great place of watering) rises, according to the statement of the ancients, from two sources, near the town of Paneas (the modern Bâniâs), at the southern base of Hermon. One of these sources, the Nahr Bâniâs, rises in a large cavern, hollowed in the side of a perpendicular rock. The other, called by Josephus the *fountain of Dan*, or also *Little Jordan*, rises at the Tell-el-Kâdy, to the W.N.W. of Bâniâs, and joins the Nahr Bâniâs about an hour below the Tell. But there is a *third* source of the Jordan, near Hâsbeiya, at the north-western base of Hermon, which supplies a much larger quantity of water than the Nahr Bâniâs, although the ancients do not mention it. It is called the *Nahr Hasbâny* (Hâsbeiya). The Nahr-el-Kharâb, to the west of this source, which comes from the beautiful valley Merdj' Ayûn, and joins the Nahr Hâsbeiya, is commonly regarded as a *fourth* source of the Jordan. After having, for a short time, flowed separately through the broad plain Ard-el-Hûleh (probably the same as the "valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon," Josh. xi. 17) the two principal streams (the Nahr Bâniâs and the Nahr Hasbâny) join their waters in *Lake Merom* (מֵי מְרֹם = upper waters, called now Bahr el-Hûleh). Although the waters of Hermon abundantly supply this lake, its rapid descent renders it in summer soon dry, when it resembles a marsh covered with reeds.

(4.) LAKE GENNESARETH is so called from the shores גִּנְסָר (Chald., probably = garden land, country of gardens) around it, and designated in the Old Testament "the sea of Chinnereth," Josh. xiii. 27; Numbers xxxiv. 11; or of *Chinneroth*, Josh. xi. 2 (from כִּנּוֹר cithara, from the sound of its falling waters), and in the New Testament as the "sea of Galilee," Matth. xv. 29, and "the sea of Tiberias," John vi. 1; at present, Bahr Tûbariyeh. It is somewhat more than eleven geographical miles long, and from five to six miles broad.¹ Its limpid waters are full of fish. Its neighbourhood is charming, rich, and fertile. It belongs to the most attractive spots on the earth, nor is there any part of Palestine which for beauty can be compared with it.

(5.) The valley between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, called at present the EL-GHÔR, was the "plain of Jordan," or

¹ V. the measurements of Lynch and Robinson.—THE TR.

simply the plain of Gen. xiii. 10, 11, 12, &c., and “the region round about Jordan” (Matth. iii. 5) of the LXX. and the New Testament. The name *Ha Arabah*, which at present applies only to the southern part of the valley from the Dead to the Red Sea (Wady el Arabah), included in the Old Testament also the Ghôr (comp. Robinson, ii., p. 186). As to the meaning of the word *Arabah*, comp. *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 231. The climate of the Ghôr is hotter than that of any other part of Palestine, on account of the steep and rocky mountains, which compress the heat, and prevent the westerly winds from cooling the air. Under these circumstances, when left without cultivation, it became a dry parched wilderness. In the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea stretches *the plain of Jericho* (the plain of the valley of Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 3, or the plains of Jericho, Josh. iv. 13) at present a barren and uncultivated track, but capable of great fertility, and formerly an almost continuous forest of palms. On the opposite side lie *the plains of Moab*, Numb. xxii. 1. Of the place where the pilgrims bathe, near Jericho, Lynch writes as follows (l. c., p. 264, &c.):—“Notwithstanding the most diligent inquiry, I could procure no information to be relied on, respecting the river, in Tiberias. To my consternation, I soon found that the Jordan was interrupted in its course by frequent and most fearful rapids. . . . We had to clear out old channels, to make new ones, and sometimes, placing our sole trust in Providence, plunged with headlong velocity down appalling descents. So great were the difficulties, that on the second evening we were in a direct line but 12 miles distant from Tiberias. On the third morning I was obliged to abandon the frame boat from her shattered condition. No other kind of boats in the world than such as we have, combining great strength with buoyancy, could have sustained the shocks they encountered. . . . The great secret of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of sixty miles of latitude and four or five of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles. The river is in the latter stage of a freshet—a few weeks earlier or later, and passage would have been impracticable. As it is, we have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude.” *Lynch* found that the depth of the river varied from two to twelve feet. The level of the water seemed to fall every day two feet. In the Dead Sea a decrease of seven feet from what in that year had been its highest level was distinctly noticeable. The Jordan surrounds also a number of little islands. *Lynch* discovered on either side many larger or smaller tributaries which had not previously been marked on any map.

(6.) The DEAD SEA (mare mortuum Justin. 36, 3. 6; *θάλασσα ἡ νεκρά* Paus. 5, 7. 3), is called in the Bible יַם הַמֶּלַח, the Salt-sea Gen. xiv. 3; יַם הַקָּדְמוֹנִי, the Eastern Sea, Ez. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20 in opposition to the Mediterranean or *Western* Sea; יַם הַיַּרְדֵּי the Sea of the Arabah, Deut. iv. 49, by Josephus and the Classics *λίμνη Ἀσφαλιτῆς*, by the Arabs Bahr Lût. For the views and opinions current with the Romans, compare Jos. B. jud. iv. 8, 4; Strabo xvi. p. 525 f.; Plin. n. h. v. 15; Tac. hist. v. 6, 7. Little was known about the Dead Sea up to the time of *Robinson*, who was the first to make careful investigations about its situation, nature, and constituents (vol. i. 509, ii. 187). In this respect also the United States expedition under *Lynch* communicated facts as important as they are surprising. According to the measurements of Lynch the surface of that sea is 1235 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Its length amounts to about forty geogr. miles, its breadth, which is much the same along the whole of its extent, to between seven and nine geogr. miles.¹ It lies in a deep cauldron, surrounded by almost perpendicular rocks. The rays of the sun striking into this hollow make it almost intolerably hot, and convert the tributaries of the sea into hot vapours. All around is sterility and death-like solitude. The salt marshes along its shores, the overpowering heat, and the vapours which ascend, render the neighbourhood unhealthy. But the tales current about its pestiferous atmosphere are mere fable. Pieces of sulphur and nitre scattered about, hot fountains, &c., shew the volcanic origin of the district. On an average the water of the lake holds from 24—26 per cent. of different salts in solution (Robinson i. 514).² On this account (*possibly* with the exception of some species of shellfish) no living animal can exist in it. The southern fourth of the Dead Sea is separated by a large peninsula which from the eastern shore stretches into the sea (the el-Mesraa). *Lynch* very aptly compares its appearance to that of wing spread out. *K. Ritter* has called the channel between this peninsula and the western shore, which is two or three miles broad, the *Lynch channel* in honour of the celebrated explorer of that name. *Lynch* himself gave to the northern cape of the peninsula the name Point Costigan, and to the southern that of Point Molyneaux, in honour of his unsuccessful predecessors. The most remarkable result of *Lynch's* investigations is certainly this, that the Dead Sea consists of two very different portions, separated by the peninsula el Mesraa. The

¹ The author erroneously represents the above as *English* and not *geographical* miles. A comparison with Lynch and Robinson will show the mistake which we have also corrected in regard to L. Tiberias.—THE TR.

² We have here also corrected the text.—THE TR.

southern part, commencing at Point Molyneaux, comprises about one-fourth of the entire extent of the sea. Its greatest depth is sixteen feet, while in some places along its southern margin it scarce measures one foot. There salt marshes everywhere cover the ground, which is heated by hot springs rising from beneath. The northern basin on the other hand has, along the whole of its extent from north to south, commonly a depth of more than 1000 feet, while a long part of it, to the north, measured no less than 1227 feet. Lynch channel is also very shallow along its southern portion. This difference between the two basins proves incontrovertibly that the origin of the southern belongs to a different period, and must be traced to different causes from those of the northern. This circumstance affords a remarkable confirmation of the account in Gen. xix., according to which a catastrophe had, during the time of Abraham, subverted the whole district of the southern valley (the valley of Siddim, Gen. xiv. 3; xiii. 10). *Lynch* writes on this subject (p. 380): "Upon ourselves the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was sceptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain." With this *K. Ritter* perfectly agrees, and even *Ewald* (vol. i., 2d ed., p. 636) writes: "The buried cities must have stood in the place now occupied by the southern portion of the Dead Sea; the bottom there is remarkably shallow. Only the larger northern basin, which is much deeper, had existed previous to the last great revolution in the soil. . . . The peninsula looks exactly like a piece of land preserved during the catastrophe" (comp. also § 61). At the south-western border of the Dead Sea Mount *Khashm-Usdum* (i.e. Nose-bridge of Sodom) arises to a height of from 100 to 150 feet, and extends two-and-half hours in length. The main body of the mountain is a solid mass of rock salt (*Robinson* ii. 108). The *Salt valley* of 2 Sam. viii. 13 must have been the Ghor south of the Dead Sea, which bordered on this salt mountain. This salt valley is bounded on the south by a fringe of steep calcareous rocks, which rise to a height of upwards of 100 feet, and are called in the Bible זִקְרֵי-בַיִם (i.e. scorpions, Num. xxxiv. 4).

"The SALT in the Dead Sea," says *Ritter* (l. c. p. 765), "and in the layers of rock salt in its neighbourhood, is one of those remarkable phenomena which probably could only be accounted for if the various geognostic circumstances of the entire crust of the earth were known and taken into account. . . . According to the most recent observations *three great salt zones* extend through the north of Africa, running in parallel lines through

almost the whole of its extent from west to east. The most northern, or Algerian, extends to the southern point of Sicily; the second runs from the date-zone, Datt or Daumas (which contains a good deal of rock salt), to Tripolis; the third commences on the islands of Cape Verd. The salt basin at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and the rock salt formations of Usdum, form the extreme links of this chain as drawn toward the north-east. From this it would follow that the rock salt formation at the southern end of the Dead Sea was in its origin not connected with the plutonic period in which the Ghor sunk. That connection, although pre-arranged, was only accidental (secondary), due to local contact, and the circumstance that the Dead Sea is at present saturated with salt was, therefore, not due to its original state. The garden of the Pentapolis till you come to Zoar (Gen. xiii. 10, or the valley of *Siddim* Gen. xiv. 3), compared to the garden of Egypt (watered by the Nile) was, therefore, at that period not watered by a salt lake, which would have destroyed all vegetation, but fertilised by sweet waters that caused the neighbourhood to be clothed with richest verdure."

(7.) Formerly it was usually assumed that the *Dead Sea* had only existed since the destruction of Sodom, and that previous to that event the waters of the Jordan had flowed through the Arabah into the gulf of 'Akabah. *Robinson* was the first to shew the improbability of the former (ii. 188), and the impossibility of the latter supposition. His investigations have shewn that in the middle of the Arabah, a few miles from the gulf of 'Akabah, a water shed intervenes between it and the Dead Sea. The discovery of the great inequality existing between the level of these two seas has given undoubted certainty to the views of Robinson. But it is another question whether or not the great valley which extends from Lebanon to Elah may not in pre-historic times have formed the bed along which the waters of Lebanon flowed into the southern ocean. *Ritter* decides in favour of the probability of this view (xv. 773). Founding on a statement of *Leopold v. Buch*, who would apply here also his "elevation theory," he suggests that "the porphyry elevations with the layers of sandstone on their back which are found in the middle of the whole eastern portion of the Wady Arabah" may have been accompanied by an elevation of the water shed, forming, as it were, a cross bolt in the long valley, and that the catastrophe in the valley of Siddim may also have stood in some connection with it. According to this view the gulf of Elah would originally have extended to Jebel el Sheich (Hermon). But "such an elevation of the soil, which it is well known may, during centuries, be gradually produced on the crust of the earth, while the men who inhabit the soil may not be aware of

it, might long before the memory of man have impeded the original course of Jordan and converted it into a sweet lake" (which had by gradual evaporation sunk to so deep a level), "until the catastrophe (at Sodom) put a termination to the whole process by a sudden and terrible explosion, which caused the saltiness of the waters (by pouring into them the contents of a layer of rock salt which was then brought into contact with it) and the consequent devastation of the neighbourhood." But although so great an authority is in favour of it we confess our inability to believe in the possibility of the *imperceptible* elevation of a whole track of country by plutonic agency. The arguments of *A. Wagner* (Hist. of the World, 1845), have completely convinced us of the futility of the whole hypothesis; and we therefore regard the elevation in the Arabah which now serves as water shed, as having been formel at the same time with the Ghor. If this view is correct the idea of a connection between the waters of Lebanon and of the Red Sea of course falls to the ground.

THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS OF PALESTINE.

§ 40. The soil of the country west of Jordan is rich, and capable of producing a variety of crops, to an extent unequalled within the same narrow limits in any other district. The highlands west of Jordan, which commonly rise from the valley of the Jordan to a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet, and gradually slope down towards the shore of the Mediterranean, comprise the second and third portion of the mountain chain which commences with Lebanon. The second branch of this chain, forming the *highlands* of Galilee (1), is separated from Lebanon by the valley of the Leontes, and from the south-western termination of the Great Hermon by the valley Merj'-Ayûn (which is traversed by the western source of Jordan). It extends southward about twelve German miles to the *plain of Jezreel* (2), through which the Kishon flows into the sea. The *southern highlands*, which run into the desert et-Tih in Arabia, rise from this plain, and form the third branch of the chain of mountains to which we have referred. The northern portion of it is called *Mount Ephraim* (3), the southern the *mountains of Judah* (4). This highlands of Galilee consist of wide and undulating plains,

and of swelling hills, with circular deep valleys, of volcanic origin. The southern highlands have not so many of these plains, and are frequently rent by steep and jutting mountains, by deep chasms, hollows, and cauldrons; but the mountains of Judah have a greater number of large plains, and of deep and broad valleys, capable of cultivation, than the mountains of Ephraim. A straight line drawn through the highlands of Galilee, over Sychem and Jerusalem, and to the wilderness of Arabia, would almost indicate the water-shed of the whole highlands west of Jordan.

(1.) The following are the most marked portions of the HIGHLANDS OF GALILEE. From the upper valley of the Jordan (north of Lake Gennesareth) rise abruptly the *Mountains of Naphtali* (Joshua xx. 7), called at present Jebel-Safed, to a height of 2500 feet, and form a sweeping and undulating high plain, in the form of a triangle, running to a point toward the south (near the town of Safed). The north-western side of this triangle rises from the valley of the Leontes, the south-eastern side being formed by a long branch running down from the white Promontory (promontorium album, Râs-el-Abyad). Passing southwards through a wild mountainous country, we reach the *plain of Zebulun* (el Bettauf), fringed by steep, white, calcareous mountains, which extend from east to west to a breadth of from two to three, and a length of from three to four German miles. The soil is very fertile, but at present completely uncultivated. At the eastern extremity of this plain, rises what is known as the *Mount of Beatitudes*, Kûrûn el Hattin, *i.e.*, the horn of Hattin. The waters of this plain fall into the Kishon. Still farther south-east, we come upon the deep and circular plain *Ard el Hamma*, shut in by the terminations of Tabor and the mountains along the border of the Sea of Galilee. The waters of this plain run into the Jordan. Thence the mountains slope gradually towards the west into the plain of Acco, and more abruptly towards the south-west to the plain of Jezreel. Towards the south-east rises the beautiful Mount Tabor (*i.e.*, mountain-top, at present, Jebel el-Tur), a calcareous and isolated cone, 1748 feet high. On the top of Tabor, an oval and level plain stretches for about a quarter of an hour in extent. Toward the south the mountain extends far into the *plain of Jezreel*.

(2.) The southern slope of the highlands of Galilee, and the northern elevation of Mount Ephraim, are intersected by three plains, which are connected among themselves, and run across the highlands west of Jordan, from the sea-shore to the banks

of the Jordan. These are—the plain of Acco by the sea, the plain of Jezreel, and that of Bethshean, which stretches towards Jordan. The PLAIN OF JEZREEL, or of Esdraelon (Joshua xvii. 16, at present, Merj' Ibn Amir) is exceedingly fruitful. It is the most extensive valley of Palestine. Its connection with the two others makes it the most open plain in the country. Hence it always formed the central point of military evolutions. According to the barometrical measurements of *Schubert*, it rises 439 feet above the level of the sea. It is four German miles long, and from two to three German miles broad, and runs to a point towards the south-east. A narrow rocky valley to the north-east, which runs between the base of Carmel and the projecting ledges of the mountains of Zebulun, connects it with the *plain of Acco*. The *Kishon* (Nahr el-Mukatta), which rises at the foot of Tabor, flows through the whole extent of these two plains into the sea. At the north-eastern termination of the plain of Jezreel rise Mount Tabor in majestic beauty, and south of it, running from east to west for about two German miles, the chain of hills called *Little Hermon* (Jebel el-Dahy); still farther south, and stretching to the north-west, *Mount Gilboa* (Jebel Fekûah). A rocky elevation forms the watershed, and connects the western terminations of these two mountains, embracing at the same time the plain of Bethshean, which extends to the *banks of Jordan*.

(3.) From the plain of Acco, the north-eastern side of *Mount Carmel* (Jebel Mâr Elyâs) rises abruptly to a height of 1500 feet, forming a fruitful field, the hills of which are watered by many rills, and covered successively by meadows, with their rich bloom, by pleasant valleys, by fruitful vineyards, olive groves, and corn fields. It runs for three German miles (from south-east to north-west) to the Mediterranean. There it terminates in a promontory—bearing the same name (1200 feet high)—in which nature has formed thousands of caverns, which have served for the dwelling, first of Troglodites, and then of monks. The south-western side of the mountain slopes into the plain of Skaron. As Carmel to the north-west, so Mount Gilboa to the north-east, forms a kind of advanced post of MOUNT EPHRAIM. The latter rises abruptly from the plain of Jezreel, and attains its highest elevation in the neighbourhood of Sychem. There the *valley el-Mekhma* (probably the same as מַחְמָה, the place of encampment of the patriarchs), which runs from north to south, and is four hours long, and one hour broad, forms a watershed. From this valley numerous wadys run in all directions, and often deeply intersect the mountains. Towards the north, and in a somewhat westerly direction, this valley is connected with *that of Sychem*. Mount Gerizim rises at the southern side of the

valley of Sychem to a height of 2400 feet. Opposite, and at the northern side of the valley of Sychem, stands *Mount Ebal*.

(4.) Mount Ephraim imperceptibly merges towards the south into the HIGHLANDS OF JUDEA. The mountains of Judah (in the narrower sense of the term) form the central part of this district. The south country of Judea descends in a southerly direction towards the desert el-Tih: the wilderness of Judea extends eastward towards the Dead Sea. To the west, towards the sea, the mountains slope into the plain of Sefelah, while to the north they extend into the possessions of Dan and of Benjamin (Josh. xi. 16). The latter is a mountainous district, on either side frequently intersected by deep chasms. The valleys along the *western* slope of this district are numerous, extensive, and much ramified. They all run into the large *Wady Serâr*, which debouches into the sea below Joppa. According to Robinson (vol. ii., p. 21), the *valley of Terebynth*s (1 Sam. xvii. 2, at present, Wady el-Sûmt), forms the extreme south-eastern arm of this wady. The *valley Menj' Ibn Omeir* runs from below Beth-horon, forming a long arch from north east to south-west, and merges into Wady Serâr, near the sea-shore. By the side of the long hill which encloses this beautiful and broad valley lies the village of Yâlo. We therefore conclude that the valley in question is the same as the well-known *valley of Ajalon* (Josh. x. 12; *Robinson*, vol. ii., p. 253). The valleys which run toward the east join near Jericho in Wady Kelt, probably the same as the brook *Cherith* (1 Kings xvii. 3; *Rob.*, vol. i., 558). The MOUNTAIN OF JUDAH (Joshua xv. 48) reaches its highest elevation in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*. The city of that name lies in a valley, connected with the great Wady el-Khalil. It is surrounded on all sides by hills, and lies 2700 feet above the level of the sea. The mountain ridge is about eight German miles long, and about two German miles broad. Compared with Mount Ephraim, which is so frequently intersected, it may almost be described as level. *Wady el-Khalil* commences north of *Hebron*, and along its whole extent divides the mountain ridge in a southern direction, then turns westwards to the sea, and bears the name of the valley of Beersheba, Wady es-Seba. *The wilderness of Judea* (Joshua xv. 61) is formed by the eastern descent of the mountains, where, between high rocky tracts, many a place of pasturage is found. Then it descends precipitately, being intersected by many chasms, which reach to the very base of the mountain, and terminates at the Dead Sea. From *Wady Fikreh*, through which the waters of the Arabian wilderness that flow eastward are carried to the Dead Sea, to that dreary and desolate rocky chasm through which the *brook Kidron* flows from Jerusalem to the sea, from fifteen to eighteen

of these chasms and passes have been traced. The largest of these is the pass of *Hazezon-Tamar* or *Engedi* (Ain Jidi), 2 Chron. xx. 2, which stretches to about the middle of the Dead Sea. Towards the south, the mountains of Judea form a high wall, through which only one door opens (the Wady el-Khalil); to the west also, and toward the southern sea-shore, they form a high wall, through which only few and narrow wadys open. The southern declension of the mountain chains towards the wilderness of el-Tih, which is also called *the mountain of the Ammorites* (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, 44), bore the designation of the south country of Judea (Joshua xv. 21). The country is terraced, and extends from six to eight German miles in breadth, rising gradually from the wilderness, and in its ascent occasionally forming broad meadows. It surrounds the mountains in the shape of an arch. The ascent opens by the *pass of Zephath* (Judges i. 17, at present, Nakb es-Sefah).

THE SEA-SHORE.

§ 41. South of Tyre, by the sea-shore, rises the promontorium album (Râs el-Abyad), and still farther south, along with the Râs en-Nâkûrah, the rocky shore of Tyrian ladder. Thence the coast becomes more flat, and round the arched bay of Accho forms the beautiful and broad *plain of Accho*, where the Belus falls into the sea. South of this plain, where *Kishon* falls into the sea, rises Carmel, the high and steep promontory of which reaches so close to the water that only a narrow road along the coast is left. South of Carmel, a plain commences, which is generally very fruitful, and extends for thirty German miles to Wady el-'Arish, the boundary line between Palestine and Egypt. This plain becomes broader as it runs southwards, so that near Joppa it is four, and near Gaza six miles broad. A projecting hill, near Joppa, bounds its northern portion, which is formed by the *plain Sharon* (1), about ten German miles long. From below Joppa to Gaza extends the plain of Sefelah (2), about eleven German miles long. South of Gaza the fertility of the coast decreases, and long before the traveller reaches the 'Arish, he passes through a complete wilderness.

(1.) During spring the *plain* of SHARON is fragrant with flowers. Its splendour and fertility were proverbial (Is. xxxv.

2; Song. ii. 1.) Only small brooks, commonly winter torrents, flow through it into the sea. The principal of these are the Nahr Zerka (called by Pliny the river of crocodiles), south of it the Nahr Arsûf, and still farther south the Nahr Audjeh. The Nahr el-Kassab, probably the river Kanah of Joshua xvi. 8, is a tributary of the Arsûf.

(2.) The *plain* of SEFELAH is broad and fruitful. Rocks project towards the sea. The waters of Wady Serâr flow through Nahr Rubin, below Joppa, into the sea. Farther south, near Askelon, Wady Simsim debouches.

THE HIGHLANDS EAST OF JORDAN.

§ 42. The *country east of Jordan*, called in the Bible the *land of Gilead*, or the country *on the other side of Jordan* (1), is a mountainous district, extending from *great Hermon* (2) all along the valley of Jordan and the Dead Sea. Thence it continues by the name of *mountain of the Edomites* to the Gulf of 'Akabah. Toward the west it rises abruptly from the Ghor, to a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet. On the top of this elevation, a vast sweeping and almost uniform *level plain* (3) extends, gradually sloping eastwards into the desert steppes of the Euphrates. Extensive oak forests alternate there with pasturage. The waters of the highlands east of Jordan flow into the Jordan and into the Dead Sea, generally through deep valleys, which are shut in by almost perpendicular mountain sides.

(1.) Properly speaking the name GILEAD applied only to the mountain of that name. By and by it was also used to designate all the country east of Jordan. The expression "on the other side Jordan," as designating the east country, arose from the circumstance that the west country was regarded as the central part of the land. Hence this expression was also employed even where the party who spoke resided in the east country (comp. *Hengstenberg* Contrib. iii. 313.) *Wette* (The post-Mosaic elements of the Pentateuch, p. 176) accounts for the use of the expression in the above circumstances by the fact that the term יַבְדֵּי may apply equally to "this" and to "the other side" Jordan. *Hengstenberg* has refuted the objections which that author has urged against the view which we have above mentioned (*Balaam* p. 27). (Comp. also *Keil*, Commentary on Kings, p. 56.) But sometimes, for the sake of greater distinctness,

the term *מִזְרָחָהּ* *מִיָּמִינָהּ*, or others of similar import, are employed (for ex. Deut. iv. 41; Josh. i. 15; 1 Chron. vi. 63.) Occasionally the country west of Jordan is designated in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua—but only in these writings—by *עַבְרַת הַיַּרְדֵּן*. This is accounted for on the ground that at that time the *east* country was properly the home of the Israelites. If the east country is in Deuteronomy designated as on “the other side,” this arises from the circumstance that the writer passed from the subjective and temporary point of view which he then occupied, and took the objective and permanent stand-point of the future. Comp. *Hengstenberg* II. cc.

(2.) *Great HERMON*, Psa. xlii. 7 (according to Arab etymology = mountain top) was according to Deut. iii. 9 called by the Sidonians *שִׁרְיֹן*, and by the Amorites *שִׁנְיָר* (= cuirass.) At present it bears the name *Jebel es-Sheikh*, or that of *el-Tseldsh* (snow-mountain.) This enormous mountain ridge, the snow-covered top of which is more than 10,000 feet high, forms the northernmost boundary of the country east of Jordan. Its southernmost branch is *Jebel Heish*, which runs to the northern shore of the sea of Galilee (perhaps the same as the *Sijon* of Deut. iv. 48.)

(3.) The *eastern high plain* rises only on two points to the height of mountains, viz., in the north-east as *Mount Hauran*, and in the south-west as *Mount Gilead*. The northern portion of these highlands is intersected by the *Yarmūk* or *Sheriat el-Mandahûr* (called by Josephus the Hieromax), which carries the waters of *Mount Hauran* through narrow and deep defiles into the *Jordan*, an hour-and-a-half below *Lake Gennesareth*. Six German miles further south, the foaming waters of *Jabbok* or *Zerka* gush through a narrow defile, 500 feet deep, right in the middle of *Mount Gilead*, towards *Jordan*. *Nahr Ammon*, a tributary of *Jabbok*, separated the land of promise from the territory of the Ammonites. The *brook Heshbon*, *Wady Hesban*, bursts through a narrow and rocky pass and debouches into the plain of *Moab*. The *brook Meon*, *Wady Zerka Main*, flows into the *Dead Sea*; so does *Arnon*, whose deep and almost perpendicularly cut bed formed the boundary between the land of Israel and that of *Moab*. The country which stretched north and south of *Mount Gilead*, and comprised the *plain of Hauran* and *Mount Hauran* is called in the Bible *Bashan*. This *plain* has many fertile meadows and corn fields; the *mountains* are covered with rich forests. *Mount Gilead*, the highest top of which is called *Mount el-Osha* (*Hosea*), has most extensive forests of oaks, and great abundance of olive and other fruit trees. The high plain which stretches south of this mountain to the river *Arnon* is called in the Bible *Hamishkor* (Deut. iii. 10), i.e. the plain (at

present designated *el-Belka*, a district which includes the mountain to the brook Jabbok), and offers the richest and the most extensive pasturage.

ADAPTATION OF THE HOLY LAND FOR ITS PECULIAR PURPOSES.

(Comp. *Raumer*, Pal. p. 88; *Bertheau*, Contrib. to the Hist. of the Isr. p. 119; *Ewald*, Hist. i. p. 258; *J. P. Lange*, Life of Jesus ii. p. 24.)

§ 43. In itself and in its relation to other countries, the country which the Lord had chosen as a nursery for his kingdom was, from *its soil and position*, better adapted for this purpose than any other on the face of the globe. The covenant-people was in the organism of mankind to be the heart of the nations. There fresh and healthy blood was to be prepared, and thence it was vigorously to circulate through all mankind, everywhere carrying with it renewed youth and fresh life. Separated and shut out from other nations, Israel was under the quickening influence of the Divine counsel to become the soil where the germ of future salvation was to be deposited, nourished, and matured, that when ripened the fruit might be offered to all nations of the earth. But the relations between a nation and its country are similar to those between body and soul in the individual. Hence the land of Israel must have been suitable for the purposes which that nation was to serve. If Israel was to unite in itself the two requisites of greatest seclusion from all other nations and yet of occupying the most central position among them, the country in which these purposes were to be realised must have corresponded to them. And in point of fact Palestine united in itself, in an unparalleled and wonderful manner, the apparently opposed characteristics of being secluded from, and yet central to, all other countries. In truth, whether viewed *geographically*, *politically*, or *commercially*, Palestine is the "umbilicus terrarum" of the ancient world. Lying right in the middle of the three then known parts of the world (1), it may in some respects be regarded as belonging to all the three. From this central position Palestine became also the central point of all *political*

movements and of the commerce of the world (2). On the other hand it will readily be perceived that the Holy Land was also almost as secluded as an island. South and east inhospitable deserts, to the west the sea, shut it off from other lands, while Lebanon on the north bounds it by an almost insurmountable wall, stretching from the sea to the eastern desert. This characteristic of seclusion appears even more distinctly and prominently when we bear in mind that (as is abundantly evident) the highlands west of Jordan were the central portion of the country, assigned to the covenant-people, where it was intended that all the principal events in its history should, and where they actually did, take place. The district in question rises like a mighty, lofty, and impregnable rocky fortress, from the wilderness of the south, from the sea shore in the west, and from the deep valley in the east. These high mountains, with their steep rocky sides, their chasms, caverns, and defiles; these high plains, with their numberless hills, and deep valleys, could not but impede equally the destructive progress of conquering armies and the corrupting influence of foreign *spiritual* elements. On the other hand—despite the numerous population which inhabited these valleys, and the continual intercourse and interchange all around—the peculiarities of the country would also offer special advantages for the quiet, undisturbed, organic development of all the powers and faculties inherent in, or bestowed upon, the peculiar and independent culture of its inhabitants, both in its social, moral, and religious aspects. Like the people, the land of Israel may be compared to a vineyard well fenced in, watched over, and planted (Isa. v. 1), where everything had been done that could be done.

(1.) To this *central situation* of the land of promise, Ezekiel v. 5 (compare Lament. ii. 15) also refers. In our opinion this interpretation of the passage is not, according to *Calvin* and *Hävernick* ad h. l., a childish Rabbinical fancy unworthy of the prophet. We hold that the ethical meaning of the verse, which Hävernick advocates, does not exclude, but includes, its physical application. Comp. also the appropriate remarks of Theodoret on the passage in question.

(2.) All the *routes*—both by water and by land—which connected the three parts of the ancient world, passed through

Palestine. The commerce between Asia on the one, and Europe and Africa on the other hand, had its centre in the great mercantile cities of Phenicia and Philistia. Toward the south the Araba led to the Gulf of Elath, and the Sefelah to that of Heroopolis, while toward the east the ordinary caravan road led to the neighbouring Euphrates, to the Persian Gulf, and thence to the important countries of southern Asia. Even the high-ways which connected Asia and Africa touched Palestine. A much frequented commercial route led from Egypt to Gaza, and from Damascus over the plain of Jezreel to the Phenician coast.

§ 44. While thus the Holy Land was negatively and positively adapted for the destiny of its inhabitants, in a manner almost unique, it also presented peculiar advantages to the development of the covenant people. It was intended that, by the immediate guidance of Jehovah himself, by Divine blessing or punishment, by mercies or chastisements, the people should be trained for what they had been designed. But there is not another country on the face of the globe where blessing or curse might so readily be realised, as a space so narrow does not, in any other part, present so numerous sources either of the one or of the other. In no other country do fertility and barrenness pass into each other by so rapid transitions—nowhere else do flourishing fields, laden with blessing, so readily change into the wilderness on which the curse rests. Thus the almost Paradisical valley of Siddim becomes, in one night, a pool of destruction, whence everything that has life flees, thus showing the solemnity of Divine judgments to all succeeding generations; and over against it, to the north, lies its counterpart—a lake whose shores present in combination all the various attractions of nature, and which thus continuously exhibits the mercy and goodness of God. The peculiarities of climate and of soil in Palestine presented, besides the richest promise of blessing, also many means of punishment and of chastisement, through barrenness and failure of crops, consuming winds from the wilderness, and earthquakes, swarms of locusts, and destructive diseases, such as pestilence, leprosy, &c. On the other hand, the exceedingly favourable circumstances of the country, and its political position, offered indeed numerous advantages to its inhabitants, but also continual temptations to neighbouring nations, and to

the great powers to subdue the land, and to crush its inhabitants; and however strong and secure its situation had rendered it, swarms of hostile nations, who poured over it, and the armies of the great powers could—when they were sent to execute the *Divine* judgments—find their way into the heart of the land, over seas and through deserts, over mountains and through defiles.

(1.) On the former FERTILITY of the promised land, comp. *S. Deyling*, *Observ. ss.*, ii., diss. ix., and *Raumer*, *Palest.*, § 88. Holy writ offers almost innumerable evidences of this extraordinary fertility. In contrast with the difficulty which attended the cultivation of land in Egypt, the spontaneous fertility of the land of promise (*Deut. xi. 10—12*) is extolled. With this agree the testimonies of *Tacitus* (*Hist. v. 6*), of *Justin* (xxxvi. 2), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (xiv. 8.) The *data* of *Josephus* as to the fertility of the land, the almost unexampled number of its population, and its numerous cities and villages, must at least be regarded as a generally correct historical statement (comp. *Raumer's Palest.*, App. ii., p. 427). The best evidence of the ready adaptation of the land either for blessing or for curse, is afforded by comparing its present with its former state. Even the Rabbins of old had clearly perceived this adaptation of the land to the blessing or the curse of God. We read in *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 72:—*Terra sancta non dependet a natura, neque manu armata capi potest, sed dependet vel a meritis vel poenis, quae per potentiam Dei supremi benedicti immittuntur.* On the climate, meteorology, as also on the cultivation and products of the country, comp. v. *Lengerke*, *Kanaan*, i., pp. 49—177; *Arnold*, *Palest.*, pp. 57—79; but especially *Schubert's Journey*, iii., p. 112; also *Russegger's Journey*.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE LAND OF PROMISE BEFORE ITS
POSSESSION BY THE COVENANT PEOPLE.

(Comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg et Canaan*; *J. D. Michaelis*, *Spicil. Geogr. Ext.*; *Rosenmüller*, *Antiquities*; *Raumer*, *Palest.*, p. 312; *Bertheau*, *Contrib. to the Hist.*, p. 137; *Ewald*, *Hist. i.*, p. 272; *Lengerke*, *Kanaan*, i., p. 178; *Gesenius*, *Thes. s. sing. vv.*; *Knobel*, the *Table of Nations in Genesis*, 1856; *G. Baur*, the *Prophet Amos*, pp. 76—96; *K. Ritter*, *Geogr.*, vol. xv., sect. 1, pp. 91—118; vol. xv., sect. 2, pp. 91—151; vol. xvi., sect. 1, 168—192; *Hitzig*, the *Original History and the Mythology of the Philistines*, 1845; *Hengstenberg*, *de reb. Tyrriorum*,

1832; *Mover's* Contrib. to most Ancient Hist. (in the Magaz. for Philos. and Roman Cath. Theol., New Series, v. 2), and *Mover's* Phenicians, vol. ii., sect. 1; the Author's Treatise on the Original Inhabitants of Palestine (in the Lutheran Journal for 1845, part 3); *K. Keil*, Comment. on Josh., pp. 40, &c., 217, &c., 230, &c., 242, &c.)

§ 45. Considering the character and position of the country, we can scarcely wonder that this narrow space of about 11,000 square English miles,¹ should have been the scene of migrations and tumults of nations, such as had not taken place in any other country. The most diverse nations, the descendants of Shem, of Ham, and of Japheth—nomadic wanderers, agriculturists, and inhabitants of towns—commercial nations and conquering powers, have by turns contended for the possession of this land; nor is there any nation of importance in history which had not, at an earlier or later period, with more or less success, attempted to hold it. With reference to the nations who had possessed the land before the Israelites, we gather that its first inhabitants, after the scattering of the nations, were in all probability *descendants of Shem*, and probably of the tribe of Lud (Gen. x. 22). Below or beside them, the *Canaanites*, a powerful tribe of the race of Ham, settled, having come from the east. At first they occupied a position subordinate to that of the former inhabitants of the land, and adopted the Semitic language; but repeated migrations into Palestine gradually gave them a decided preponderance (1). At a later period, the *Philistines*, who were, through Mizraim, likewise descended from Ham, came over the sea, and drove the Canaanites, in the first place, from the southern sea-coast (2). Then followed a still more powerful inroad on the part of the races of *Terah* (which are traced to Terah, the father of Abraham.) Branches of these races, such as the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, &c., had, from the first, settled along the eastern and southern borders of the land, and either destroyed, subjected, or absorbed the Canaanitic tribes which inhabited these districts. But the main body of this race, the Israelites, had to pass through a peculiar training, and to submit to protracted domination on the

¹ According to Kitto.

part of strangers, before, under Divine guidance, they were to take possession of the land destined for their inheritance. It is the object of this treatise to describe the development of the races of Terah in general, and of the Israelites in particular, and their collisions with the original inhabitants, and afterwards with the conquering powers of the ancient world.

(1.) Gen. x. 15—19 details the ORIGIN OF THE CANAANITISH RACES. Of the eleven tribes mentioned in that passage, we only meet again with five on the territory which was afterwards assigned to the Israelites. The name of the other six may with certainty be traced in some of the cities north and north-east of Sidon. But besides these, a number of nations are mentioned as inhabiting Palestine, but whose names do not occur among the Canaanitish races in the table of nations, and of whose migration into the country no trace is discoverable. Hence recent writers (*Bertheau, Ewald, Lengerke, Baur, Knobel, Ritter, Delitzsch*) have regarded them as aborigines (of *Shemitic* descent), who had possessed the land before the Canaanites migrated into it. But *Hengstenberg, Movers, Keil*, and the author of this, in the treatise to which we have above referred, suppose them to have been of Canaanitish descent. Before entering on this question, we shall, in the meantime, collate what is known about the names and the settlement of these nations. We commence with the names given in the table of nations. (1.) The *Hittites* inhabited Mount Ephraim and the mountains of Judea, as far as Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 7; Num. xiii. 29). They appear to have been one of the most important of the Canaanitish tribes; and the word "Hittite" is in Joshua i. 4, 1 Kings x. 29, 2 Kings vii. 6, employed to designate the Canaanites generally. (2.) Below them, in Jerusalem (Jebus) and its neighbourhood (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3; xv. 8, 63; xviii. 28; Judges xix. 11) dwelt the *Jebusites*, apparently a much less important branch of the race. (3.) The most powerful and warlike among the Canaanites were the *Amorites* (from אַמֹּרִי, Is. xvii. 9, *i.e.*, that which is prominent, specially, the top; hence the name is generally interpreted as "inhabitants of heights," but may more properly be rendered as "the prominent or high nation." Comp. our treatise on the original inhabitants). At the time of Abraham the Amorites inhabited the neighbourhood of Hebron and of Hazeron-Thamar (Gen. xiv. 7, 13), the mountain of Judah and its southern declivity (Num. xiii. 29; Deut. i. 7, 19, 20; Josh. xi. 3), which hence also bore the name of "mount of the Amorites" (Deut. i. 7, &c.). They were also found further north, as far as Sychem (Gen. xlviii. 22), if indeed the word Amorite in that passage

was not meant in a more general sense, comp. Gen. xxxiv. 2. At a later period the Ammorites spread across the Jordan, and took from the Ammonites and Moabites all the country (between the Jabbok and the Arnon) which the latter had formerly taken from the Rephaim (Num. xxi. 13—26; Judges xi. 13, &c.). The name is also frequently used to designate the Canaanitish tribes generally (Gen. xv. 16; Josh. xxiv. 18; Judges vi. 10). (4.) Scripture does not furnish many particulars about the Girgashites. From Joshua xxiv. 11, we gather that they lived in the country west of Jordan. (5.) The *Hirites* inhabited the district of Gibeon (Josh. xi. 19), that of Sychem (Gen. xxxiv. 2), and also the neighbourhood of Hermon (Josh. xi. 3; Judges iii. 3). (6.) We read also repeatedly of the *Canaanites* in the narrower sense of the term (Gen. xv. 21; Exod. xxiii. 23; Deut. vii. 1, &c.), who, according to Num. xiii. 29, Deut. xi. 30, Josh. v. 1, seem to have chiefly inhabited the sea-coast, and also the valley of the Jordan. In Joshua xi. 3, they are expressly designated as the “Canaanites on the east and on the west.” The reason why the general name of Canaanites is specially applied to this tribe must probably be sought in the circumstance that their places of settlement corresponded with this designation. In all probability they were a commercial people, and hence the name Canaanite is often used simply for “merchant.” (7.) Lastly, we read in Gen. xv. 20, and afterwards, whenever the seven Canaanitish nations which were to be exterminated are enumerated, of the *Perizzites*, as in Exod. iii. 8, xxiii. 23; Deut. vii. 1, &c. Their name indicates that they inhabited the flat country (comp. *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. iii. p. 186). The name does not occur in the table of nations among the sons of Canaan. *Bertheau* ascribes this to some oversight, and argues that the eleven, there enumerated as Canaanitish nations, point to the fact that originally twelve had been recounted. But we rather account for it on the ground, that at that, and even at a later period, the name was chiefly used in the sense of an appellative. Probably they inhabited the high plains of the west country (Gen. xiii. 7; Josh. xi. 3). Sometimes the two names “Canaanites and Perizzites” are combined (Gen. xiii. 7, and xxxiv. 30), to indicate all the inhabitants of Palestine, so that by the former we are to understand the commercial inhabitants of the sea-coast, and by the latter the agricultural and pastoral tribes of the highlands.

The following races which are commonly regarded as among the original inhabitants of Palestine do not occur in the table of nations. (1.) The *Rephaim*, LXX. *γίγαντες* i.e. the tall, comp. عَف = altus, eminens fuit, the common name of certain races distinguished by their gigantic stature (Ewald i. p. 275). Another

common name of these tribes of giants was that of *Enakim* or sons of Enak (*i.e.* long-necked, gigantic), with this difference, however, that the giants on the east of Jordan are specially designated as *Rephaim* (Deut. ii. 11; iii. 11, &c.), and those west of the Jordan as *Enakim* (Deut. ix. 2; Num. xiii. 22, &c.) But the expression *Rephaim* is also employed for the giants on this side Jordan, in Joshua xvii. 15; and 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22. To the *Enakim* of the country west of Jordan belong also the *Arim*, Joshua xi. 21, &c., comp. with Joshua xiii. 3, and 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22. This tribe inhabited the southern sea coast. The *Enakim* of the highlands (in Mount Judah, and especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron) existed till the time of Joshua (Deut. ix. 2; Num. xiii. 28), by whom they were exterminated, Joshua xi. 21, &c. The *Arim* at the sea coast had at a former period been expelled by the Philistines, but remnants of them still continued in the towns of Philistia, Deut. ii. 23; Joshua xi. 21, 22, xiii. 3. The following are the giant tribes who inhabited the country east of Jordan. (*a.*) The *Emim*, *i.e.* the terrible, who, according to Gen. xiv. 5, dwelt in Shaveh (or the plain) Kiriathaim, between the Arnon and the Sared. Thence they were either expelled or exterminated by the Moabites, Numb. xxi. 12, &c. (*b.*) The *Susim*, *i.e.* the prominent. They are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5 in connection with the predatory excursion of Chedorlaomer. As the account given in that passage is manifestly most accurate in its description of localities, we gather from the position assigned to them that they inhabited the district between the Jabbok and the Arnon. They are, therefore, the same as the race of giants whom the Ammonites that expelled them, called the *Zamzummim*, Deut. ii. 20; Judges xi. 13, &c.; Joshua xii. 2. (*c.*) The *Rephaim* in the narrower sense of the term who lived in the neighbourhood of Ashtaroth-Karnaim, in Edrei, Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. i. 4, and hence on the high plain of Bashan. The Israelites exterminated them and their king at the time of Moses. Among the original inhabitants of the land, who were not of Canaanitish descent, recent writers have also included, 2dly, the *Horites*, *i.e.* dwellers in caves. At the time of Abraham they lived in Mount Seir, which, at a later period, became the mount of the Edomites, Gen. xiv. 6, and where many large caverns and grottos are found (Joseph. de bello jud. iv. 9, 4; Robinson ii. pp. 68, 154). Even before the time of Moses they had either been exterminated by, or else amalgamated with, the Edomites, Deut. ii. 12, 22; Gen. xxxvi.—3dly, We read in Gen. xv. 19 of some other tribes which are also supposed to have been original inhabitants of the land, and to have descended from Shem. Among these we reckon the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites. At a later period a branch

of the Midianites, with whom Moses became related by marriage, bore the name of Kenites, *i.e.* those who carry lances. They separated from their own tribe, and dwelt peacefully among the Israelites (Judges i. 16, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29). Another tribe of Kenites belonged, according to Num. xxiv. 21, &c., to the enemies of Israel. (On the probable connection between these two tribes, comp. below vol. 2.) No farther particulars are given about the *Kenizzites*, *i.e.* the tribe of hunters, but the name occurs afterwards in one of the families of the tribe of Judah. Of the *Kadmonites* also nothing farther is said. These three tribes probably inhabited the south-eastern borders of Palestine, and so early as the time of Moses had either been extirpated or absorbed by the side branches of the races descended from Terah. *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, and *Knobel* (p. 200) rank the Amalekites among these old Arabic tribes. At so early a period as that of Gen. xiv. 7 they appear to have inhabited the great wilderness between Palestine and Mount et-Tih, in the Sinaitic peninsula, while in Num. xxiv. 20 they are mentioned as among the original inhabitants. The Arabs trace them to *Laud* (= Lud) as their ancestor. On the other hand *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 303, &c.) appealing to Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, regards them as a branch of the Edomites. This view appears to us correct, chiefly because the name Amalekites does not occur in the table of nations. For we cannot believe that a nation so powerful, which had so frequently exercised an important influence on the history of Israel, and remained independent so late as the time of the Jewish kings, should not have been specially mentioned in that list if it had not been of Terahitic descent. In fact the Amalekites are not mentioned in any of the numerous passages in which the names of the original inhabitants of the country are detailed. In Gen. xiv. 7 we read—according to a very frequent prolepsis—of the *country* but not of the *people* of the Amalekites. In Numb. xxiv. 20 they are indeed designated as “the first of the nations,” but this does not imply that they were “original inhabitants,” but that they were the first among the heathen nations to oppose Israel (comp. *Hengstenberg’s Balaam*, p. 188, &c.). It does, however, seem strange, that if the Amalekites were (according to Gen. xxxvi. 12 and 16) descended from a son of Esau, they should, at the time of Moses, already have become so powerful a nation. But it may be supposed that the Edomitic Amalekites had increased in a manner similar to the main branch of the tribe of Edom, who, within so short a period, became of importance, by having subjected and absorbed other races (such as the Horites, &c.). Lastly, we read that in the southern part of the country, besides the Amalekites, the following races had lived (1 Samuel xxvii.

8), viz.:—the *Geshurites* (Joshua xiii. 2); the *Girzites*; and, according to Judges x. 12, 1 Chron. iv. 41; 2 Chron. xxvi. 27, the *Maonites* on Mount Seir, where their name is still preserved in the town of Maon (Robinson, vol. i., 494, &c.). These three tribes cannot with certainty be farther traced back. Probably they were offshoots of Terahitic races, dating from a time posterior to that of Moses.

We now address ourselves to the enquiry, whether or not the race above mentioned (the Rephaim, Horites, &c.) were, as most recent investigators have maintained, ORIGINAL INHABITANTS, who preceded the Canaanites, but were not of the same descent. To this question, we had, in a former edition, given a negative reply; but a renewed examination has convinced us that the preponderance of argument is in favour of the *opposite* view. True, we do not find that these tribes had inhabited the land before the entrance of the Canaanites, nor that they were expelled or even attacked by them; while they appear to have been expelled or exterminated by those later arrivals, the Philistines and Terahites. Neither can it be denied that the Rephaim, the Enakim, Horites, &c., are frequently designated simply as Canaanites or Amorites. But all this is satisfactorily explained if we regard the entrance of the Canaanites into the country, not as a hostile irruption, but as a peaceful settlement among and by the side of the Shemitic original inhabitants. If the Canaanites, as seems probable on other grounds (comp. Knobel, l. c., p. 315), gradually migrated into the country, we can readily understand that they should have amalgamated with its former inhabitants, and become Shemitic both in manners and language. But by repeated migrations, to which Gen. x. 15—18 points, the Canaanitish element obtained so decided a preponderance over the original inhabitants, that the latter were partly absorbed by the former; and the name of Canaanites or Amorites became the general designation for all the inhabitants of Palestine, without distinction of their descent. Although all the arguments urged in favour of this view are not satisfactory, this one seems to us decisive, that we can only account for the Shemitic language of the Phenicians and the Canaanites generally, if the above explanation is correct.

According to the statement of classical writers (Herod. i. 1, and vii. 89; Strabo, l. i., p. 42, and l. xvi., pp. 766, 784), the Phenicians had, by their own statements, and by those of the Persians, migrated into the country by way of the Erythrean (*i.e.*, in Herod. the southern sea), or more accurately, according to Strabo, by way of the Persian Gulf. Following *Bochart* (l. c. iv., c. 34), *Perizonius* (Aeg., p. 348), and *Vitringa* (Obs. ss. i. 1, § 13)—*Hengstenberg* (de rebus Tyriorum, Berol., 1832, p. 93, &c.),

Movers (Phenicians, ii. 1, p. 23, &c.), and *K. Ritter* (l. c., p. 95, &c.) have controverted the accuracy of these data, on the ground that, according to Gen. x. 15—19, the Canaanites had from the first settled on the shores of Palestine, and that not a trace of any former inhabitants could be discovered in the Bible. But the latter statement is erroneous. But even if correct, it would not prove anything, as against the testimony of the classics, since Palestine might have been still uninhabited, even if the Canaanites had not at once, and immediately after the dispersion of the nations, migrated into it. The first assertion of these critics is not borne out by Gen. x. 15—19. On the contrary, there is nothing in that passage inconsistent with the view that, before taking possession of Palestine, the Canaanites had previously been settled in other places, as the table of nations is only meant to indicate the relations of nations as they existed at the time of Moses. We would even go farther, and assert that it contains hints which lead to the supposition that the Canaanites had not migrated into Palestine immediately after the dispersion of nations. It is reasonable to infer, that as the descendants of Ham migrated southwards, and Palestine lay outside the range of their settlements, the Canaanites had at first followed in the direction of the other descendants of Ham, until, at a later period, and for some special reason, they had left, and struck off in a different direction. The expression in Gen. x. 18, “afterward were spread abroad,” may point to this later migration of the Canaanites, which was independent of the first and general dispersion of nations. Even the circumstance that Canaan is named last among the tribes of Ham, may indicate that, in point of fact, this race had been the latest offshoot from the main tribe, and the last to take an independent direction. For, as the table of nations records the *birth of nations*, not that of single individuals, its arrangement is not according to the age of ancestors, but according to the earlier or later origin or settlement of nations. But if the statement of the classics, so far from contradicting that of the Bible, tallies with it, it must also be considered as in *itself* deserving of historical credence, being an authentic testimony on the part of these nations themselves, and that more especially since the Biblical statement concerning the descent of the Phenicians from Ham, the correctness of which has frequently been controverted on philological grounds, agrees so remarkably with it. For the classics represent, as the mother-country of the Phenician settlers, that very spot from which, according to the Bible, all the movements of the races of Ham must have issued. Comp. also *Bertheau*, l. c., pp. 163—186, and *Knobel*, l. c., p. 314, &c.

If linguistic considerations render it necessary to suppose that

the oldest inhabitants of Palestine were of *Shemitic* descent, this view is confirmed by the relative positions of the races of Shem since the dispersion of the nations. In this respect both the arrangement of the table of nations in Gen. x., and still more decisively the Arabic accounts of the original position of nations, lend the greatest probability to the supposition that Palestine had been occupied by the Shemitic tribe of *Lud* (Gen. x. 22), a view which the careful investigations of *Knobel* (p. 198) has established. With *Bertheau*, we account for the circumstance that these, the original Shemitic inhabitants of Palestine, are, in the table of nations, not enumerated according to their individual tribes, on the ground that when the Israelites took possession of the land, they had already lost their independent existence, and been either absorbed or expelled by the Canaanitish, Philistine or Terachite settlers. For it must always be borne in mind that the table of nations is only meant to detail the ethnographical state of that time (comp. § 29, 5).

2. Our investigations on the ORIGIN and the MIGRATIONS of the Philistines must be based on the following Biblical accounts:—In *Gen.* x. 14, the Casluhim and Caphtorim are mentioned as the two last branches of the Chametic tribe Mizraim (Egypt), and after the word Casluhim, we have it within parenthesis—“Of whom came the Philistim.” In *Jer.* xlvii. 4, the Philistines are called the remnant of the isle (the coast?) of Caphtor. In *Amos* ix. 7, Jehovah says, “Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?” In *Deut.* ii. 23, we are informed that the Caphtorim came forth out of Caphtor, and destroyed the Avim, even unto Gaza. In *Ezek.* xxv. 16, and *Zeph.* ii. 5 (comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16), we have, instead of the term Philistines in the parallel clause, that of Cherethim (LXX., *χοῦρες* and *παρόικοι χοῦρων*). In 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7, the body-guard of king David is called *הַכְּרֵתִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי*, in 2 Sam. xx. 23, *הַכְּרֵתִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי* (but the Kri has it also *הַכְּרֵתִי*), and in 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, that of queen Athaliah *הַכְּרֵתִי הַיִּזְרְעֵלִי*.

The question which we have now to answer is, WHAT COUNTRY WAS CAPHTOR? According to *J. D. Michaelis* (Spic. i. p. 292, &c.), it was the isle of *Cyprus*, which, according to *Swinton* (Inscript. Cit., Oxon, 1750, pp. 78, 85) was designated on a Phœnician coin as *כבר*. But however the situation of this island would tally with Gen. x. 14, this hypothesis must be given up, as it has been shown that *Swinton* had not read the inscription correctly (Gesenius Monum. Phœn. ii., p. 320). Latterly, *Redslob* (the Old Testament Names, Hamb., 1846, p. 15) has again asserted this theory, and attempted to show that *כפתר* is either a modification of the word *כפר*, or at any rate a com-

bination of כפר and כתר, which he thinks he is the rather warranted to infer, as the plant כפר was in Greek designated by *κνίπος*. But irrespective of the unsatisfactory character of this argumentation, we shall immediately show that the country in question must have been Crete. *Bochart* (Phal. iv. p. 32) attempts to uphold the correctness of the ancient versions (LXX., Vulg., Syr., Chald.), according to which Caphtor is the same as *Cappadocia* (a view towards which *Gesenius* also inclines, Thes. p. 709; comp. also *Keil*, Comm. to the book of Kings, p. 15). He asserts that as Cappadocia had formerly extended to the Pontus Euxinus, it may well have been designated as an א. With this he thinks the passage in Gen. x. 14 agrees, inasmuch as Colchis (the same as Casluhim) was contiguous to Cappadocia. But however important the agreement of the various versions may be, it cannot counterbalance the data of the Old Testament itself, and of classical writers, all of whom show that Crete was the country meant. Besides, the explanation of the term א, by "sea-coast," is, to say the least, in the present instance, unsatisfactory, both on philological and other grounds (*Hitzig*, l. c. p. 15), while the remarkable agreement of the versions may be satisfactorily accounted for from the similarity of name between Caphtor and Cappadocia, which had probably misled them (according to Lassen, Ancient Persian Cuneiform Inscript., p. 88, the latter name was originally written Katpatuk). Since the appearance of *Calmet's* Bibl. Observ. (iii. p. 25), and of *Lake-macher's* Observ. Philol. (ii. p. 11), the view that Caphtor was the same as Crete has been more and more generally received. The arguments in its favour have been most clearly set forth by *Bertheau* l. c. p. 186, and by *Hitzig* l. c. p. 14. The passages 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16, &c., Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5, in which the Philistines are distinctly called Cretes, fully decide the question, as it is impossible with *Michaelis* to interpret that name as an appellative, equivalent to "Exsules." This view is also confirmed by the well-known names of the royal body-guard, which, after carefully weighing the arguments for and against it (which shall be detailed in the sequel), can only be regarded as the patronomics of Philistine tribes. The Greeks and Romans also bear testimony to the correctness of this opinion. In *Tacitus* Hist. v. 2 we read: "Judaeos Creta insula profugos novissima Libyae insedissee, qua tempestate Saturnus, vi Jovis pulsus, cesserit regnis: argumentum e nomine petitur: inclytum in Creta Idam montem, adcolas Idaeos; aucto in barbarum cognomento Judaeos vocitari." The manifest mistake in this passage arises from confounding the Jews and Philistines, an error common both among the Romans and Greeks, as even the name Palæstina

= Judaea shows. But in that view the passage, which we have quoted, affords distinct testimony for the descent of the Philistines from Crete. Again if it were maintained that the above statement has no historical foundation, resting as it does on a mere etymological combination of the words Judaei and Idaei, it must of course fall to the ground. The former opinion is advocated by *Bertheau* and *Hitzig*, while the latter has been adopted by *Gesenius*. In defence of the identity of the Philistines and Cretes, it may be urged that the name Idaei is nowhere mentioned as that of a nation, and that making every allowance for the very defective knowledge of Jewish history on the part of classical writers, the mythic Dactyles (Cretan Demons to whom legend traced the art of working iron), and who bear the epithet of Idaei, do not in any way seem capable of being brought into connection with the Jews. The combination of Idaei and Judaei would scarcely have led to the assumption of a migration from Crete into Palestine. On the other hand it may readily have been taken as affording confirmation of the above historical tradition. We also read in Steph. Byz. s. v. *Γάζα* that that city was also called *Μινώα*,—which, however, does not afford a very secure basis for argumentation on account of chronological difficulties (according to *Hoch*, Crete i. p. 360, Minos only lived about 1300, while according to Gen. xx. 2, and ch. xxvi. Philistine kings reigned in Palestine even at the time of the Patriarchs.) The Casluhim have, since the time of Bochart, been generally identified with the Colchi. According to Herod. ii. 104 they stated that they were of Egyptian descent. But *Hitzig* controverts this view. According to him the similarity between the names is only accidental, and if Caphtor is Crete and not Cappadocia, the chief ground of the above view—the neighbourhood of Colchis to Cappadocia—would be taken away; while the statement of Herod. applied probably to a transportation of exiles from Egypt to Colchis at the time of the Assyrian conquests (comp. l. c. p. 87). But *Knobel* (p. 290) rightly controverts this opinion. He finds that the most ancient settlements of the Casluhim were by the sea-coast, from the Pelusian mouth of the Nile to Palestine, which district Ptolemy calls *Cassiotis* (iv. 5, 12). Their transportation to Colchis on the Black Sea may have taken place in consequence of the campaign of Sesostriis, or perhaps at an earlier period, as according to an ancient legend, in Diodorus i. 28, Egyptians had migrated even before the time of Sesostriis, and founded Colchis.

The name Philistines is commonly derived from the root פלש = migravit, which is still in use in Ethiopic. Accordingly it would mean *emigrants*—a rendering with which that of the

LXX., who translated Ἀλλόφυλοι, agrees. *Hitzig*, who, as we shall see, takes the Philistines to have been Pelasgi, traces the name to an Indo-Germanic root (p. 35, &c.), and supposes that it is derived from the Sanscrit word *valaksha* = *white* (from the colour of their skin), being the same as the root of the name Pelasgi. But this view falls together with the above-mentioned untenable hypothesis.

With reference to the DESCENT of the Philistines, we have first to consider the difference between Gen. x. 14, according to which they came from the Casluhim, and the other passages of the Old Testament, according to which they came from Caphtor or Crete. The easiest solution of this difficulty is to assume a corruption in the text (the words in parenthesis having originally stood after Caphtorim and not after Casluhim). *Tuch*, *Bertheau*, and others decide in favour of this view. But this solution is not satisfactory, as the expression occurs again in the same manner in 1 Chron. i. 12. It will, therefore, be more advisable to attempt another solution without interfering with the text. *M. Baumgarten* (ad h. l.) thinks that the Caphtorim were a sub-division of the Casluhim and had settled in Crete, while the main body of the tribe had migrated into Colchis. *Hitzig*, p. 90, appeals to the expression of Tacitus "*novissima Libyæ*," and infers that the Casluhim had, in pre-historic times, migrated from Crete, and settled along the eastern borders of Egypt. Thence the colony of Philistines, mentioned in Gen. x., had migrated into the neighbourhood of Gerar, where alone, at the time of Abraham, Philistines seem to have been settled. Afterwards, in historical times, he supposes, the Caphtorim, another colony of Philistines, to whom Amos and the writer of Deut. allude, had migrated from Crete and settled along the coast of Palestine, to the north of Gaza. At any rate we have to distinguish two different bodies among the Philistines of Palestine: the פְּלִשְׁתִּים and the כְּרֶתִים (Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5) probably the same which in other places are respectively designated as the כְּרֶתִי and פְּלִשְׁתִּי (2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7). This removes every difficulty. We have already seen that the Cherethim must be traced back to the Caphtorim (Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7), while from Gen. x. 14 we learn that the Philistines must be traced to the Casluhim. The Casluhim, who were the first to migrate into Palestine, obtained the name of *Philistines* (i.e. emigrants). The Caphtorim or Cherethim, who were related to them, arrived at a later period, and were probably much fewer in numbers. Hence they were included under the general name of Philistines, while, when a more accurate determination was desired, they were distinguished as the Cherethim from the Philistine proper.

Ewald (i. p. 289), however, thinks that only one colony of Philistines had migrated into Palestine, and that its settlement had taken place during the first half of the period of the Judges. He accounts for the occurrence of the name of Philistines at the time of Abraham, Gen. xx. xxi. xxvi., and at that of Moses, Exod. xiii. 17, &c., by supposing it to be a prolepsis, and that the historian designated the tribe inhabiting the south-western portion of the country by a name of later origin, with which he was familiar. But even *Lengerke*, l. c. i. p. 196, and *Hitzig*, l. c. p. 147, have controverted this view. In Gen. xx. xxi. (vv. 32, 34), and in Exod. xiii. 17, xv. 14, the historian refers indeed only to the *country* of the Philistines, and these passages might tally with the hypothesis of *Ewald*. But in Gen. xxvi. 1, 8, Abimelech is distinctly called the king of the *Philistines*, and in verse 18 his subjects are designated as Philistines. It is manifestly impossible to assume a prolepsis in this case. Thus we may imagine that in a history of America before its colonization, the district which at present bears the name of Pennsylvania might *per prolepsin* be so designated, but not that its original inhabitants might be called Britons. According to Deut. ii. 23, and Joshua xiii. 2, 3, Philistines inhabited the country even at the time of Moses and Joshua. Judges iii. 3 also refers to princes of the Philistines. During the first period of the Judges, the Philistines attempted to oppress Israel, and were beaten by Shamgar (Judges iii. 31, comp. with x. 11). If *Ewald* appeals to the circumstance that the Philistines are not mentioned when the Israelites first took possession of Canaan, we answer with *Hitzig* that this is readily accounted for on the ground that no part of the territory of the Philistines had been gained by them. Again, when we read in Judges i. 18 that after the death of Joshua the tribe of Judah had taken the cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron, which, however, are not expressly mentioned as cities of the Philistines, any inference *e silentio* would not prove much. Lastly, the fact that the Philistines only became so dangerous at the time of Samson and Eli does not prove that they had settled in Palestine at a later period than the Israelites, since Judges iii. 31 and x. 11 show that they had before that time attempted to subject the Israelites, although without permanent success.

With *Hitzig*, *Knobel*, and *Ritter*, we therefore suppose that there were two settlements of Philistines in Palestine. As the first of these we regard the migration of the Casluhim, which must have occurred before the time of Abraham. That migration was probably not from Colchis, which was a later settlement of the Casluhim, but from their earliest seats, in the neighbouring Cassiotis. The second migration of Philistines was that of the

Caphtorim or Cherethim, as they are called, who left Crete and arrived in Palestine during the period between Abraham and Moses. Of the latter we read in Deut. ii. 23 that on their arrival from Caphtor they had destroyed the Avim unto Gaza. But Philistines lived south of Gaza—for Gerar lay at any rate farther south—even so early as the time of Abraham. These must therefore be distinguished from the Caphtorim, and hence regarded as Casluhic Philistines.

We now return to the question of the *descent* of the Philistines. The two tribes, the Casluhim and the Caphtorim, are, in Gen. x. 14, traced back to Ham, through Mizraim. But *Knobel* denies the descent of the Casluhim from Mizraim. He thinks that the expression rendered "Out of whom came Philistim," does not prove the derivation of the latter from the Casluhim. He holds that the term מִשְׁמֵם refers only to the *locality*. If the writer had wished to mention their descent, he would have used the term מִנְהֶם. Hence he infers that the passage only intimates that the Philistines had at one period dwelt beside the Casluhim, but that afterwards they had removed to other settlements. He adds that the Biblical writer had not mentioned the *descent* of that tribe, because he had been unable to ascertain anything about it. However much may appear to be in favour of this view, we cannot, with *Delitzsch*, assent to its correctness. Is it possible to conceive that at that period the Philistines should already have lost every tradition about their descent and their former settlements? But if they had preserved any such tradition, how could it have escaped the observation of so careful an enquirer (who manifestly was thoroughly acquainted with this subject) as the writer of the table of nations? We allow that the term מִשְׁמֵם applies, in the first instance, to *locality*. But does not the whole table of nations bear the character of an ethnographical index of localities? Besides, what other term could the writer have employed to indicate the descent of the Philistines from the Casluhim? According to *Knobel*, he would certainly have used the expression מִנְהֶם, instead of מִשְׁמֵם. But he also admits that this would not have entirely removed the difficulty, as the term מִנְהֶם may also be understood of local derivation. We therefore repeat the question, how could the writer have indicated more distinctly that the Philistines were a colony of Casluhim? To have connected them with the descendants of Mizraim (like the other branches of the family of Mizraim) by means of the nota acc. ם, would have been to misrepresent the real state of the case. Again, from the peculiar construction of the sentence, it was impossible to introduce them simply as the descendants of the Casluhim. Any want of precision is readily explained from the parenthetic character of the sentence.

As for the Caphtorim or Cretan Philistines, Gen. x. 14 distinctly proves their descent from Ham.

We hold therefore that the descent of these two tribes of Philistines from Ham is established; and that the opinion of *Ewald* (i., p. 284) and of *Bertheau* (p. 190), who, referring to 2 Sam. xx. 23, 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, hold them to have been a Shemitic, and more particularly a Corian tribe, must be rejected, as also that of *Knobel*, who would trace them to the Shemitic tribe *Lud*. The hypothesis of *Hitzig*, who employs all his ingenuity and learning to show that the Philistines were of *Pelasgic* origin, and that any relics of their language must be traced to the Sanscrit, is wholly groundless.

B. THE PEOPLE OF THE OLD COVENANT.

DESCENT OF THE COVENANT PEOPLE.

(Comp. *Bertheau*, l. c., p. 200; *Ewald*, l. c. i., p. 327; *Lengerke*, l. c. i., p. 208; *Knobel*, Table of Nations, p. 168.)

§ 46. The prophetic declaration of the common ancestor had already pointed out the race of *Shem* as that from the tents of which salvation was to be expected (comp. § 28). From Shem the line of promise descends through ten generations—(Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah, Abram)—to the ancestor of the chosen race (1). The Biblical record points to the land of the Chaldeans, Ur-Chasdim (2), as the place where the youngest members of the above line had originally settled. Thence the first and nomadic tribes of the *Terachitic* races migrated in company with *Terah*, the father of Abram, from motives which can only form subject of conjecture (3). To this division of races belonged also the chosen people, who bear the distinctive name of *Hebrews* (4). The destination of the tribes was Canaan, but they settled by the way in *Haran*, in Mesopotamia (5). There Terah died. *Nahor*, the brother of Abram, remained in Haran, while the latter, in consequence of an express command of God, passed into *Canaan*, accompanied by *Lot*, the son of *Haran*, Abraham's brother, who had died in Ur-Chasdim (6).

(1.) The CHRONOLOGICAL thread of sacred history is now con-

nected with the GENEALOGY OF SHEM, as before the flood it had been with that of Seth. Here as before, differences of numbers occur in the Hebrew text, as compared with the LXX. and the Samaritan. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Sent. de Chronol. Mosis, a Deluvie ad Abrah., Comment. xv., and the treatises of *Bertheau* and of *Reinke* (l. c. p. 76) mentioned above in § 24, 3. In this case, there is the additional difficulty, that the Alexandrians insert between Arphaxad and Shelah a name which does not occur in the other two texts, viz., that of KAINAN (Kenan). But irrespective of all the critical testimonies in favour of the reading in the original, this addition becomes more than suspicious, by the fact that they give the same numbers to Kainan as to Shelah. But as Caiman is mentioned fourth in the genealogy of Seth (ch. v.), just as here in the version of the LXX., it seems probable that his name may, for some reason or other, have been transferred from thence. It will scarcely be deemed a decisive testimony against the Hebrew original, that Luke, who always makes use of the LXX., retains this name in his genealogical table (Luke iii. 36). However, recently *Ewald* (i. p. 313) has maintained the genuineness of the name, as "many reasons" (which he does not recount) are in favour of it. According to the statements of the original, Terah, Abram's father, died A.M. 2081, and in the year 525 after the flood. We close by giving a comparative table of the three texts. A refers to the Hebrew text, B to the LXX., and C to the Samaritan version.

		Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.			Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.
SHEM,	A	100	500	600	PELEG,	A	30	209	239
	B	100	500	600		B	130	209	339
	C	100	500	600		C	130	109	239
ARPHAXAD,	A	35	403	438	REU,	A	30	207	239
	B	135	400 (430)	535 (565)		B	132	207	339
	C	135	303	438		C	132	107	239
CANAAN,	A				SERUG,	A	20	200	230
	B	130	330	460		B	130	200	330
	C					C	130	100	230
SHELAH,	A	30	403	433	NAHOR,	A	29	119	148
	B	130	330	460		B	179 (79)	125 (129)	304 (204)
	C	130	303	433		C	79	69	148
EBER,	A	34	430	464	TERAH,	A	70	(135)	105
	B	134	270 (370)	404 (504)		B	70	(135)	205
	C	134	270	404		C	70	(75)	145

Manifestly both the Samaritan and the LXX. version attempt to extend the interval between the flood and Abram, which they deemed far too short in the chronology of the original text. The same difficulties were also felt at a later period. With respect to them, *G. H. v. Schubert* ("Original World and Fixed Stars," 2d ed., p. 275) remarks:—"Recent chronologists have deemed this period far too short to account for the existence of so large a number of men as are implied in some events which took place at the time of Abraham. But if we consider that, as the history of medicine has shown, by a wonderful process of equalization in nature, a terrible pestilence, for example, is succeeded by a period of such general increase, that marriages which for many years had been without children, are blessed with them, and twins are very frequently born—and that to all appearance (Gen. x. 2, 6, xi. 11, 13, 15, 17) something similar, but on a much larger scale, had taken place after the flood—if, farther, we suppose that during the first generation after the flood, the sons of Noah had each, on an average, ten children, making altogether fifteen pairs, and that then each pair had, during each succeeding generation of about thirty years, on an average, only about four pairs, or eight children, the number of men, not including any surviving parents, grand-parents, &c., may, during fourteen generations, or 420 years, at any rate have amounted to one thousand and six millions." Considering that the *possibility* of such an increase is capable of demonstration, its apparent improbability, which cannot have escaped the writer, must, according to the rules of historical criticism, be rather considered an evidence for the accuracy and the historical character of the record.

(2.) In the table of nations in Gen. x. 22, we find among the descendants of Shem, besides ARPHAXAD, also the names of *Elam, Ashur, Lud, and Aram*, whose settlements were in western Asia. With *Joktan*, the brother of Peleg, a number of nations separated from the race of Arphaxad, and settled in southern Arabia, while the main body of the race remained with its other branches in the district where it had originally settled. The latter—as, since the time of *Bochart*, it has been generally held, except by *Schleyer*, l. c., p. 302 (who identifies the land of Arphaxad with Sinear)—is Ἀρφαξαδίτης (Ptol. vi. 1), or the northern part of Assyria, at the southern boundary of Armenia. *Bohlen* and *Benfey* interpret the name as meaning "the country lying close by Aria" (Arjapakshatâ). *Michaelis, Gesenius,* and

Knobel (deriving it from ^{ס-ז}אֶרֶץ, border, and כְּשֵׁר = כְּשָׁר, Gen. xxii. 22, whence בְּשָׂדֵי, Chaldees) render it by "border of the Chaldees." In a similar manner, but not so well, *Ewald* de-

rives it from בָּ¹ = "to bind," "to make firm," and renders it "the fortress of the Chaldees." With this the statement of Josephus (Ant. i. 6, 4) agrees, who states that the Chaldeans were derived from Arphaxad, as also the inference derived from Isa. xxiii. 13, and from other data, which show that the original settlements of the Chaldeans had been in that neighbourhood. *Ewald* (i. p. 333) identifies, with great probability, UR-CHASDIM, the country of Terah—which name he regards as that given at the time of the author of Genesis—with this Arrapachitis. Rejecting the interpretation of *Bertheau*, who derives it from the Zend root *Vare* = country (l. c., p. 205), he thinks that a comparison with the Arabic عَسْ¹ (according to *Freitag*. v. and viii. "continuit se in loco, permansit") is sufficient to prove that it meant place of residence, with which the translation of the LXX., χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων, also agrees. The most common interpretation is that first propounded by *Bochart* (l. c. L. 2, c. 6), and adopted also by *Delitzsch* (p. 240), according to which *Ur of the Chaldeans* is the same as the Persian fort *Ur*, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (xxv. 8, 7), six days' journey west of Hatra. The statement of *Michaelis*, who, for the sake of his favourite hypothesis, that the original settlement of the Chaldeans had been between the Black and the Caspian Seas, regards the word *Ur* as an appellative (= fire), and derives it from the Naphtha fountains, near the town of Baku, scarce deserves mention. *Delitzsch* is certainly mistaken in thinking that the view of *Ewald* is incorrect, on the ground that as *Ur* stands connected with the genitive *Kasdim*, it cannot refer to a country, but only to a residence. If the word *Ur* can be shown to mean place of residence or country, his statement falls to the ground. Comp., for example, the name England = country of the Angli.

(3.) On the ground of the supposed derivation of the name *Ur* from the Zend root *Vare*, *Bertheau* (l. c., p. 206), and after him *Lengerke* (i. p. 213), think that a probable irruption of Arian races was the MOTIVE FOR THE MIGRATION OF TERAH. Considering the uncertainty of all such hypotheses, it is better to confine one's-self to the data furnished in the book of Genesis. In point of fact, we there discover (Gen. xiv.) traces of extensive migrations among the races at this time. The irruption of Chedorlaomer in Gen. xiv. took place shortly before the birth of Ishmael, or eleven years after the entrance of Abram into Palestine (Gen. xvi. 16). But as the five cities in the valley of Siddim had, for twelve years previous to this, been tributary to Chedorlaomer, the first expedition of that king must have taken place just about the period when Terah also left his former settlements.

(4.) Opinions have always been divided as to the origin of the NAME HEBREWS. Some (among them latterly especially *Ewald*, i. p. 134, &c., and *Lengerke*, i. p. 213) regard it as a patronimic, and derive it from the patriarch *Eber* (Gen. x. 25, xi. 16). Others, and among them *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 206) consider it an appellative, and accordingly interpret the term by "*Trans-Euphratics*." The chief objection to the latter view is that עִבְרִי is not in any other place used as an equivalent for עִבְרִי הַנָּהָר. But irrespective of the fact that in Num. xxiv. 24 it is used in this sense (for the connection, the parallelism, and the whole tendency and bearing of the prediction manifestly do not admit the application of the term עִבְרִי to the Israelites, comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c.)—the correctness and suitableness of this interpretation is proved by the use of the analogous terms קְדֻמִּי, בְּנֵי-קְדָם, while it is readily accounted for by the circumstance that the *Euphrates* was to the inhabitants of Syria and of Palestine the stream *ναρ' ἔξ*. On the other hand, many and decisive arguments can be urged in favour of this derivation. That the name is used in the Old Testament ONLY—"ubi alienigenæ loquentes inducuntur, . . . vel ubi ipsi Israelitæ de se ad alienigenas dicentes sistuntur, . . . vel ubi aliis gentibus opponuntur." (*Gesenius*, Thes., 987)—shows that it is not a name which (as *Ewald* and *Lengerke* are obliged to argue) Israel gave to itself, but one of which the other nations among whom they lived made use, and "that it originated more especially with the *Canaanites*, and designated the Jewish emigrants in contradistinction to *them*" (*Hengstenberg*, l. c.). *E. Meier*, in his dictionary of roots, p. 273, curiously remarks:—"Everything (?) speaks against such a designation (as Trans-Euphratics), more especially that manifestly the name must have originated with the Hebrews themselves, and not with any foreign nation, and that they would not have adopted it if it had come from the Canaanites, just as any other victorious nation would not adopt a name applied to it by those whom it had conquered." But this statement completely ignores two facts—(1.) That the ancestors of the Israelites had for two hundred years dwelt among the Canaanites as unimportant and merely tolerated strangers, and not as conquerors among the conquered; and (2.), that in the Old Testament the Israelites are not represented as *adopting* the name in question, but only as using it by way of accommodation to the heathens who had applied it to them. But Gen. xiv. 13 (where even the LXX. render עִבְרִי by ὁ περσῆς) is decisive as to the origin of the name. We read—"And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Ibri." On this passage *Hengstenberg* aptly remarks:—"In this place, while the term which the fugitives employed is re-

tained, it appears that the *natives* sought protection and assistance from the *strangers*." Equally decisive is Gen. x. 21, where, after *Shem*, and before his children are enumerated, it is added, "who was the father of all the children of Eber." A geographical reference is the more natural in this verse, as immediately before (v. 19) we are informed that the *Canaanites* had taken possession of this side Jordan. To apply the expression, "all the children of Eber," in the sense of a patronimic, would, considering that Eber is only mentioned as the third member from Shem, be as inadmissible as it were to confine the above expression to the Israelites alone, since it applies to *all* the children of Eber. Lastly—and this by itself refutes the view of our opponents—it is quite inconceivable and incongruous with the character and the general analogy of the most ancient history of Israel—(difficulties which only increase, if, as our opponents would have it, this history is mythical)—to suppose that the Israelites would have called themselves after a person of whom tradition had preserved nothing beyond the mere name, (so that it would have been much more natural that they should have called themselves after the name of *Shem*), and who would yet be described as the father of *many other* nations. This argument is the more weighty, as they did not even take their name from *Abram*, an ancestor whom they so highly revered. The interpretation of *Ewald*, who derives the name from עֲבֵר (= to indicate, explain, interpret), and renders it by "he that speaketh distinctly" (Hist. of the Isr., i., p. 7), is a hypothesis devoid of all probability. The same remark applies to the view of *E. Meier* (comp. l. c.), according to whom עֲבֵר meant originally "*contraction, connection*," hence a connected and compact *mass of men*—in short, a *people* or a *nation*; nor is it at all supported by the fancied analogy of French assumption of the title—"Un de la grande nation."

(5.) No doubt exists as to the POSITION OF HARAN (LXX.: Χαράραν). It is the *Καρόραι* of the Greeks and Romans, afterwards celebrated by the defeat of Crassus, and which *Ammian. Marc.*, xxiii. 3, designates as "antiquum oppidum." The town lies in one of the extensive plains of Mesopotamia (to the south-east of Edessa), and is specially adapted for a residence of Nomadic tribes. This accounts for the fact that the progress of the emigrants, who had come from their Chaldean home in the north-east, was arrested in this district for a considerable time.

(6.) When treating of the table of nations in Gen. x. we readily admitted that the names there mentioned were chiefly those of races, and not of individual ancestors. This we stated from a conviction that the writer of that table would have his statements to be understood in this manner. This seems implied

in the general plan, tendency, and details of that table itself, as also by the undoubted import and form of most of the names in it. But in the genealogy now before us we may not thus generalize the names, since the writer of it manifestly refers to individuals, as appears from the detailed chronological data, and from the many special historical reminiscences which attach to these names.

Still, it were a sad misunderstanding if, misled by the continual and exclusive prominence given to leading individuals, and overlooking the occasional statements to the contrary, we were to limit the original number of settlers to those few persons who are expressly *named*. These are rather represented in the record as *heads of tribes*, or *Nomadic chieftains*. To this conclusion the statements as to the immense number of flocks possessed by Abram and Lot (Gen. xiii. 5—7) point, and still more clearly the circumstances that Abram could furnish for an expedition 318 trained servants, born in his house (Gen. xiv. 14), and that at a later period Esau could meet Jacob at the head of 400 men (Gen. xxxiii. 1). Such a number of men capable of bearing arms pre-supposes some thousand souls at least. Even if some of these servants belonged to a different tribe (Gen. xvi. 1, xv. 2), the principal number must have belonged to the same tribe as the chieftains, and have stood in close and familiar relationship with the family of their prince (Gen. xv. 2, xvi. 2, xvii. 12, 13, xxiv. 2, &c.). The more the family of the chieftain increased (irrespective of those numbers who afterwards separated from the family and founded new tribes), the more did any differences between the descendants of the chieftains and those of the subordinate family disappear. This process of equalization was the more rapid that not the least trace of a difference of castes existed, and that the servants of Abraham were by circumcision placed, in reference to worship and religion, on the same level with his direct descendants. The increase of the side-branches of the Terahitic race appears to have been hastened and furthered by the absorption of the remainders of nations whom they had subjected, but not destroyed, and whose country they had occupied. It was otherwise with the Israelites, and hence their development into a complete nation and state was more slow than that of the other Terachites.

In conclusion we present a SURVEY OF THE VARIOUS branches of the race of Terah. The sons of Terah were Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Haran died in Ur-Chasdim, leaving behind him Lot, Milcah, and Iscah. According to Jewish tradition (Jos. Act. i. 6, § 5) Iscah is the same as Sarah, the wife of Abraham, comp. Gen. xx. 12. The name Sarai (= Principatus, comp. § 58, 1) may have only been given to her at her marriage, when

she became the wife of a *chieftain*. Nahor was married to Milcah. The whole family left the land of the Chaldeans, and settled in the first place in Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Charrae. Nahor remained there, and according to Gen. xxii. 20—24 became the ancestor of twelve *Nahoritic* tribes. *Abram* journeys in company with *Lot* to Canaan, where the two tribes soon separate. Moab and Ammon, the sons of Lot, become the ancestors of two nations, the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*, who inhabit the country east of the land of promise. The descendants of *Ishmael*, Abram's son, form as the *Ishmaelitic Arabs* another offshoot from the main tribe (Gen. xxv. 12—18). So do the sons of Abram by Keturah or the *Keturian Arabs* (Gen. xxv. 1—4), of whom the Midianites were the principal branch. These two races occupy extensive tracts along the north and north-east of Arabia, and bear the title of Arabized Arabs (*Arabi facti*, *adscititii*) in contradistinction to the southern or *Joktanidic Arabs* (Gen. x. 26—29), who call themselves Arabic Arabs or real Arabs (comp. *Hottinger* Hist. Orient. p. 210; *Herbelot* Bibl. Orient. p. 501; *Abulfeda* Hist. Antisl. ed. *Fleischer* p. 281). Lastly, Esau or *Edom*, the grandson of Abram, forms the powerful offshoot known as the *Edomites*, who take mount Seir, and from whom the tribe of the *Amalekites* sprung. The latter soon become an independent nation, and occupy the southern border of Palestine. After all these offshoots, the *Israelites* alone remain, who develop more slowly but more certainly than others into an independent nation, being always under special Divine superintendence and guidance.

THE GREAT PERIODS IN THE COVENANT-HISTORY.

§ 47. The history of the Old Covenant passes, from its commencement to its termination, through *six* stages. In the **FIRST** stage it is only a *FAMILY-history*. During that period we are successively made acquainted with each of the three patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. The twelve sons of the latter form the basis of the national development. In the **SECOND** stage these *twelve tribes* grow into a **PEOPLE**, which under *Moses* attains independence and receives its laws and worship. Under *Joshua* it conquers its country, while during the time of the Judges the covenant is to be farther developed on the basis of what had already been obtained. The **THIRD** stage commences with the institution of **ROYALTY**. By the side of the royal office, and as a

counterpoise and corrective to it, the *prophetical office* is instituted, which is no longer confined to isolated appearances, but remains a continuous *institution*. The separation of the one commonwealth into two monarchies divides this period into two sections. The FOURTH stage comprises the EXILE AND RETURN. Prophetism survives the catastrophe of the exile, so as to rearrange and to revive the relations of the people who returned to their country, and to open the way for a further development. The FIFTH stage, *or the time of expectation*, commences with the cessation of prophecy, and is intended to prepare a place for that salvation which is now to be immediately expected. Lastly, the SIXTH stage comprises the time of the FULFILMENT, when salvation is to be exhibited in Christ. The covenant-people reject the salvation so presented, the Old Covenant terminates in judgment against the covenant-people, but prophecy still holds out to them hopes and prospects for the future.

FIRST STAGE OF THE COVENANT HISTORY.

T H E F A M I L Y.

CHARACTER AND IMPORT OF THIS STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 48. It is the purport of this period to lay a foundation on which the great salvation is ultimately to appear; during its course the nation among which this sálvation is to develop is being prepared, and the germ of that deliverance, which is to unfold in and with this people, appears from the very commencement. Hence it is the goal of the whole history of this period to form the chosen race into a nation. But as, according to § 35, the preparation of salvation was no longer to be entrusted to *all* mankind, but was to have one particular starting-point, so that *one* individual, and in *him* his posterity, were, for this purpose, to be separated from the existing race, it will necessarily be *characteristic* of this period of history that it should move within the narrow circle of a FAMILY. Hence we also infer that the principal element in the development of that period must be the *increase of that family*, so that the one individual who was called and separated might unfold into a plurality. For however it must necessarily have *commenced* with the individual, manifestly the *progress* in the development of salvation demanded that this unit should become a *multitude*. If the germ of salvation was not always to remain a germ; if the different aspects, tendencies, and capabilities which lay yet undeveloped in this germ were to appear and to assume form, they could not continue or remain concentrated in one individual. For human nature is so limited that the totality of forces and capacities can only concentrate in *one individual*, *so long* as they remain capabilities and commencements, and that in the farther development only some of them, and especially those which are peculiarly strong in that individual, ripen into realities, while the rest remain in germ. It is therefore necessary that a *number* of individuals should mutually complement each other, in order that, in the totality of forces, each of them may separately evolve.

(1.) As the *commencement* of the preparation of salvation requires the selection of one individual, and as its *progress* depends on the development of this Monas to a plurality, so, *vice versa*, at its *goal*, it must return again from being a plurality to a unity. For when salvation was *perfected*, and about to be offered to all mankind for whom it had been prepared, it was not to be presented as something broken up into fragments and distributed among a number of individuals, in which case it would have passed away without producing any effect. But this concentration and combination of all the various forms in which salvation had appeared was not only demanded by the *objective* purport of salvation when complete, but also by its *subjective* character. By itself, and irrespective of its external object, salvation was only completed when unity was again attained, for, as the commencement, so the completion of a development pre-supposes such unity. But what was impossible to those who had occupied the intermediate place, who had been the representatives of salvation during its development, because they were merely men and hence limited, that became possible in Him who closed and summed up the series. He exhibited salvation in all its perfection, because He was elevated above all such limitations, uniting in His nature both divine and human powers. Thus was the history of the covenant to *commence* with a Monad, which was to contain in germ all that was to be finally evolved; during its progress towards this goal these manifestations were to be exhibited in a plurality of individuals, while at its completion all the separate manifestations were again to be combined and reduced to a unity, and to be thus completed and absolutely perfected.

This circumstance imparts a singular importance to the most ancient history of Israel. It stands in peculiar and living connection with the *total* development, both with that period in which the totality of this unity of capabilities unfolded into actual plurality, and also with the completion, when this plurality was again to *become* the unity which it had been at the commencement, while, at the same time, that which had merely been capability had then ripened into perfection.

We glance, in the first place, at the *relation between the earlier and the later history*, or, rather, between the patriarchal family and the nation which had sprung from that family. With that family *commences* not only the history of Israel, it also becomes the *prototype* thereof, according to which it is afterwards to assume shape and form. For in that family the germs and capabilities of the character, tendency, and aim, which in the regular farther development of the family into a nation are unfolded, already appear in all their distinctness and fullness.

Hence the history of the Patriarchs is the commencement and the type of all later history, both in its divine and in its human aspects—both as exhibiting human liberty and as manifesting divine grace. The character and the leadings of the ancestors of Israel exhibit the same peculiarities as those of the people who sprung from them, at least in so far and so long as it did not forsake its source of life or forget its character and destiny. The peculiarities of Patriarchal times, as represented in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (with whom, in some respects, Joseph may be classed, as forming a special type of life), reflect to future generations in Israel their own likeness. Besides, the standing designation of the God of Israel as the *God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and many passages in the history, teaching, and predictions of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, prove that this significancy of Patriarchal history was not unnoticed by the people. As an instance, we quote the prophetic utterance in Isa. li. 1, 2:

“Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness,
 Ye that seek Jehovah!
 Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn,
 And to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged,
 Look unto Abraham your father,
 And unto Sarah that bare you!
 For I called him alone,
 And blessed him and increased him.”

The relation subsisting between the Patriarchal period and that of the *completion* consisted in this, that in both all the powers and manifestations of salvation were concentrated in *one* individual—in the first case merely as capabilities and commencements; in the second as evolution and completion. This imparts to the stage of the commencement a greater similarity with that of the end than is found in any of the intervening stages. This totality and fulness, this unity and concentration in the manifestation of salvation, implied, despite the undeveloped character at that period, so evident a type of its completion that, even more distinctly than the later, it appeared as an anticipation of evangelical elements. This characteristic comes out more clearly from the absence of the law during this the age of childhood in history (as in every age of childhood). True, as in the relation to which we have above referred, so in this instance also, the difference and the gradation from *οὐπω* to *οὐκέτι* (in the first case the law has not yet intervened; in the second, it is already fulfilled) obtains; but still the *οὐ* common to both remains their common characteristic.

§ 49. All the revelations and leadings of God, and all the hopes and resolutions of the chosen family, move, during this period, round these two points—the *seed of promise* and the *land of promise*. The SEED OF PROMISE, the substance of this history, the medium by which salvation is to be prepared, is to be the fruit of generation. In its first as in its last member this was to be *παρὰ φύσιν*, that from the first the truth which was to be manifested in the end should appear, viz., that the salvation about to be developed could not reach its goal by natural means, but only by those of grace. The same law, according to which the connection and the ordinary bonds of nature were rent asunder (in order that the bonds of grace and of calling might become the more firm), and on which depended the selection of the individual who was to commence this history, is also continued during the course of that history. We notice its continuance during the first stages of this history in the peculiarities of generation; it occasions the separation of several of the descendants of the family, until at last the twelve heads of tribes become the basis for a proper national development. We may, therefore, sum up the *contents and the object of this period*, so far as it bears on the appearance of the promised seed, in the following statement: *one branch is taken from the tree of the Shemitic race, to which the promise had been given (§ 28); it is transplanted into other soil, where, under the fostering care of the great husbandman, it takes root; there it is purged from all offshoots, which are the product of nature, and so grows up into one trunk, which shoots into twelve strong branches*. Of no less importance is the connection between this period and the LAND OF PROMISE. There, and nowhere else, was the foundation for the new development to be laid; there and nowhere else was the promised seed to be conceived and born; there was the history of Israel to pass through its age of childhood, in order that, from the first, the mutual relation between the country and the people might exercise its powerful influence. If the selection of Palestine to be a nursery to the kingdom of God was neither casual nor groundless (§ 43), and if a lively and mutual relation obtains between a country and its inhabitants, this influence was also to be exercised during the infancy of this nation, because the time of childhood is also that when

influences of this kind are most readily received. There, where the chosen race was to dwell after it had grown into a nation, and where it was to discharge its peculiar task, it was also to spend the time of its infancy, in order that the people might ever regard it as their proper home, and that, as such, it might obtain that deep hold on them which only a home has upon the heart. For a man's home, to which his affections attach, is the place *where he was born*, where he has spent his childhood, with its joys and its sorrows, with its hopes and its longings. And, in truth, this object was, in this case, attained in larger measure than in any other recorded in history. Again, the land of promise was, in the first place, given to the chosen family only *as a land of pilgrimage*, while *its possession was only promised* for the future. Thus was faith to grow and to become strengthened. The circumstance, also, that in its transition from being a family to becoming a nation, Israel had occasion for four centuries to be absent from the land of its childhood, of its prospects and hopes, has its deep meaning, which will appear in the course of history (§ 92, 7).

§ 50. If we consider the peculiar revelation vouchsafed by the Lord during this period, we shall anticipate that, as a basis was to be laid for a new development, and as its beginnings were even then to appear, a more than common and peculiarly marked manifestation of God's superintendence should take place. In point of fact, we find that historical reality quite answers this expectation. True, the fresh commencement now made cannot be the same as the first or paradisaical, because sin, which had put an end to the latter, was not yet overcome and removed. The time when the Lord dwelt by and with man in the garden of Eden, when He walked continuously and visibly near him (Gen. iii. 8), cannot return until renovated earth becomes again a Paradise, and man is restored to his original position. But this, so far from being the commencement of the history which now opens, cannot even be its goal and end, but only the goal and end of a history which at that time lay in the far distant, and the commencement of which was to coincide with the close of our history (Rev. xxi. xxii.). The goal of *our* history is the incarnation of the Son of God, when the whole fulness of the

Divine being entered bodily and personally into essential and permanent union with human nature. This goal was to be attained in the course of a historical development, and hence by a successive progress, in which this development continually unfolded and approximated towards the goal. In *patriarchal* history we witness the first beginnings of this development. Hence we shall also expect there to meet only the first, the most simple, and, in a certain sense, the most elementary manifestations of the Divine plenitude of miracles and of prediction. In point of fact, history answers this expectation. The communication and interpositions of Divine power and wisdom generally take place without any intervening medium, *i.e.*, almost always God Himself performs the miracle or makes the prediction, while during the progress of the succeeding historical stages this state of matters is gradually changed. We have not yet reached the period when Divine power and knowledge are assimilated with the covenant history, and have become a gift which God communicates to men, and over which man has control, as having been entrusted to him as his property, although, of course, within certain defined limits. Hence at that period miracles are not yet performed by man; rarely even does he utter predictions. On the contrary, Divine power and knowledge interposes side by side with human activity, and as something foreign and external to it (comp. § 97, 1). Hence also the forms which revelation takes in patriarchal history are chiefly either that of immediate *inward communication*, when God speaks in the soul of man without employing the medium of the senses, or that of *Theophany*, when, by way of revealing Himself, He assumes human form. The latter manifestation was either *internal*, being then a *vision or a dream*; or *external*, when He appeared in bodily form (1.) The principal, and perhaps the only form of this second mode of Theophany, is by means of what is designated as the *Angel of the Lord*, in whom Jehovah appears and manifests Himself to the senses (2.) This mode of manifestation occurs for the first time in patriarchal history.

(1.) It would be mere idle presumption to attempt ascertaining in every case why the Lord had chosen one or other *form of manifestation*; but it falls within our province to enquire, in every particular instance, what form had actually been selected.

We are indeed convinced that Scripture attributes the same importance to what is revealed, whether it have been by the medium of inward communication, of a dream, of a vision, or of a literal Theophany. At the same time, we expect to find, in every case, sufficient indications for inferring, beyond doubt, in what form the revelation had taken place; and we would therefore repudiate the arbitrary criticism of those who refer events to dreams or visions, as it suits their own peculiar system. On the contrary, we feel that we are only warranted in speaking of a dream, or in supposing an ecstatic state of mind, when such is expressly mentioned in the Biblical record. In every other case we suppose a state of wakefulness and of consciousness. But, on the same ground, we also assume a real Theophany only when such *apparitions* of God are expressly mentioned. All those revelations to the Patriarchs in which, without farther defining the medium, we simply read that God spake to man, we class with what we have designated as inward communications.

(2.) The opinions of interpreters on the question who THE ANGEL OF THE LORD was, may be ranged under two classes. One party understand it to have been a manifestation of God in human form, patent to the senses, and hence a prototype of the incarnation of God in Christ. Others think that this was merely an ordinary angel, but that he is represented as *Jehovah*, and even speaks and acts in that character, inasmuch as he appears in the name and as the representative of Jehovah. The former view was that of the earliest theology of the Synagogue, and was formulated in the doctrine about the *Metatron*, who had emanated from God, was equal to Him, and in whom He revealed Himself. But in course of time foreign elements were mixed up with this view (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Christol.*, i. 1, p. 239). Most of the fathers and of the old Protestant divines also advocated this opinion (*Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 249). Latterly it has been most distinctly and fully set forth by *Hengstenberg*, l. c., pp. 219—251. With the fathers and the old Protestant divines, he regards the Angel of the Lord as God manifest, the Logos of the Christian dogma of the Trinity, and supposes that this mode of viewing the subject was at least so far current throughout the Old Testament history of revelation as to afford a basis for the teaching of John about the Logos (comp. *Hengstenberg's* *Comment. on Revelation*, i., p. 613). Even before that time, *Sack* (*Commentatio Theoll.*, Bonn, 1821) had, in treating of this subject, declared that the expression "Angel of the Lord," was equivalent to Jehovah, but had at the same time maintained that it only indicated the mode in which Jehovah appeared, but not a distinct personality. Hence he preferred rendering the term by "*embassy*," rather than by "*ambassador*" (comp. his *Christian*

Apologetics, 2d ed., p. 172). In the wake of these two writers, the author of this history had attempted to follow, in a paper that appeared in *Tholuck's* "Anzeiger" for 1846, Nos. 11—14. There we endeavoured to show, that in the Old Testament the Maleach Jehovah was "God appearing, manifesting Himself, entering into the limitations of space and time, and accessible to the senses, in contradistinction to the invisible God, whose supersensual existence is far above all limitations of space and time, and hence not perceptible—which, however, does not necessarily imply that men were quite conscious whether this distinction was merely ideal or also real, and whether it was to be viewed as merely temporary, or as permanent, and based on the nature of the Deity." The chief portions of this paper were reproduced by us in the *first* edition of the present work. The same view has also been advocated by *Delitzsch* (Bibl. and Proph. Theol. p. 289), *Nitzsch* (System), *Beck* (Christ. Dogmat.), *Keil* (Joshua, p. 87), *Hävernick* (Old Test. Theol., p. 73), *Ebrard* (Christ. Dogmat., vol. i.), *J. P. Lange* (Posit. Dogmat., i., 586), *Stier* (Isa. not Pseudo-Isa., p. 758), and others.

The other interpretation of the term "angel of the Lord" has been advocated by *Augustin* (De Trin. iii. 11), and since then by Roman Catholic theologians, in order thus to establish the worship of angels, and by Socinians, Armenians, and Rationalists, from a dislike to the orthodox view of the Trinity. But of late some who were free from these prejudices, and whose opinion is entitled to all weight, have pronounced in favour of it. Among them we mention *Steudel*, in his Programm for 1830, and in his Old Testament Theol. p. 252, *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfilment i. 127, and in his Script. Demonstr. i. 154—159, 321—340), *Baumgarten* (Comment. i. 1, p. 195), *Tholuck* (Comment. on the Gospel of John, 6th ed., p. 52), *Pelt* (Theol. Encycl. p. 241), and latterly, retracting his former view and supporting that of *Hofmann*, *Fr. Delitzsch* (Comment. on Genesis p. 249), *Steudel* and *Hofmann* differ in this respect, that according to the former the Maleach Jehovah was an angel specially commissioned by the Lord for every individual case, leaving it uncertain whether one and the same angel was always employed, while according to Hofmann it is always one and the same prince of angels, who at first as Maleach Jehovah, then as Captain of the host of the Lord (Joshua v. 14), and as the angel of His presence (Isa lxiii. 9), bearing the name of *Michael* (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1), presides over the commonwealth and history of Israel as the representative of Jehovah (Predict. and Fulfil. pp. 131, 132). But in his latest work *Hofmann* has so far modified his views as to state that although it was always a definite angel of Jehovah who performed one or another duty, he was not selected for this

purpose once and for all, it being still held by him that Israel has its special prince and angel, who bears the name of Michael (Script. Demonstr. i. 157).

Barth has attempted to combine in a peculiar manner the views of *Hengstenberg* and of *Hofmann* (The Angel of the Covenant, a contribution to Christology in a letter to Schelling, Leipz. 1845). With *Hengstenberg* he holds that the Maleach Jehovah was a Divine person, with *Hofmann* that he appeared as an angel and as a creature, and he combines these two statements by supposing that the Logos had at a former period taken upon Himself the form of an angel in the same manner in which He afterwards took upon Himself the form of a man. But this view is wholly unsupported, and deserves no farther notice.

Our own position with reference to the question under discussion is similar to that of *Delitzsch*. However decidedly and zealously we had formerly advocated the view of *Hengstenberg*, and controverted that of *Hofmann*, we have to confess that a renewed study of the subject has convinced us that we had been mistaken. We felt it no easy matter to surrender a long-cherished conviction, but truth has compelled us to yield, and to adopt the view of *Hofmann*.

Our former reasoning has by many been deemed successful, and frequently referred to with approbation. We therefore reproduce it in the form in which it appeared in the first edition of this work, and add to it a justification of our change of views. We wrote as follows:—

“Even the *name* is decidedly in favour of the view that the *person* of the Maleach Jehovah was unique and the same on all occasions. Grammatically, the expression מלאך יהוה and מלאך האלהים, can only be rendered *the* angel of Jehovah, *i.e.* the definite and known angel of the Lord, called so καὶ ἐξοχῶς. It is indeed true that the circumstance that these two forms have the character of definite article, does not always necessarily imply ‘an absolute identity with something known, but may arise from a graphic mode of representation, which transports the reader into the scene’ (*Baumgarten*). Thus בן ישי is *the* son of Ishai, of whom the passage speaks, but does not imply that Ishai had not other sons also. Similarly in Malachi ii. 7 *the* priest is called יהוה-צבאות מלאך, and in Hagg. i. 13 *the* prophet יהוה מלאך, in which cases it were manifestly impossible to suppose that these parties were identical with the Maleach Jehovah so frequently mentioned in Genesis, &c. But still whenever we read about *the* son of Ishai without the express addition that one of the older sons of Ishai was meant, we shall without hesitation apply it to one and the same well-known son of Ishai, viz. to David. Similarly after *the* angel of Jehovah has

in Gen. xvi. appeared in so striking and significant a manner, we apply this expression always to the *one* known and distinguished 'angel,' unless, of course, the text expressly bears that another definite individual was meant, as is actually the case in Mal. ii. 7 and Hagg. i. 13, but in no other instance."

"As the name Maleach Jehovah indicates that He was unique and always the same *person*, so do His *predicates* and *attributes* shew that His was a peculiar and a divine *nature* and *agency*. All that the Biblical writers say or record about Him clearly proves that they regarded and represented Him as God becoming manifest in a manner accessible and patent to the senses. His appearance and His claims, His words and His actions are so peculiar, so striking and distinct, that nothing analogous to it occurs within the entire compass of holy writ. But these peculiar and distinctive characteristics, which distinguish His first appearance, remain the same, equally remarkable in each of His frequent manifestations and revelations. Always and without exception He speaks and acts as if He were Himself the Creator and Director of all things, and the Covenant-God of Israel; nor does He anywhere appeal to a Divine mission as the warrant of His appearance or activity; He never rests His claims to obedience on a commission with which God had entrusted Him; never does He in word or deed point to a difference of nature between Himself and Jehovah; He determines by Himself and immediately the fate of nations and of individuals; He claims Divine power, honour, and glory, and allows sacrifices and worship to be offered to Him, as something to which apparently He has a right. More or less all to whom He appears are impressed with the fact that Jehovah Himself had appeared to them, and they address and honour Him as God—yea Jacob blesses his grand-children in the name of this angel (Gen. xlviii. 16). The sacred writers also always represent His appearances as Theophanies, in the proper sense of the term; in their narratives they use, without hesitation, alternately the terms Maleach Jehovah and Jehovah, nor do they ever give the slightest hint that they regarded Him as different from Jehovah, either in His nature and being, or in His power and dignity."

"These facts are so far admitted by our opponents, but they think to avoid the conclusions which we draw from them by applying in this case the principle: *Quod quis per alium fecit, ipse fecit*. They maintain that the angel is called, or designates Himself, acts and speaks as Jehovah Himself, because He is the medium by which the Lord reveals Himself, and hence the representative of Jehovah. But while it is true that occasionally those who act as the representatives of God among His creatures (such as princes, judges, &c.), bear in the Old Testament the

name *Elohim*, as being invested with Divine authority (Exod. iv. 16, vii. 1, &c.), we do not anywhere find that the name Jehovah is applied in the same manner, nor indeed could anything be more contrary to the spirit of the Old Testament than to transfer that title to any creature. Nor is it in point to appeal to the circumstance that the prophets utter Divine decrees and declarations announcing them in the first person as if they were Jehovah, and not prefacing, as is most commonly the case, by a 'Thus saith Jehovah.' But, manifestly, this does not prove that a created angel might behave himself, speak, and act as the Maleach Jehovah did. For (1) the fact is left out of view that such declarations of the prophets, without an appeal to a Divine commission, are very rare exceptions from the rule, while in the case of the Maleach Jehovah they are the invariable rule. Hence with the prophets this unusual and exceptional mode of speaking must be held to be fixed and limited by that which they commonly and regularly employed. But in the case of the angel of Jehovah the constant recurrence of the peculiarity to which we have adverted shows that it may not be ascribed to a momentary and oratorical personification of Jehovah, but must be traced to a permanent right of nature;—(2) Besides, in the case of the prophets no misunderstanding which would result in worship of the creature, and by which the person representing would be confounded with the person represented, was to be apprehended, while in that of an angel or being from a higher world there was imminent danger of it. Hence an angel could not have acted as one of the prophets would have done without endangering the observance of the first commandment;—(3) Such an *Enallage* was natural and true only when the prophets had reached the high point of prophetic inspiration, when, absorbed by the object in view, they wholly forgot themselves, their personality, and their intermediate position, while the Maleach Jehovah always speaks and acts in this manner, even under comparatively ordinary circumstances, so that the calmness of His manner and of His speech indicates that He speaks and acts *in propria persona*;—(4) Even where a prophet so far loses sight of his individual position as to speak of Divine decrees and leadings as if he *himself* had decreed them, or as if he *himself* were the Almighty who would execute them,—he does not in any case allow himself to be regarded as God, or to be worshipped by those whom he addresses, nor does he receive their sacrifices. Would Jacob on the ground of Gen. xlix. 7, or Elijah on account of the occurrence mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 1, have allowed their audience to adore or to offer sacrifices to them? would they not rather have acted like Paul in Acts xiv. 14, 15?—(5) Lastly, the Biblical writers represent the Maleach Jehovah as

acting like Jehovah, not only when they dramatically and graphically describe His appearance, but they also designate him by that title in plain and purely historical passages. But no historian ever applied the title of Jehovah to any *prophet* who came and spake in the name of the Lord."

"If with this we compare the appearance of what we cannot doubt were created angels—as for example in Gen. xix. 1—16—we are sensible of a vast and essential difference between them and the Maleach Jehovah. An ordinary angel does not of his own accord determine the fate of men; he does not lay pretence to Divine power or dignity; he does not allow sacrifice or worship to himself; Biblical writers do not ascribe Divine titles to him. Such angels, on the contrary, make a wide distinction between their own persons and that of God (Gen. xix. 13, 14); they expressly appeal to a Divine commission with which they had been entrusted (Gen. xix. 13), and very pointedly refuse all Divine homage or worship (Rev. xix. 10). Besides, created angels are generally employed in a totally different sphere. Their ministry is commonly called into service in the general administration of the Divine government of the world, while that of the Maleach Jehovah belongs to the economy of salvation. He is the proper and permanent medium of all those revelations which bear reference to the development and furtherance of the Divine counsel of salvation. Hence also independent appearances of ordinary angels are, compared with that of the Maleach Jehovah, extremely rare in the Old Testament—in the New Testament this relationship is of course changed."

"But replies *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfil.): 'What more plain than that מַלְאָךְ הַיְיָ does not mean the King himself, nor מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה Jehovah Himself, but some one different from Him and hence not God the Son, but a created being?' But it is to be remarked that the angel of the Lord does not more frequently indicate His identity with, than He makes a distinction between Himself and Jehovah (comp. the proofs in *Hengstenberg*); He is different from Him in reference to His personality, but the same in nature, power, honour, and dignity. We do not indeed maintain that the doctrine of the Trinity was dogmatically taught in the Old Testament; but we hold that the general cast of Old Testament teaching is in the direction of his doctrine, and that it came out more and more clearly as time proceeded. But we regard the manifestation of the Maleach Jehovah, to whom on the one hand all the attributes of the Deity were ascribed, while on the other He was represented as sent by Jehovah, and hence as distinct from Him,—whether men were conscious what a consistent carrying out of this view implied or not—as one, and that a very important, element in the develop-

ment of the doctrine in question. In the Old Testament the Maleah Jehovah is represented as God manifest and revealing Himself, in a manner perceptible by the senses, and as distinct from the invisible God, in His supersensual and therefore non-perceptible existence. This, however, does not necessarily imply that men fully understood whether this distinction was merely ideal or essential, merely momentary or permanent, and based on the nature of God. The Old Testament does not clearly indicate the character of the relationship between the *modes* of Divine revelation and the Divine Being Himself; the requirement to frame this relationship in clear and sharply defined notions had not yet been felt. But as the Divine activity unfolded and enlarged in the covenant-history of the Old Testament, the hypostatic distinction in God—between the ultimate ground of all, the Logos as God manifest, the Creator and the Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit as the source of life and light, and He who perfecteth all things (Gen. i. 2)—increasingly manifested itself *objectively*, and would in the same measure also be *subjectively* apprehended and recognised.”

“If it is said that the term *Maleach*, applying as it did to a definite class of spiritual beings, could on that account, in the case under consideration also, only refer to being of this kind, we answer by appealing to Mal. ii. 7, and Hag. i. 13. Our opponents forget, when making this assertion, that *Maleach* is not a *nomen naturæ*, but a *nomen officii*, of angels, and hence that by itself it conveys nothing about the *nature* of those who bear it. Similarly, the name ἀπόστολος is in the New Testament (Heb. iii. 1) assigned to Christ, although it was manifestly not meant to convey that the term applied to His nature as it did to that of the other apostles. And yet the word *apostle* became as much a fixed designation of the disciples of Jesus who were sent forth, as that of *Maleach* for the ministering spirits of heaven.”

“‘Again,’ continues *Hofmann*, ‘if the view of our opponents is correct, how are we to render the New Testament expression ἄγγελος κυρίου, which is manifestly a translation of *Maleach Jehovah*, especially in such passages as Matt. i. 20; Luke ii. 9; Acts xii. 7?’ We agree with *Hofmann* that the ἄγγελος κυρίου who there appeared was not the Logos but a created angel, although in Acts vii. 30 it is said that the ἄγγελος κυρίου had appeared to Moses in the burning bush where the expression is manifestly a translation of the Maleah Jehovah in Exod. iii. 2. We maintain, however, that in Acts vii. this expression designates another person than that referred to in the three New Testament passages in which the term occurs, and we assert this on the ground that the former is in reality a quotation

from the Old Testament, while the other three are New Testament statements. For the Maleach Jehovah called such κατ' ἐξοχήν belongs properly only to the sphere of the Old Testament. In the New Testament *Christ*, the incarnate Son of God takes his place. The Maleach Jehovah is the *future*—Christ the *present*—God-man; the former is a *prototype* of the eternal plan of salvation, the latter its *plerosis*. With the incarnation of God in Christ, the Lord ceases to appear and to act as the Maleach Jehovah, inasmuch as He has entered into permanent and real union with the Man Jesus. Hence if that *name* is again employed it no longer designates the Maleach Jehovah κατ' ἐξοχήν; it has lost the unique and prominent definiteness which it bore in the Old Testament, and has again become a general term. The ἄγγελος κυρίου is only in words, but not in meaning, the same as the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament; bearing no longer reference to the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament, he is only a created being. But this remark does not apply to Acts vii. 30, where we are again on Old Testament ground, and hence must view the subject from the Old Testament stand-point. There the ἄγγελος κυρίου must, therefore, mean the same as the Maleach Jehovah in the Old Testament passage, from which the verse is quoted (Exod. iii. 2). On the objection of *Steudel*, based on Exod. xxiii. and xxxii., comp. our exposition in *Tholuck's* Anz. l. c. pp. 108—112."

"But *Baumgarten* objects to our view, observing that: 'Those who regard the Maleach Jehovah as the Logos must surely have forgotten that the angel of Jehovah first appeared to an Egyptian handmaid' (Gen. xvi). *Delitzsch* (l. c. p. 289) has replied to this by a quotation from the objector himself (i. 1, p. 527): 'from this we gather that the Revelation of Jehovah was one by which the Gentiles also were to attain to faith in Jehovah.' *We* reply: the Maleach Jehovah is the covenant-God, who visibly appears in the form of a man to perform the Divine covenant-work. His interpositions are confined to the house and race of Abraham, to the development of that covenant which He had made with Abraham and his seed. He can and does only appear after that covenant was actually made—and this had only taken place in the chapter preceding that in which Hagar's flight is recorded. That He should have first appeared to Hagar arose simply from the circumstance that her flight was the first event after the conclusion of the covenant which called for an interference on the part of Jehovah;—that *He appeared* to her at all has its ground in the fact that Hagar belonged to the household of Abraham, that she stood in most close relationship with Abram, and that the seed of Abram, to which she was about to give birth, was

included in those general promises of blessing which had been made to the seed of Abram. Lastly, we account for the fact that He appeared as the Maleach Jehovah, on the ground that, of all the modes of visible manifestation on the part of the Deity, this was the most condescending, the most encouraging, and the most gracious."

Thus we argued in the *first* edition of this book; we have now to add the following retractation:—

The principal defect of our former discussion lay in this, that we had confined ourselves exclusively to the Pentateuch, and had not at all, or only in passing, taken notice of the manner in which the doctrine about the angel of Jehovah was treated in the later writings of the Old Testament, and in those of the New Testament. At any rate, we had not assigned their proper place, nor given their due weight to these passages. We feel that if we look at the Maleach Jehovah only as He appears in the Pentateuch, and in the historical books of the Old Testament, the preponderance of evidence will be in favour of the view of *Hengstenberg*, more especially if, as all the advocates of this view are in the habit of doing, we weigh the arguments according to our occidental, and not according to the oriental standard. But even in these books there are data which must be strained, and then also only with difficulty tally with this view. But the case is entirely changed when we examine the writings of the later prophets, especially of Daniel and Zechariah. Here the interpreter will, if impartial, and not prepossessed in favour of a theory which he has drawn only from the Pentateuch, soon learn that these prophets had not regarded the angel of the Lord as of the same nature with Jehovah. If from the prophets we pass to the New Testament, it requires certainly a large measure of self-deception, or of want of consideration, to maintain that the ἄγγελος κυρίου, there so frequently spoken of, was the Logos, or God manifest, in contradistinction to the hidden God—a mistake this, with which, however, neither *Hengstenberg* nor the author of this treatise are chargeable—although it may, at least in part, be imputed to *J. P. Lange*, as will appear from the following extract (*Posit. Dogmat.*, p. 588):—"Kurtz should not have made an arbitrary distinction between the term 'Angel of the Lord,' as occurring in the New Testament (Matt. i. 20, and Luke ii. 9), and in the Old. For the angel of the *Annunciation* must certainly be regarded as the angel (?) of the future (?) God-Man. Again, the angel of the Lord interferes for the deliverance of Peter (Acts xii. 7), because the apostle is only awakening to consciousness, and obtains, as it were, only a night-glimpse (?) of the presence of Christ, his real Deliverer."

To return. If therefore we were, on the ground of our supposed inferences from the Pentateuch, to believe that the Maleach Jehovah of patriarchal and pre-prophetic history was the Logos, or God manifest,—in other words, in His own nature, Jehovah himself,—it would imply two different modes of Scripture teaching and interpretation, and that not only in the sense that one and the same subject had been apprehended and developed under two different aspects, but that it had been presented in a manner twofold and wholly irreconcilable. It follows that we must either suppose that Scripture contains contradictory and irreconcilable dogmas, or else that the view concerning the Maleach Jehovah, which we had gathered from the Pentateuch, rested on a mistake and misunderstanding. We suppose that we had misunderstood the passages in the *Pentateuch* bearing on this point, and not that we mistake those in the prophets or in the New Testament, because the latter are not only plain and unequivocal, but also because we expect there to find a clear, deep, and comprehensive view of the nature and being of all that enters into the history of salvation. Hence in any case of doubt, we deem it proper to explain the earlier by the later representation of an event or a person.

It were in truth a discovery totally reversing all our well-grounded ideas about the continuous development and progress in the knowledge of salvation, as presented in the Scriptures, if we were to conclude that at the commencement of Old Testament history so clear a consciousness of the difference between the hidden God and God manifest had obtained, and that this consciousness had gradually become obscured in the Old Testament, until a last, under the New Dispensation (when the revelation and knowledge of the history of salvation had reached their climax) it had entirely disappeared; and that indeed the New Testament writers had not even the most distant conception of the important position and meaning of the ἄγγελος κυρίου under the Old Testament.

Even if the LXX. had not formed a connecting link between the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament, beyond doubt, philologically speaking, the expression Ἄγγελος Κυρίου, whether with or without the article, is exactly equivalent to מלאך יהוה (just as ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ is equivalent to מלאך האלהים). But if Matthew or Luke had even had the slightest conception that the expression ἄγγελος κυρίου indicated in the Old Testament the Son of God, who in Christ became incarnate, they would not have applied the term so frequently and unhesitatingly—nay, they would not have applied it at all to a created angel (comp. Matt. i. 20; xxviii. 2; Luke i. 11; ii. 9; Acts v. 19; viii. 26; xii. 7; xii. 33; xxvii. 23; x. 3). *Hengstenberg*

takes no notice of this difficulty; and we have to disown the solution which we had formerly attempted, and which, indeed, had never appeared to us wholly satisfactory. Nor can we now (as we had formerly endeavoured to do) plead that at least Acts vii. 30 was in accordance with the supposed Old Testament *usus loquendi*. For, irrespective of the circumstance that the reading ἄγγελος (instead of ἄγγελος κυρίου), as proposed by *Lachmann* and *Tischendorf*, appears to be correct, the point in question is not what idea the author of Exod. iii. 2 had attached to the מַלְאָכֵי יְהוָה, but what both Stephen and Luke had meant by the expression ἄγγελος κυρίου. But this question can only be decided according to *their usus loquendi*, from which we conclude that if in nine out of the ten passages in which he employs the term, Luke had, beyond doubt or controversy, meant a created angel, the inference is plain that he meant the same thing in the tenth passage. *J. P. Lange* would indeed apply even Matt. i. 20 and Luke ii. 9 to the Logos. In reply, we ask whether the incarnation of God had commenced when Jesus was conceived, or only when He was born? And if, in order to maintain the above hypothesis, the latter opinion were adopted, we would farther ask whether it can be maintained that the ἄγγελος κυρίου who in Luke ii. 9 announces to the shepherds that the birth of Jesus *had taken place* was the God-man who *was to appear*? We will not comment on *Lange's* curious explanation of Acts xii. 7 (to which we have above referred), and only ask with *Delitzsch* (Gen. p. 255)—“Why should the ἄγγελος κυρίου who announces the birth of John the Baptist be different in nature from him who announces that of Samson? Why should the ἄγγελος κυρίου who smites Herod Agrippa, so that he dies, be different in nature from him who, in one night, destroyed the host of Sennacherib? Why should the ἄγγελος κυρίου who encourages Paul in his bonds be different in nature from him who comforts Hagar when she is driven forth?”

But we go farther, and maintain that express data are not wanting to show that the New Testament writers understood the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament to mean a *created* angel. Frequently and clearly do we find it in the New Testament that the law was received “by the disposition of angels,” that it “was spoken by angels” (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2); nor can it possibly be doubted that created angels are meant in these passages. Even the Old Testament affords a basis for this view in Deut. xxxiii. 2, comp. with Ps. lxxviii. 18. It is indeed true that *Jehovah* Himself descended in fire upon Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 18); that *God* spake all these words (xx. 1); and that the voice of God then shook the earth (Heb. xii. 26). But it is equally true that the ten thousands of saints with whom He came

(Deut. xxxiii. 2) were *not merely* His attendants, but also acted as ministering spirits, by whose mediation the law was ordained (Gal. iii. 19), and the word of God was spoken (Heb. ii. 2).

We gather, therefore, that the Lord did not Himself and immediately utter the words of the law, but had, so to speak, employed angels as His mouth-piece. When *Stephen* only refers to *one* angel (Acts vii. 38) who had spoken on Sinai, he of course means the angel of the Lord; but the mere fact that he calls him simply *ἄγγελος*, without adding any more specific determination, shows that he had an ordinary, and hence a created angel in view. Still more clear is the evidence derived from Heb. ii. 2, according to which the pre-eminence of the gospel as compared with the law, consisted in this, that the latter had been announced only "*δι' ἀγγέλων*," but the former "*διὰ τοῦ κυρίου*." Hence the *ἄγγελος* who had, according to Stephen, spoken with Moses, could only have been the mouth-piece of, and not the *κύριος* himself.

It amounts also almost to a proof in the same direction, when in Heb. xiii. 2 we are told, in recommendation of hospitality, that some had entertained *angels* unawares. It is generally acknowledged that the allusion refers to the visit of the three men to Abraham in "the plains of Mamre" (Gen. xviii). If, then, it had been understood that Jehovah had been one of these three, the writer would certainly have specially pointed out the fact that hospitality had been so much owed, that on that occasion the Lord allowed Himself to be entertained.

Leaving the New Testament, let us farther consider what the prophets of the Old Testament say concerning the angelic medium of Divine revelations. Turning first to Daniel, we find that the prince of angels, who, in ch. x. 13, 21, and xii. 1, bears the name of *Michael*, and is distinguished as מִשְׁכָּל הַמַּלְאָכִים, and as one of מְשָׁרְתֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים, occupies exactly the same position which, in the historical books (comp. especially Josh. v. 13), is assigned to the *Maleach* Jehovah. This is clearly shown by *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. i., p. 165; Revel. i., pp. 66, 612, &c.), and admitted by *Hofmann*. But *Hengstenberg* maintains that Michael also was God manifest, the Logos of the New Testament; while *Hofmann* holds that he was only a creature, although a prince of angels. The mere fact, however, that he is not the sole מְשָׁרֵת, and only one among many equal מְשָׁרְתִים, proves that Michael was not the Logos. In Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21, we read of another prince of angels (archangel), under the name of *Gabriel*. Job xii. 15 adds *Raphael*, and 4 Ezra iv. 1, *Uriel*, so that it is not improbable that the seven angels of the book of Revelation (viii. 2), who stand continually before God, may be the same as the angel-princes in the book of Daniel. J. P.

Lange attempts to get rid of this difficulty in his own way, by resolving these exalted beings into mere ideas, although they manifestly appear as independent and distinct personalities. According to this view (Dogm. p. 589), "they are all manifestations of one and the same Jehovah-angel, only individualised in accordance with the different operations of the coming Saviour. Gabriel was a vision of the coming Redeemer of the world, Michael of its coming Judge, Raphael of Christ as the physician of men, Uriel of the Logos as shedding light over the world." But however ingenious spiritualistic interpretations like these may appear, they cannot lead us away from the plain truth. As we believe in only *one* Logos (as being one distinct personality), so also would we, if Michael were *as* prince of angels the Logos, only look for *one* prince of angels, while Daniel refers to several.

That Michael occupied, in point of *nature* and *being*, the same place as the other princes of angels, appears still more clearly from a comparison of ch. x. 13, 21, with ch. xi. 1. *Michael* is the prince of *Israel* (x. 21), who standeth for the *people of Israel* (xii. 1). Another prince of angels, whose name is not mentioned, presides over the empires of the world. The latter informs Daniel (x. 13, 21) that none had held with him in the contest with the prince of the kingdom of Persia (probably an evil spirit), except Michael. But he also adds, that *he had stood to confirm and to strengthen Michael* (xi. 1). A statement like this can scarcely be reconciled with the notion that Michael was the Logos, or God manifest.

Thus far briefly; for a more full argumentation of the point, and the proofs that the Michael of the book of Daniel referred no more to the Logos than do passages such as Jude v. 6, and Rev. xii. 7 (despite the reasoning of *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. i., pp. 166 and following, and Comment. on Revel. i., pp. 611, &c.), we refer the reader to a later portion of our investigations.

The prophecies of Zechariah also make mention of the angel of the Lord. But even ch. i. 12 clearly shows that the prophet had regarded him as not only personally distinct from, but also as subordinate to, Jehovah—in fact, as a created being. The statement in Is. lxiii. 9 is based on Ex. xxiii. 32, 33, and must be explained in accordance with it, as the prophecies of Isaiah do not contain any passage which might appear decisive either as to one or the other mode of viewing the question. Mal. iii. 1, where Messiah is expressly called מַלְאָךְ הַבְּרִית, gives most countenance to the interpretation of *Hengstenberg*. But it is no more than a gratuitous assertion that the "angel of the covenant" and the "angel of the Lord" are the same. If Malachi had, by the term "Maleach of the covenant," meant the Maleach

Jehovah, he would have designated him by that title. The truth is, that this prophet, who (generally speaking) uses the term Maleach in its primary and proper meaning (= messenger, see chs. ii. 7, iii. 1), designates Messiah as the messenger and mediator of a new covenant, in contradistinction to the servant of the Lord (iii. 22), who was the mediator of the old covenant. Besides, if Maleach Jehovah meant the Logos, the emphasis of the expression would lie on the word *Jehovah* (not on Maleach), which gives it the peculiar and distinctive character attaching to it. But this very word is wanting in the expression used by the prophet, and instead of it another word is employed, which places the Maleach in the same category with Moses, who—it needs no proof—was also *a messenger* (or mediator) *of the covenant*.

We need not here discuss the appearances of the angel of Jehovah, recorded in the historical books, as they are quite analogous with that chronicled in Genesis, to which we shall by and by refer. But Ex. xxiii. 32, 33, has something peculiar about it, which renders special remarks necessary. According to Ex. xxiii. 20, an angel accompanies the people on its pilgrimage from Egypt. Him Jehovah designates (v. 23) as מַלְאָכִי, and of Him He says (v. 21), “*My name is in Him*” (שְׁמִי בְּתוֹכָו). Even the designation מַלְאָכִי shows beyond doubt that this angel is the same who, in patriarchal history, so frequently meets us as the Maleach Jehovah. This view is confirmed by Ex. xiv. 19, where he is expressly called מַלְאָךְ הָאֱלֹהִים. As in patriarchal history, so in Ex. xiii. 21, &c., his activity is designated as that of Jehovah. From this *Hengstenberg* infers that in both places the Logos is meant. But he supposes that Ex. xxxii. 33 refers to a different personage. According to him, God threatens the people, after their sin of worshipping the golden calf, that instead of the Logos, or uncreated, a subordinate and created angel was to be their guide (xxxii. 34), which punishment was afterwards withdrawn, in answer to Moses’ prayer (xxxiii. 15). But manifestly the passage does not refer to *two* angels. It is the same angel who, both before and after the intercession of Moses, is appointed to accompany the people. This appears, not only from the circumstance that, according to ch. xxxii. 2, the supposed inferior angel has exactly the same task assigned to him as that of the supposed higher angel in ch. xxiii. 13, but also from this, that in ch. xxxii. 34, Jehovah designates this supposed inferior angel as מַלְאָכִי, just as he did the supposed superior angel in ch. xxiii. 23. Besides, it cannot be doubted that the term מַלְאָכִי, as used by Jehovah, is equivalent to the מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה of the narrator. *Hengstenberg* endeavours to evade the force of this argument, by assuming (contrary to the express

statement of ch. xxxii. 33) that v. 34 contains, not the language of Jehovah, but of the Maleach Jehovah, and that the term Maleachi referred to the Maleach of the Maleach Jehovah. But this view is wholly arbitrary and unfounded, and necessitates an interpretation which *Hofmann* rightly designates as impossible (comp. Script. Demonstr., i., p. 156). The difficulty of the view, according to which, before the intercession of Moses, Jehovah is unwilling to go up Himself (xxxiii. 3), and hence is about to retract the שָׁמַיִ בְּקִרְבּוֹ, predicated of the angels in ch. xxiii. 21, lest He should be obliged, by the way, to destroy the stiff-necked people, while, in answer to the prayer of Moses, He again condescends to allow "His presence" to go with them (xxxiii. 14), in consequence of which the angel who accompanies them becomes again the מַלְאָךְ הַיְיָ (Is. lxiii. 9)—has been satisfactorily cleared up by *Baumgarten* (Theol. Comment., i. 2, p. 109).

We return now to the consideration of the Maleach Jehovah of patriarchal history. Above we have admitted that thence, and from the later historical books, the view advocated by *Hengstenberg* derived its chief support. Passages occur which, regarded irrespective of the general bearing of Scriptural teaching, and of the oriental modes of viewing, thinking, and speaking, appear to admit of only that peculiar explanation. But if we enter more particularly upon this subject, we will even there discover points which are scarcely, if at all, compatible with the above view.

Among these we reckon: (1.) The peculiar statements concerning the three angels who visited Abraham in the plain of Mamre (Gen. xviii. 19). It will be noticed that not only the angel who remains behind with Abraham represents Jehovah, but that the other two angels also (xix. 1) who went to Sodom are addressed by Lot, so soon as he recognises them to be heavenly visitors, by the title אֱלֹהִים (which peculiarly applies to God), and that this designation is not only given to one of them but to both (xix. 18), in phraseology similar to that of Abraham (xviii. 3) and of the writer of the whole narrative (xviii. 1). It would, then, appear that Lot had considered the appearance of the two angels as being a representative manifestation of God. Besides, the angels themselves, who in ver. 13 had expressly stated "*Jehovah* has sent us," personate the Lord in v. 21. In that passage the writer of the narrative introduces the two angels as one, and as Jehovah who manifested Himself in them (vv. 7, 21), just as Lot had addressed the two as if he spake only to one. We had formerly thought that the angel (*the Maleach Jehovah*) who had remained behind with Abraham, had, during the interval, again joined the other two angels.

But this view, although not open to the sarcastic objections of *Hofmann*, has no warrant in the text, and is hence arbitrary.—(2.) Several objections may be raised against the assertion that the angel of the Lord is a personality distinct from, but in being and nature identical with, Jehovah. In fact, both assertions are true. Sometimes he appears, both in personality and nature, as distinct from, at others as in both respects identical with, Jehovah. To say that whenever the Maleach Jehovah speaks of Jehovah as “*I*” he identifies himself with Jehovah, as to His nature but not as to His personality, is purely arbitrary. The same stricture applies to the assertion that whenever he speaks of Jehovah in the *third person*, he intends to indicate only a difference of personality, and not of nature also.—(3.) This change in the language, in the use of the pronouns “*I*” and “*He*,” employed alternately by the Maleach Jehovah, proves that they are not identical in nature, on which supposition we should always have had the pronoun “*I*.” But the promiscuous use of “*I*” and “*He*” quite agrees with our supposition that the Maleach Jehovah appeared identical with the Lord only when sustaining the character of His Representative.—(4.) If the writer of the narrative had known that so important a difference of nature obtained between the Maleach Jehovah and the other angels, he would certainly have only spoken of him either as Maleach Jehovah or else as Jehovah and not simply as an *angel*. But the latter is done not merely by Stephen in the New Testament (Acts vii. 38, and, according to the correct reading, also in v. 30), but even by Moses (Numb. xx. 16), and that in a passage in which it is impossible to gather from the context that this angel differed from others, and where yet it appears important for the argument to ascribe the guidance of Israel not to an ordinary angel merely.—(5.) Nor is it without significance in deciding this question that the Maleach Jehovah appears for the first time in the history of Hagar. If he were the Logos, the God-man who was about to become manifest, and if his peculiar appearance were a personal and real manifestation of the Lord Himself, resulting from the covenant of God with Abraham, we should have anticipated that He would not for the first time have appeared to an Egyptian handmaid, who, along with her seed, was to be excluded from the history of salvation, but rather as taking part in an event which directly and immediately subserved to the purposes of the covenant. Farther, as the events tending towards the incarnation of God commenced not with the calling of Abraham but immediately after the fall, may we not ask with *Hofmann*, why, from the commencement of the history of salvation, and not from the time of Abraham merely, the manifestations of God, in so far as

they bore on the preparing for the coming of Christ, were not related as appearances of the Maleach Jehovah?—(6.) Lastly, it is not and cannot be explained how the designation Maleach Jehovah should have been chosen to denote a personal and real appearance of God manifest. *Hofmann* is perfectly right in saying that by every rule of language the מַלְאֲכֵי יְהוָה means not the king himself, nor the מַלְאֲכֵי יְהוָה Jehovah Himself, but in each case of distinct and subordinate messenger of the king or of Jehovah; just as in Revel. i. 1 and xxii. 16 the “angel of Jesus” indicates not the Lord Himself but an angel sent by Him, and that although that angel speaks as if he were Jesus (comp. xxii. 6, 12: “Behold I come quickly and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be”).

We have yet to consider the grounds which, according to some writers, render it absolutely necessary to believe that the Maleach Jehovah was Himself a Divine person. These grounds may be summed up as follows: (1) The Maleach Jehovah expressly identifies Himself with Jehovah; (2) those to whom He appears own, designate, and worship Him as true God; (3) He accepts of sacrifices and prayers without protesting against such acts of worship; (4) Biblical writers frequently designate Him as Jehovah.

It has already been pointed out that all these facts are accounted for by the lively consciousness that Jehovah personally appears and speaks in this angel, and that the difficulties and the strangeness connected with the representative character of the Maleach owe their origin in our minds to our modern and occidental mode of viewing which deals chiefly in the abstract and renders it next to impossible to transport one's-self into the modes of viewing, thinking, and speaking of the ancients, and especially of orientals who dealt chiefly in the concrete. But to enter more fully into each of the above four points. AD. 1: We cannot deny that the prophets also frequently identify themselves with Jehovah. But—it is objected—in their case such is the exception, while in that of the Maleach Jehovah it is the rule; in their case it only takes place in moments of highest prophetic afflatus, in that of the angel always in ordinary circumstances. To this we reply: Such afflatus can only be expected to take place in human beings, not in an angel, and in Revel. xxii. 6, 12 he whom all own to have been merely an angel says, and that without being under any such influence: Ἰδοὺ, ἔρχομαι ταχύ &c. Besides, an angel always rejoices in fullness of communion with God, while the prophet only enjoys a temporary elevation beyond the bounds of self and of his nature. Nor is it quite proved that such a personification of another only takes place (either with prophets or men generally) in moments of fullest afflatus. *Delitzsch* has

cited some striking instances of such personifications, occurring in profane writers. Thus in the Iliad 18, 170 Iris, the messenger of Juno, speaks as if she were Juno herself: in the Iliad 4, 204, Talthymbios speaks as if himself had sent. Other instances in point, from prose and historical writings—especially of eastern authors—might no doubt be found. AD. 2: On this point secular historians afford numerous analogies. Comp. *Delitzsch* p. 253: "In Herodot. 1, 212 (ed. Gron.) Tomyris replies to the messenger of Cyrus as if he were Cyrus; similarly, in Herodot. 3, 14 Psammenit speaks to the messenger of Cambyses as if he were Cambyses; in Xenoph. Cyrop. 3, 3, 56 (ed. Zeune), Cyrus addresses the ambassador of Cyaxares as if he spoke to the latter personally. For other instances comp. Cyrop. 5, 4, 25; Anab. 1, 4, 16." AD. 3: We allow that it were high treason if one in the employment of a king claimed, or even accepted unsought, such rights and honours as only belong to the king himself. But it is not high treason if, in the name and by authority of the king, and as the representative of his person, he accepts for example the loyal acknowledgment of the subjects. Such in reality is not made to him, but to the king whose person he represents. Similarly also may an angel אֲשֶׁר שָׁם יְהוָה בְּקִרְבּוֹ (Ex. xxiii. 21) accept the sacrifices and the worship of those to whom he is sent as the personal representative of God, without being guilty of high treason against the Divine Majesty. AD. 4: If the writer felt convinced that in this His messenger Jehovah Himself had appeared, spoken, and acted, he might readily have given prominence to and made mention of the contents rather than the form of this manifestation, following in this the concrete modes of expression current in his time and among his people.

The above investigations lead to the same result as that which *Delitzsch* has presented in the following sentences (Gen. p. 256): "Jehovah presents Himself in the Maleach, but by the medium of a finite spirit, and hence in a manner which one who occupies a lower stage of communion with God could more readily bear. But let it also be borne in mind that God manifests Himself as a person in this personal, living, and finite spirit. Jehovah is not without, but in the angel—שָׁמַי בְּקִרְבּוֹ, i.e. he is the medium of God's revelation of Himself, for the name of Jehovah is the Lord bearing witness of Himself and thereby making Himself known. The relation between Jehovah and the Maleach Jehovah is, so to say, intermediate between taking the form of, and merely deputing an angel—it is less then the former and more then the latter; less then a 'unio personalis,' more then using a merely dynamic medium. It bears analogy to the presence of God in the prophets, but is only a type of, and preparation for, the presence of God in His incarnate Son. As the prophet so the

Maleach also has given up his whole being for the service of the God of Revelation, that the latter may speak and act through him. But the manifestation of God is much more transparent in an angel than in a prophet, inasmuch as the former is a purely spiritual and sinless being. In and through the angel it is indeed not the Deity exclusively who appears, but it approximates that result, as the angel wholly and passively surrenders himself an instrument to Divine activity, and transmits the rays of Divine glory unbroken and undarkened."

In conclusion we have to reply to two queries. First: Is the Maleach Jehovah one and the same personage throughout the whole history of salvation, or is he indeed a definite person chosen for every appearance, but not always one and the same personage? Philologically speaking, either of these views were admissible. For as מלאך is not the designation of a person but of an office, the מלאך יהוה need not always indicate one and the same person, but only *that* personage to whom the office pointed out in the *status constructus* is entrusted, viz., to represent the personal presence of Jehovah. This question, therefore, can only be answered by a study of the history of this subject. From Dan. x. 21 and xii. 1 we learn that among the angelic princes one, who bears the name of *Michael*, presides especially over Israel, being deputed by the Lord and employed by Him to watch over the history of the chosen race. But this angel manifestly occupies the position which the more ancient historical books had assigned to the Maleach Jehovah. We therefore agree with *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr. i. 33) in the opinion that *this* angel is specially meant whenever the Angel of Jehovah appears as engaged in some service particularly connected with the history of Abraham and his chosen seed. But this reasoning does not hold good in cases when an angel-representative of the Lord is sent to persons who are beyond the circle of the chosen seed, as for example to Hagar and to Lot.

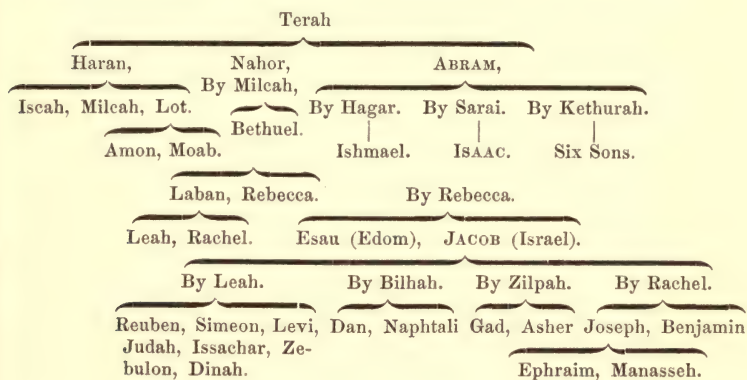
It may farther be asked whether this manifestation of God in the Maleach Jehovah was the only form of theophany in the Old Covenant, or whether the Lord had personally appeared in another manner than by the medium and through the representation of an angel, deputed for that purpose. *Hofmann* adopts the former view (Script. Demonstr. i. p. 331). He argues that, "as afterwards the two expressions יהוה נראה and מלאך יהוה are used promiscuously whenever manifestations of God are recorded, and evidently mean the same thing, we are not only warranted but bound to apply the inference derived from this to all manifestations of God." We cannot allow that this argument is conclusive, although we are inclined to regard every manifestation of God, made patent to waking and sensible consciousness

(as for example in Gen. xii. 7 and xvii. 1), as having taken place through the Maleach Jehovah. This suggestion we would support by the following reasons:—(1) Man has since the fall become so much estranged from his original communion with God that he is no longer able to bear an immediate manifestation of God. “We behold in a glass darkly” (1 Cor. xiii. 12). In the history of the patriarchs, the Maleach Jehovah, the vision, the dream, the symbol and the Word of God, whether as voice from heaven audible to the ear, or only as inward suggestion, represented these “mysterious (dark) glasses.” (2) Considering the important position assigned to the Maleach Jehovah in the whole history of the Old Covenant, it is probable that even the first visible manifestation of the Covenant-God (Gen. xii. 7;—according to Acts vii. 2, Gen. xii. 1 would also belong to this category) had taken place in a form which seems afterwards to have been so constantly adopted. (3) We conceive that the outward appearance of the Maleach Jehovah was like that of an ordinary man, as those who for the first time beheld him supposed him to be such (Gen. xvi. 8, xix. 2; Josh. v. 13; Judg. vi. 13, xiii. 6, 8, 15), and only afterwards perceived his heavenly origin. It is otherwise in the case of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 3. At the first view of his exalted guests he recognises and salutes Jehovah in them. This mode of manifestation seems, therefore, not to have been new to *him*; and the event recorded in Gen. xii. 7 was probably the occasion of his first becoming acquainted with it.

Since then the Maleach Jehovah is a created being in whom God makes His personal presence known to man, in a manner accessible to his senses, and through whom in accordance with His Covenant purposes He actively interposes in the events which were to prepare the way of salvation—what relation, we may ask, does this manifestation of God bear to the high point of all these manifestations, we mean, to the incarnation of God in Christ? In our opinion the Maleach Jehovah, viewing him as we have done above, was typical of the incarnation. The whole preparatory history of salvation points forward to the incarnation, and, from the first, God overruled and directed all things in such a manner that every event tended towards that great fact. The manifestation of God in the Maleach Jehovah was a testimony and an earnest of His purposes in that respect, and of their ripening. The history of salvation had indeed not as yet so far progressed in its development that God could become incarnate in a man, for *He* in whom alone this miracle of grace could take place had not yet come and could not yet come. But to manifest Himself in a transient, *i.e.* to some extent in an *illusory*, human form would not have been in

accordance with the solemn reality of the case. We conceive that any form which the Lord had called forth for the purpose of a momentary outward manifestation of Himself would, especially if the form so chosen had been that of a *personal* creature, have been real, and hence also permanent. It was on this ground, we venture to suggest, that God chose for the purpose of manifesting Himself an individual from among the holy angels. The Maleach Jehovah is a type of the incarnation of God. But it is not God Himself who immediately takes human form; *the angel* in whom He appears takes the form of a man, and he can readily do this, because he has already a corporeal form which is either in itself analogous to that of man, or at least can readily accommodate itself to it.

NOTE.—For the better understanding of the history of this period, we prefix to it a genealogical table of the family-connections to which it refers.



FIRST CYCLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY.

ABRAHAM.

CALLING AND PILGRIMAGE OF ABRAHAM.

§ 51. (Gen. xii. 1—9.)—The Lord chose Abram, the son of Terah—according to the genealogy handed down to us, the tenth in the series of patriarchs since the flood—to commence with him a new stage in the development of salvation (1.) His *calling* took place when he was in the seventy-fifth year of his age (2.) It involved a forsaking of what was behind, and a seeking after something new. It consisted in a *call* to leave his country and kindred, to sever those ties which bound one that was childless to his people and family (3); and in a *promise* that instead of his former home, shared by those whom he was now to leave, he would find a new home, which would belong to him alone, and that instead of those advantages which a connection with the collateral branches of his family held out, *himself* should become a great nation, and that *from him* blessings and salvation should issue *to all nations* (4.) In every relation *grace* was to take the place of *nature*, as the *covenant* into which his calling introduced him was entirely *one of grace*. Abram was not to expect anything from nature, but everything from grace. This Divine *promise* called forth his *faith*, the Divine *command* his obedience: he believed, renounced, and obeyed. With his wife *Sarai*, and accompanied by *Lot*, his sister's son (5), he goes forth without knowing his destination. In the "plain" of *Moreh*, near Sychem, he is informed that he has now reached the end of his journey. Jehovah appeared unto him, and said, "Unto thy seed will I give *this* land." Abram then consecrates the place where Jehovah had appeared to him, by building an altar. After that he pitched his tent on a mountain between Hai and

Bethel. There also he built an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord (6).

(1.) The *separation* and *exclusion* which the calling of Abraham and of his seed implied, was necessary, and prepared the way for a dispensation *which was to embrace all nations*. God had indeed conferred a high distinction; but to enjoy it, the world and self had to be renounced, while all along the chosen people were subjected to a discipline and training, and visited by punishments and judgments, such as no other people required. Together with the distinction so vouchsafed, a yoke was laid on the chosen people which every other nation would have felt intolerable. Besides, it required a disposition of character which is not readily found. It must also be remembered that God chose in Abram a people which as yet did not exist, and which He was to call into being by His almighty power, *παρὰ φύσιν*, from a sterile body which was as good as dead.

(2.) It has always been matter of dispute whether the calling and journey of Abram had taken place during the lifetime or after the death of Terah. If the latter had been the case, Abram must have been born in the 130th year of Terah. The statement (ch. xi. 26) "Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran," must then be understood as meaning that Haran (the oldest of the three) was born when Terah was seventy years old, but that sixty years elapsed between his birth and that of Abram, the youngest son. But in our view the statement in ch. xi. 26 (as that in ch. v. 32) is intended to furnish a chronological datum, and refers to Abram (who is first named among the three sons), in whose history the chronological thread is continued. This passage leaved it therefore undecided which of the three sons was the oldest. But as Terah died at the age of 205 years (xi. 32), and Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed, the latter event must have taken place in the 130th year of Terah, or sixty years before his death. Despite these indubitable data, the departure of Abram has generally been supposed to have taken place in the year when Terah died, because, misunderstanding the historical style adopted in Genesis, it has been assumed that Abram left after the death of Terah, inasmuch as the latter event was recorded before the former. Hence the *Samaritan* version alters, in xi. 32, the age of Terah from 205 to 145 years, while in Acts vii. 4, Stephen expressly states that Abraham had departed *after* the death of his father. But the arbitrary alteration of the Samaritan text deserves no more credit in this than in other instances, while the statement of Stephen can only be regarded as indicating what, at the time, was the view current among the Jews. Many

chronologists and interpreters, however (such as *Usher*, *Frank*, &c.), have deemed themselves bound to submit to the authority of Stephen. Some have attempted, though in vain, to reconcile the two views above mentioned. In general, comp. *Kanne*, *Bibl. Researches*, i., p. 8; *Ranke*, *Investig.* i., p. 198; *Tiele*, *Chronol.* p. 28; *Reinke*, *Contrib. to the Explanation of the Old Test.*, Münster, 1851, p. 86, and others. According to the chronological data of the text, the calling of Abram took place when Terah was 145 years old, or in the year of the world 2021, and 365 after the flood.

(3.) The COMMANDMENT of *Jehorah*—"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee," imports both something objective and something subjective. The Divine interference with (the negation of) the attempts at ungodly (because godless) human development, which commenced with the confusion of tongues and the scattering of the nations, became complete when Abram was singled out. In the former case, the separation was forced, in the latter it was voluntary; in the former case, it was merely the act of God, in the latter that of God and of man. In the former case, God had merely interfered to prevent; in this, we perceive more than mere interference—a *positive* purpose. There God interfered in *judgment*; here *grace* is manifestly the final purpose of the judgment. He judges in order to bless; He separates in order to unite. A new order of things was to commence with Abram. He had therefore to forsake what was behind, to be separated from his kindred and people, else he would have remained only a member in the old chain, the chief of one of the common nomadic tribes; even irrespective of the fact that to retain his former connection would have involved imminent peril, as idolatry had made rapid strides among those by whom he was surrounded. (*Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.*) Had he remained with his kindred, the peculiar religious and political development of his descendants would have been impeded and retarded; sooner or later he or his posterity would have been lured back, and their national life sprung up and grown on the soil of nature and heathenism. Again, viewed subjectively, the call of Abram implied a trial and confirmation of his obedience of faith, by exacting renunciation and self-denial, hoping and waiting. These were to become the distinctive characteristics in the popular and national life of the covenant people, and hence were also typically brought into the fore-ground as the characteristics of their ancestor.

(4.) Abraham obtained this PROMISE (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Christol.*, i., p. 53; *Sack*, *Apologet.*, 2d ed., p. 267; *Hofmann*, *Predict.* i., p. 97)—"*I will make of thee a great nation, and*

I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that cursed thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." In this promise the blessing first given to *Shem*, in Gen. ix. 26, 27 (comp. § 28), is again taken up, continued, and more fully unfolded. In the promise, "Unto thy seed will I give this land," the sentence of bondage, to which Canaan had been condemned, is implied, and again confirmed, but this time only in so far as it was a blessing to Abram, and not as a curse upon Canaan. Similarly is the promise that Japheth was to find Jehovah and His salvation in the tents of Shem again taken up in the words—"In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed," only that it is no longer restricted to the descendants of Japheth, but extended to all the nations who do not refuse the blessing coming from the seed of Abraham. That which gives its emphasis to this blessing is, that at the time Abram was childless, and his wife barren. The glorious fulness which is treasured up in this blessing rests upon a physical impossibility. Only a miracle of almighty power can bring a numerous progeny from the dead womb of Sarai. This very circumstance elevates the whole development above the sphere of mere nature, and transports it into that of grace. The promise starts at a point where the isolation is most marked, and it advances till it reaches a point where it embraces all. Blessing and salvation are to extend from chosen and blessed Abram to all mankind. This prediction contains both the foundation and the aim, the commencement and the close of the new history which commenced with him. But the blessings which are to extend through Abram to all nations cannot be other than those which had been first vouchsafed to Abram and his seed, viz., the knowledge, fellowship, and love of the one true God, and all those benefits of salvation which flow from this source. If it is asked whether this prediction was *Messianic*, we answer—if by that expression (as its terms, strictly speaking, bear) only such predictions are meant which imply consciousness of a future, *personal* Messiah—*No*. On the other hand, we answer the question *affirmatively*, if every reference to the great salvation is designated as *Messianic*, even where the knowledge of a personal Saviour was wanting. For nothing is more certain than that this prediction does not as yet contain any hint which might have called such knowledge into existence. The seed of Abraham, *i.e.*, the people which descended from Abraham, in its totality and unity, is to be the medium of salvation. The hypothesis of *Hengstenberg* (l. c., p. 57), who admits this, but suggests as more than probable that Abram had obtained another revelation, not recorded in the text, and in which what in this blessing remained

indefinite was clearly explained, is not only entirely groundless, but even inadmissible. As yet the hope of the patriarchs of a coming salvation was dependent on their expectation that from the one ancestor a great nation was to spring. Only after this hope had become a reality could the expectation of salvation, which had depended upon this, concentrate itself, and rise into waiting for a personal Messiah. For a more full argumentation on this subject, we refer the reader to § 94, 3. If from the close relationship in which Abram stood to God (Gen. xviii. 17), we were to suppose a deeper insight on his part, we might as well infer that he had been Divinely instructed in all religious mysteries. The saying of the Lord (John viii. 56), "Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad," must be taken as uttered in the fulness of New Testament consciousness. What had been promised to Abram, filled his heart with joy and longing; and Christ designates as *his day* the period when the promise which Abram had seen in spirit and realised by faith, was fulfilled. *Delitzsch*, who takes the same view, aptly remarks, p. 261;—"The salvation of Jehovah is to be brought about by the medium of Abraham! Thus far has the promise of salvation been unfolded. Already it points to the union of Divinity with humanity; but its human aspect is as yet indefinite, and points to a זרע, an expression which might either apply to a race or to a person. The real basis of the promise is still found only in its Divine aspect, according to which Jehovah is to make use of the seed of Abraham, in order to bring about the salvation of man. As yet it is not revealed that Himself is to become incarnate, and to take upon Him the seed of Abraham." This second promise, then, rests on the same foundation of indefinite generality as the first in Gen. iii. 15. But already distinct progress has been made in the transition from the one to the other. In the former case, the promised salvation was described as coming through the human family generally; in this it is limited to the seed of Abraham. In the former case, only an assurance was conveyed that destruction would be averted; in this, positive blessings are already held out.

It is a thorough misunderstanding on the part of *W. Reuter* (in *H. Reuter's* Repertor. for 1846, p. 122), when he says that "if the New Testament commandment, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you,' &c., really proceeded from Divine revelation, the promise of Jehovah, 'Him that curseth thee I will curse,' &c., cannot be regarded as in the same manner revealed." The two statements cannot be held side by side with each other. It is not that here, as in many other places (for example, in 2 Kings i. 10, as comp. with Luke ix. 54, &c.), we have to bear in mind that the stand-point of the Old was different

from that of the New Testament, but that in the one case it is *God* who speaks as the just and holy judge and avenger, in the other it is *man* who is addressed, as a sinner who requires grace and pardon, and who having obtained pardon and grace, should again unconditionally forgive and love even those that had offended against him. There is no analogy in this respect between the conduct of God and that of man, either in the Old or in the New Testament. In the latter, it is written as distinctly (Heb. x. 30) as in the Old Testament (Deut. xxxii. 35, &c.), "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," and one and the same rule must always apply to the dealings of the great Judge, viz., "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Besides, Abraham is here not viewed as an individual, but as the representative of the chosen race, and as the medium by which the great salvation was to be developed. Hence those who cursed Abraham were not his personal enemies, but rather those who opposed and disturbed the Divine plan; in Abraham and in his seed they hated, not the person, but the calling and the place which God had assigned to it in reference to other nations. The curse of God therefore implies his retributive justice, manifested in the *history of the world*, by which the curse which the nations and kingdoms of the world would bring upon the chosen race is thrown back upon themselves. The whole history of Israel, and of its collisions with other nations, shows that God was in earnest in pronouncing this curse, and that it was literally fulfilled. One after the other, the Egyptians, the Amalekites, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Syrians, and the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans have fallen under this curse. But let it not be thought that such threatenings and denunciations would, in Abraham and his posterity, have excited hatred or resentment towards the heathen. The opposite of this is the case. For when God says, "Vengeance is mine," He clearly intimates that its execution was not to be left to Abraham; and when He adds, "in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," He plainly indicates that theirs it was to bless and not to curse.

(5.) God had not intended that LOT SHOULD JOIN *Abraham on his journey*. This is sufficiently manifest from his later history. But God allowed it, probably from condescension to Abraham's attachment to his family.

(6) We add some explanations as to the localities to which we have referred in the text. The pilgrims passed through the plain of Jezreel, which, so to speak, formed a large gateway into the land (§ 40, 2), and then turned to the mountains of Ephraim. SYCHEM (the present Nablus) lies in the beautiful and fruitful valley which divides Mounts Ebal and Gerizim; to the south,

the broad plain of el-Mūkhnā joins this valley. The name which it still bears ("place of encampment"), reminds us of the time when the patriarchs passed through it. *Robinson*, who entered the valley of Sychem through Mūkhnā, describes it as one of the most attractive portions of Palestine. "All at once (he writes, vol. ii. p. 175) the ground sinks down to a valley running towards the west, with a soil of rich black vegetable mould. Here a scene of luxuriant and almost unparalleled verdure bursts upon our view. The whole valley was filled with gardens of vegetables and orchards of all kinds of fruits, watered by several fountains, which burst forth in various parts and flow westward in refreshing streams. It came upon us suddenly, like a scene of fairy enchantment. We saw nothing to compare with it in all Palestine." *Such* then must have been the first view which Abraham got of the land of promise. The plain (or rather the wood) of *Moreh*, where Abraham settled, probably derived its name from the Canaanitish proprietor of that district. Abram journeyed southwards for the sake of pasturage. The town of BETHEL was originally called *Luz* (Judg. i. 23; Josh. xviii. 13), and here only bears the former name "*per prolepsin*." According to *Robinson* the ruins beside the little village of Makhrûn, which by the people are called Beitin, are the remains of ancient Bethel. They lie five geographical miles to the south of Sychem, two geographical miles north of Jerusalem, and at the entrance of a valley which debouches into Wady Kelt (compare § 40, 4, *Robinson* vol. i. p. 448 and 449). The agreement both of situation and of name affords decisive confirmation that Beitin is the ancient Bethel. The Arabic termination *in* for the Hebrew *el* is not an unusual change. Latterly this view has been quite established by the discovery of the ancient *Ai*. *Robinson* vainly sought to discover traces of *Ai*, which, according to Joshua vii. 2, viii. 1, lay on the east of Bethel, and not far from it. But he supposes it probable that this city is represented by a ruin half-an-hour to the south-east of Beitin, and near the village Deir Duwân (vol. i. pp. 443 and 575). But *Krafft* and *Strauss* (compare *Krafft*, Topogr. of Jerus. p. 9, and *Strauss*, Sinai and Golgatha, 2d ed., p. 365) discovered about an hour to the east of Jeba (the Geba of Saul), and hence about two hours to the east of Beitin, some ruins upon a height, overhanging Wady es-Suweinit, which bear among the Arabs the name Medinet-Chai, and which they identify with the ancient *Ai*. *Strauss* describes them as follows. "The mountain on which Gibeah is built descends on the eastern side of the town, and runs into a plain which stretches eastward. Following it, we reached in half-an-hour a hill-like elevation, where we discovered the ruins of Medinet-Chai, or *Ai*. They consist of a considerable quantity of ruins, surrounded by a

circular wall, and the place is further protected by the precipitous rocks which form the sides of the valley of Farah to the south, and of the valley of Suweinit to the north (which join half-an-hour farther east)." We shall by and by see how well this description tallies with the statements of the Old Testament, especially with the account of the expedition of Joshua against Ai. With such testimonies in its favour, the hypothesis of *Thenius* (in *Kauffer's* *Bibl. Stud.* II, p. 129, to which *Keil*, *Comm.* on the Book of Kings, p. 325, and on the Book of Joshua, p. 112, has also adhered), who identifies Bethel with the little village Sinjil, to the south-west of Seilun, and Ai with the village of 'Turmus 'Aya (*Robinson* ii. p. 267), not far to the east of Sinjil, cannot bear investigation. It is indeed true that some weight attaches to his reasoning against the identity of Beitin and Bethel, but his arguments are not so strong as to set aside the similarity of the names. Still less important is the suggestion of *Gross* (in *Tholuck's* *Anz.* 1846, No. 54), who, admitting the identity of Beitin and Bethel, finds Ai in the village Taiyibeh, about half an hour to the north-east of Beitin.

ABRAM IN EGYPT.

§ 52. (Gen. xii. 10, &c.)—But soon the joy of Abram, occasioned by the beauty of the land which he had entered, and the possession of which had been promised to his seed, gives place to sorrow. A new and a heavy trial awaits him. The country which had been assigned to him in room of all he had surrendered, is visited with famine, and he and his numerous dependants can no longer find sustenance in it. To avoid the impending danger, he leaves the land of promise, and, without waiting for direction from on high, journeys into fertile Egypt, to the borders of which he had approached during his nomadic migrations through the land of promise. Thus he escapes indeed the trial which God had prepared for him, but he rushes into an ordeal much more trying and severe. He is in danger of not only losing the land of promise, which himself had now given up, but also the other and much more important part of the blessing, the promised seed. As he could not but fear that the beauty of his wife might become a source of danger to him among the voluptuous Egyptians (2), he passes her off as his sister, deeming it sufficient excuse that she was in reality a half sister (ch. xx. 12) (2.) In

point of fact her beauty attracted the attention of Pharaoh's princes, and, contrary to Abram's expectation, she is sent for to Pharaoh's harem, while numerous presents which would be of value to a nomadic chief are given to her supposed brother. But unlike Abram, *Jehovah* does not surrender her who was to be the mother of the promised seed. He visited Pharaoh and his house with great plagues. Thus the attention of the king was aroused, and by and by he ascertained the true state of the case. He addressed to Abram reproaches not wholly undeserved, although they scarcely excuse his own conduct, and returned to the Patriarch his wife without having touched her (3.) Conveyed by a royal guard of honour, Abram returns to Palestine.

(1.) Some have taken exception to the *historical character* of this narrative, on account of the *age of Sarai* (which must have been between sixty-five and seventy years). But we must remember that at that time a man's life commonly lasted twice as long as at present. Besides a noble nomadic princess, such as Sarai, must have led a life free from all trouble and anxiety, while the beneficial influence of continual exposure to fresh air must have contributed to preserve her health and beauty. Nor can we wonder that Sarai seemed to the Egyptians of rare beauty as compared with their own women, who, from all accounts, ancient and modern, are commonly sunburnt and inattractive.

(2.) ON ABRAM'S CONDUCT IN EGYPT, compare the essay by *Hengstenberg* on the unholiness of holy persons, in his *Contrib.* vol. iii. p. 526. We have first to consider what Abram could gain by pretending that Sarai was merely his sister. If she had been introduced as his wife, any one who wished to possess her could only attain this by violence, which would have *greatly endangered* the life of Abram. But if she passed for his sister, it seemed probable that overtures would be made, and thus time, in this case the one thing requisite, gained. Besides, he probably hoped that *Jehovah*, who had destined his wife to be the mother of the promised seed, would vindicate the honour of his promise. With regard to the moral character of Abram's evasion, Jews and Christians have emulated each other in attempts to remove every slur from the "friend of God". Even *Luther* was so much under the influence of this traditional prejudice that he supposed that Abram "had conceived this purpose in the exercise of a very strong faith, and by inspiration of the Holy Spirit" (Ed. of Walch i. p. 1188). *Hirsch* (in his *Rel. Phil. of the Jews*, p. 486) has suggested that a *divorce* had been agreed upon in case the worst should happen, that thus all possibility of criminality had been

avoided, and that the character of Abram appeared in this very transaction in the brightest light. The same writer further supposes that, in taking his wife from him, God had subjected Abram to a trial similar to that when afterwards He took his son from him. *Calvin*, in his Comm. on Gen. xx. 12, was the first impartially to view the transaction, and the majority of Reformed and Lutheran theologians have since followed in his steps. Comp. for example *Heidegger* Hist. Patr. ii. p. 149, *Rambach* Eccl. Hist. of the Old Test. i. p. 273. It is no excuse under the circumstances to say that in some sense Sarai was really the sister of Abram (being either the daughter of Terah by another mother, or what is not improbable, the daughter of Haran). The defence set up by *Augustine* (c. Faust. 22, 3): “indicavit sororem, non negavit uxorem; tacuit aliquid veri, non dicit aliquid falsi”¹—misses the point in question. However, we may conclude that at that stage in the history of revelation, the moral consciousness was by no means so clear and settled as now, and hence we must judge of the conduct of Abram with charity. Despite the weakness manifest in this virtual denial of his wife, we may suppose that Abram’s faith had come out even here, and that the prayer, “Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief,” had, so to say, embodied itself in his conduct. *Delitzsch* is right in observing that this account is given not to cast blame upon Abram, but to reflect honour on Jehovah, and *Hengstenberg* also is warranted in stating that the object of the writer was not to honour Abram, but Jehovah.

It is well known that the name פֶּרֶעֱה, LXX. Φαραώ, Arab. فِرْعَوْن, is the common official name of all the Kings of Egypt in the Old Testament. *Rosellini* and *Lepsius* suppose that it is the ancient Egyptian word Φ—PH, i.e. the sun, used to indicate the royal dignity. But *Gesenius* Thes. 1129 and *E. Meier* (Dict. of Roots, p. 703) retain the former derivation of the word (Joseph. Ant. 8, 6, 2) from the Coptic ουρο (or with the masculine article πουρο), i.e. King. The chronology of ancient Egyptian history is so uncertain that it is impossible to fix upon either the dynasty or the place of residence of this King at the time of Abram. But it is both important and remarkable that we do not at this period observe any trace of the prejudices entertained at a later period in Egypt, when nomadic shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians. This fact affords decisive testimony in favour of the antiquity and of the historical character of this narrative.

(3.) All suppositions as to the kind of PLAGUES which God

¹ He pointed her out as his sister, but did not deny that she was his wife. He withheld part of the truth, but said nothing that was false.

sent upon Pharaoh and his household are entirely destitute of foundation. Even the analogy of Gen. xx. vv. 6 and 17 is uncertain, although it is probable that the plagues were of such a nature as to point to their true cause. If, in accordance with the religious views of antiquity, Pharaoh regarded these plagues as a *Divine* judgment, he or his magicians and soothsayers must readily have traced them to Sarai, who had at any rate been violently and unjustly taken from the house of Abram. Under the circumstances it would be easy to learn the true state of the case, either from Sarai herself or from the servants of Abram. As Pharaoh had destined Sarai—the supposed sister of a nomadic chief—to be not merely his concubine but his *wife* (v. 19), both custom and law demanded that sometime should elapse ere the union could be completed—compare Esther ii. v. 12.

(4.) Following the indication in Psalm cv. vv. 8 to 15, *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. p. 532) infers that this fact shews that “the Providence of God watches over His elect, that he delivers him from difficulties into which his own sin had led him, and from which merely human wisdom could never have found an escape. While Abram in his carnal wisdom does all that lieth in him to annul the promise, God preserves it through the chastity of her who was to become the mother of the chosen race; and the most powerful King of that time has to bow before Abram, who yet is apparently utterly helpless and defenceless. Pharaoh must restore to the Patriarch what he had unjustly taken away.” But the circumstance that this took place in Egypt, the *country bordering* on the land of promise, and which held out the temptation of riches, of worldly culture and wisdom, thus forming a type of the kingdoms of this world in their power and glory, gives to this event a peculiar import. Indeed, all throughout, Egypt was to the chosen race, as it were, like the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. As in Abram we trace the germ of the later developments of his posterity, so does his life form a type of the relationship into which his descendants stood towards Egypt. The same wants brought him and them to Egypt, the same danger threatens them, and the same mighty arm delivers and brings them back, enriched with the precious things of that country.

ABRAM AND LOT. MELCHISEDEC.

§ 53. (Gen. xiii.)—Abram returns to Canaan with his flocks increased, and again settles in his former place of residence, between Bethel and Ai, where once more he formally worships Jehovah. Hitherto Lot had accompanied him in all his journeys.

But this communion had its origin in the *old* development, and hence as gradually the *new* development appeared it was to be dissolved, as improper and contrary to the Divine intention towards His elect. Abram was unconscious of this circumstance, but in the Providence of God His purposes are realised by means of certain occurrences. The pasturage which the Canaanites had left did not afford sufficient room for the flocks of Abram and of Lot. Disputes arose between their shepherds, and ultimately led to a peaceable separation. Abram, who was already accustomed to exercise self-denial, left the choice to Lot. The latter following the suggestions of his self-interest, which as frequently so here also was made subservient to the plans of God, chose the neighbourhood of Jordan which lay beyond the boundaries allotted to the seed of Abram, a country well watered everywhere as the garden of the Lord. He took up his abode at Sodom (1), without being deterred by the corruption of the place, which already called to heaven for vengeance. Abram, now left alone with his God, obtains again a more full and definite promise (2) of the land. He journeys through it in the length and in the breadth of it, and at last settles *in the plain of Mamre* (the wood of Mamre) where he built an altar unto the Lord.

(1.) On the situation and the natural features of the district chosen by Lot, comp. § 39, 6 and § 61, 2.

(2.) The PROMISE of *the land* to Abram and to his seed becomes more full, being assigned to him for an eternal possession *עַד עוֹלָם*. With reference to his *seed* it is now promised that it shall become like dust of the earth in number. On the expression *עַד עוֹלָם* *M. Baumgarten* remarks: "Only that is eternal which rests upon an intrinsic necessity. . . . Hence the words indicate that Abram and his seed should obtain possession of the land in virtue of such a necessity on which implicit reliance could be placed. The bond therefore between the people and the land of promise could not be broken by any power from without." We add that this bond still continues, even though Israel has been banished for seventy and again for 1800 years from the land of its inheritance. As the body is adapted and destined for the soul and the soul for the body, so is Israel for that country and that country for Israel. Without Israel the land is like a body from which the soul has fled; banished from its country, Israel is like a ghost which cannot find rest.

(3.) The wood of MAMRE derived its name from the Amorite

princes of the neighbourhood.—Vide chap. xiv. 13. *Hebron* is one of the oldest cities of the world, having been built seven years before Zoan (Tanis), the ancient capital of Egypt (Numb. xiii. 23). In Abram's time it also bore the name of the *city of Mamre* from its possessor (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27). Afterwards when the *Enakim* took the city, it was called the city of *Arba*, after their prince. But the original name of Hebron came again into use when, at the time of Joshua, the Israelities retook it from the *Enakim*. Comp. Numb. xiii. 23; Josh. xv. 13 and 14; *Kanne* Invest. i. p. 102; *Hävernicks* Introd. i. 2 p. 306; *Hengstenberg* Contrib. iii. p. 187; *Wette* Post-Mos. p. 166. The present name of Hebron, el-Khulil (*i.e.* the friend), was given in honour of Abram, whom the Arabs call "the *friend of God*," a title which he bears in Scripture also (2 Chron. xx. 7; Isaiah xli. 8; James ii. 23). For a history of the town comp. *Robinson* ii. p. 73 to 94, and *Preiswerk* in the "Orient" for 1840, p. 33; compare also especially *K. Ritter* xvi. i, pp. 209 to 260. The neighbourhood of Hebron presents some of the finest scenery in Palestine. *Schubert* (ii. p. 463) observes: "The neighbourhood of this city resembles an extensive and fertile olive-grove; the declivity of the hills and the valley present the richest verdure and gardens which, in the direction of Jerusalem, are intersected by beautiful vineyards."

§ 54. (Gen. xiv. 1—16.)—Lot imagined that he had chosen an excellent place of residence, but his mistake soon became manifest. The kings of the five cities in the lower valley of the Jordan (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, which is Zoar) where Lot had settled, had for twelve years been tributaries of Chedorlaomer, the powerful king of Elam (Elymais in the Persian Gulf). In the thirteenth year they revolted, assisted by three other (vassal) kings. Chedorlaomer marched against them, made an incursion into the valley of Jordan, everywhere carrying fire and sword, defeated the rebels, and took rich spoil and many captives—among them Lot himself. One that had escaped told this to Abram, who immediately armed three hundred and eighteen trained servants born in his own house, and, being joined by his neighbour Mamre, and his brothers Eshcol and Aner, he followed the victorious army in its march northwards, surprised it during the night, smote it (2), pursued the fugitives unto Damascus, and brought back all the captives, together with immense spoil (3).

(1.) For the political motives, from the peculiar position of the five cities, which had induced Chedorlaomer to war against them, and for geographical details of the expedition described in the text, compare the excellent paper of *Tuch* (notes to Gen. xiv.), in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

(2.) Abram overtook the enemy near DAN—not the same as the town of Laish or Leshem, which only obtained the name of Dan during the time of the Judges (Josh. xix. 47; Judges xviii. 29). Probably it lay in the north of Palestine, and was the same which in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 is called Dan Jaan. Comp. *Hüvernick* Introd. i. 2 p. 310; *Hengstenberg* Contrib. iii. p. 192; and *Wette* Post-Mos. p. 166. Any objections as to the improbability that so small a band could be victorious over the army of the allied kings have been satisfactorily answered by *Schleyer* (Remarks on the prophecies of the Old Test. p. 285). The success was principally due to the faith of Abram, and to the assistance of God. At the same time we must not forget that the reinforcements of his neighbours may probably have increased the army of Abram to a thousand men, while it is erroneous to suppose that the army of Chedorlaomer which was only intended for a foray, would be very considerable. Besides, we have to keep in mind that the enemy thought himself perfectly secure, was suddenly overtaken during a dark night by the army of Abram, who evidently came upon them from different directions (v. 15), and that confusion and panic must have ensued. Abram's host was also swelled by many who had escaped from the cities of the plain, and, during the contest, those who had been led away captives must have joined their deliverers.

(3.) *Ewald* (Hist. i. p. 353) speaks in enthusiastic language of this account, and supposes that it constitutes the only record handed down from the time of the Patriarchs which bears a strictly historical and entirely reliable character. "All at once we descey a *totally different mode of viewing history*, and gain the most clear perception of what had really taken place. . . . Nothing therefore is left us but to be thankful for the rare fortune by which this unique piece has been preserved. For if any one were inclined, with this piece before him, to doubt the real existence of Abram and Lot, or the historical greatness of the former, he could scarcely be supposed to have commenced the study of the marks by which any really historical circumstance can be recognised." Although, from the peculiar views which have brought upon our author this sudden fit of enthusiasm, we cannot quite share it, we are grateful for the testimony which it embodies in opposition to the critical absurdities of those who would entirely deny the existence of Abram, and trace his name to Brama, and that of Sarai to

Sarasvati (*Bohlen* Gen. p. 195; *Hitzig* Ps. ii. p. 42; *Vatke* Relig. of Old Test. i. p. 689; comp. against it also *E. Meyer* Dict. of Heb. Roots p. 282). *Bertheau* i. p. 216 also thinks that "the position of this narrative in the book of Genesis, its peculiar contents, and the whole character of the account, shew that it was a fragment from a larger historical work written for a *totally different purpose from that of the book of Genesis*, and indicate a very accurate knowledge of antiquity." According to *Tuch* also, "Gen. xiv. is beyond doubt a very ancient document, of genuine historical value." In opposition to such testimonies from his own friends, the false criticism of *Hitzig* (Ps. ii. p. 176), who declares that this account is a pure invention intended to imitate the campaign of Sennacherib, appears quite untenable. This kind of criticism may safely be left to refute itself (comp. also *Bertheau* p. 217, note). It is otherwise with the statement of *Ewald* and *Bertheau*, who think that the style and mode of thinking in this chapter is totally different from the plan and purposes pursued in the book of Genesis. We admit that Genesis xiv. embodies a document which had existed before the composition of Genesis, but we also maintain that it was inserted by the writer of Genesis because it tallied with the purposes and the plan of his work. Wherein, may we ask, consist these elements which are supposed to be so different from the plan of Genesis? *Bertheau* states that the book of Genesis was not intended to record the *martial achievements* of Abram, and that therefore the narrative under consideration was, by way of exception, loosely inserted. But it is *not* the case that the narrative is either *loose or unconnected*. On the contrary it presupposes what precedes it (for it is one of its purposes to shew that Lot's selfish choice had borne bitter fruit), and it is necessary in order to explain what follows, for it accounts for the circumstance that in the following chapter Jehovah encourages and comforts Abram. Nor can we admit that this narrative *forms an exception*, as it is quite possible that this may have been the only martial achievement of Abram. Equally incorrect is it to suppose that the main purpose of the narrative had been to recall the martial glory which Abram had gained, or his disinterested attachment to his relatives. All these were only secondary, not primary objects in view. It is indeed true that affection for Lot may have been the *motive*, and his deliverance from captivity the *object* of Abram's expedition. But both this and his victory had a higher meaning when viewed *objectively* and in their bearing upon history. It is not the purpose of the narrative to exalt *Abram*, but to shew the wonderful *leadings of God* towards his elect, by which everything is brought into immediate relation with the Divine plan.

Abram is intended to become the possessor of the country; it is therefore his province to protect the land or to deliver its inhabitants from all violence on the part of enemies, while God, who has chosen him to be the possessor of the land, gives him the victory. His success presents him to the inhabitants in the light of one who brings protection and blessing on the country, while in his own mind it must have appeared as an earnest that the *promised* possession of the land was as secure to him as its future *actual* possession, and that he was even already called to be its possessor and protector.

§ 55. (Gen. xiv. 17.)—On his return, Bera, king of Sodom, went to meet Abram as far as the *Kings' valley* to the north of *Salem*, where the roads to Hebron and Sodom diverge (1.) *Melchisedec*, king of Salem, and a priest of the *Most High God*, also came to salute the victor, and, in his function of priest, entertained him with bread and wine, and blessed him in the name of the Most High God, who had given him the victory. And Abram gave him tithes of all the spoils he had taken (2.) Bera offered him the goods re-taken from the enemy in reward for his assistance, but Abram swore by the Most High God that he would not take from a thread to a shoe-latchet. Not the king of Sodom, but Jehovah had called and blessed him, and *He* would also enrich him. At the same time he claimed for his *allies* the portion which by right was theirs.

(1.) SALEM is the ancient name for what afterwards became the capital of the Jewish commonwealth. *Jerusalem* (according to *Hengstenberg* Ps. iii. p. 331 = יְרוּשָׁלַם, the peaceful possession, while *Hofmann*, *Predict.* i. p. 102, derives it from יְרֵחַ and שָׁלֵם, and interprets it as *αἰσμα ἐλπίης*, from a comparison of the meaning of יְרֵחַ in Genesis xxxi. 51, and the name יְרוּשָׁלַם, 2 Chron. xx. 16) is either an enlargement of the name Salem, or the latter is an abbreviated form of Jerusalem. Psalm lxxvi. 3, where Salem is certainly the same as Jerusalem, points to this inference, which is borne out by the later Jewish tradition in Onkelos and Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 10, 2). Another confirmation is derived from the name Adonizedec = Melchisedec (Josh. x. 3), which the king of the Jebusites bore, as had been the custom of all the rulers of that city. The place also where Abram met with Melchisedec—the Kings' valley—points to Jerusalem. For, when in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 we read that Absalom erected a monument for himself in that valley, we may be pretty certain “that

this was not in some out-of-the-way corner, but in the vicinity of the capital" (*Hengstenberg*—comp. also *Krafft*, Topogr. of Jerus. p. 88; *Josephus*, Antiq. 7, 10, 3). *Raumer* (Palest. p. 303) supposes that this valley is the same as that of Jehoshaphat, lying to the north of Jerusalem, and traversed by the brook Kidron. *Robinson* (vol. i. p. 270) remarks, "Before reaching the city and also opposite its northern parts, the valley spreads out into a basin of some breadth, which is tilled and contains plantations of olive and other fruit trees." Tradition also confirms the identity of the valley of Jehoshaphat and that of the king by fixing, although incorrectly (comp. *Krafft* l. c. p. 89), on a monument in the valley as that of Absalom. We cannot attach any weight to the objection that Jerusalem had borne the name of *Jebus* before it was taken by David (Judges xix. 10). The same remark applies to this name as to those of Hebron. Salem or Jerusalem was the original name, although that derived from its Canaanitish possessors was also current, and only fell into desuetude after the time of David. Strictly speaking it cannot even be proved that Jerusalem ever bore the name of *Jebus* (comp. *Hofmann* l. c.), as that name (in Judges xix. 10, comp. verse 11) may have been the designation of the people. Besides if the name *Jebus* had alone been in use at a former period, that of Jerusalem must have been given by David. But of this there is no trace, nor does it appear likely considering that this name bears no reference to any event which had then taken place. *Rosenmüller*, *Bleek*, *Tuch*, and *Ewald* suppose that Salem was the same as the place on the other side Jordan, where John baptised (John iii. 23). This statement rests on the erroneous opinion that on his return from Damascus to Sodom, Abram may and indeed must have passed through *this* Salem and not through Jerusalem. But this is utterly ungrounded, and depends on the hypothesis that Abram had made a considerable detour and passed by Sodom to Hebron. But his resolution to have nothing to do with the king of Sodom appears so clearly that we cannot suppose he had taken this route. On the other hand the way from Damascus to Hebron leads through Jerusalem. *Krafft* rightly observes, "The king of Sodom passed up through the modern Wady en-Nâr, which is a continuation of the valley of Kidron, and leads to the Dead Sea, while Melchisedec descended towards that valley from his neighbouring mountain fortress of Salem." Despite the confidence of *Tuch* in the correctness of his interpretation, we take leave not only to doubt, but with equal confidence to declare it erroneous. We do not see that Abram must have passed down the Jordan valley as far as Sodom in order to bring back the captives whom he had rescued. The text does not indicate that he either did this, or

that there was any necessity for it. To suppose that there was a Salem in the neighbourhood of Sechem is an untenable hypothesis, derived from a mistranslation of Gen. xxxiii. 18, where *Shalem* is equivalent to "in good order" (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c. and § 46, 3). The best defence of the correct view on this subject is furnished by *Michaelis*, Typical Theol. Preface pp. 14 to 72; *Tiele*, ad h. l.; *Hofmann*, l. c.; *Hengstenberg*, l. c.; *Krafft*, Topogr. of Jerus., Bonn 1847, p. 87. We will immediately shew that it is of great importance for our history that Salem was Jerusalem.

(2.) The question as to the import and the *person* of MELCHISEDEC, who is so suddenly introduced to our notice, and the typical interpretation of his history in Psalm cx. 4, but especially in Hebrews vii. ("Without father, without mother, without pedigree, having neither beginning of days nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God"), has led to the most curious interpretations (comp. *Heidegger* Hist. Patr. ii. p. 38; *Deyling* Observ. ss. ii. p. 71). Most of the *Rabbins* took him for *Shem*, *Jurieu* for Ham, *Hulsius* for Enoch, *Origen* for an angel, *Kloppenburger* for a man, purposely and immediately created by God, *Ambrosius*, *Cunaeus*, *Hottinger* for Christ Himself, and the sect of the Melchisedecites for the *Holy Spirit*, while *Josephus* supposes that he was an ordinary Canaanitish king. But if we bear in mind that in all probability the original inhabitants of Palestine had been descendants of *Shem* (through the race of Lud), who were driven back or absorbed at a later period by the Canaanites, and if we farther consider the peculiar position of Melchisedec among the later possessors of Canaan, we shall probably infer that he was of Shemidic and not of Canaanitish origin, and more particularly that he was the last independent representative of the original Shemitic population, which had already been vanquished by the Canaanites. This view tallies, at least, better with the blessing of Noah, recorded in Gen. ix. 25, &c., while it sheds a new light upon the narrative of the text. For the most full explanation of the whole circumstances, we refer to *Hofmann* l. c. i. p. 101. Abram, the elect of Jehovah, and to whom so many and so comprehensive promises had been made, is blessed by Melchisedec, and gives tithes to him. This subordination is the more striking as Abram was conscious of his high calling, and immediately afterwards took care to vindicate before the king of Sodom the dignity and honour of his position. Hence Melchisedec must have stood—at least relatively—higher than Abram, and the latter must have known and recognised this circumstance as distinctly as he did his own superiority over the king of Sodom. We say with *Hofmann*, "the greatness of Abram consisted in his hopes, that of Mel-

chisedec in his present possession." Melchisedec has at the time what Abram yet wants and what is only promised to him as still future, and he bows before this exalted personage who meets him, perhaps quite unexpectedly, and whose existence may have been quite unknown to him. Melchisedec is a *priest* of the living God whom Abram served, while the Patriarch is as yet only a *prophet*, the medium of that "which Jehovah is to bring about." To Melchisedec God has manifested Himself as the God of the present, the possessor of heaven and earth, as the Most High; to Abram as the God of the future, who promises salvation, and as Jehovah. Melchisedec is recognised as the possessor and king of the country which is indeed promised to Abram, but of which as yet he does not possess any part. True, the future will, when unfolded, be much more glorious than the present, and Abram would, in a much higher and more perfect degree, become in his seed what Melchisedec was at that time. But the *possession*, although it be smaller, imparts for the time being a higher character than the *prospect* of greater privileges to come. All this Abram and, as it seems, Melchisedec also recognised. Hence Melchisedec owns in appropriate manner the future by blessing Abram, while Abram recognises the present in giving tithes to Melchisedec. Melchisedec is the last remaining blossom of a past development; Abram is the germ and commencement of a new development, fraught with blessing and with hope. Melchisedec is still within the old Noachic covenant, which rested on a universal, Abram is within the new covenant, which rests on a particularistic basis—and even in this respect the position of Melchisedec is more exalted. But this universalistic covenant terminated in one individual, just as Melchisedec stands alone among a degenerate race which had apostatized from God and adored the powers of nature. He is the only remaining servant and worshipper of the God who had entered into covenant with Noah. On the other hand the particularistic covenant which commences with Abram is to enlarge into the fullest and most comprehensive universalism, destined to bring salvation to all nations—and in this respect the position of Abram is higher. Viewed from this point all that might seem strange, as also the typical bearing of this narrative, as explained in the epistle to the Hebrews, is vindicated and accounted for. Melchisedec is the highest and the last representative of the Noachic covenant; he is a type of Christ, the highest and last representative of the Abrahamic covenant. Melchisedec unites in his person the royal and the priestly offices. Abram does not possess as yet either of these dignities, but both are promised to him; he or his seed after him is to become a Melchisedec only in much higher degree. In *Aaron* Abram

attains one part of the position of Melchisedec; in David the other. But as yet the two are separated, nor have they so far matured as to be capable of being combined. Hence in Abram both Aaron and David bow before Melchisedec. But in Christ Aaron and David are united. Hence Christ is, like Melchisedec, higher than Aaron or David. But He is also infinitely higher than Melchisedec, as the latter closes the old and past development while the *former* crowns and completes the new and everlasting development. *Melchisedec* is only a shadow and a type, *Christ* is the reality and the antitype. We enter into some farther particulars: The *name* Melchisedec implies that he is king of righteousness—his residence, that he is prince in the citadel of peace. Both united point him out as the representative of that kingdom where justice and peace kiss each other (Ps. lxxxv. 11). Under any other circumstances this might be considered as merely an accidental concurrence; in sacred history it is full of meaning (Heb. vii. 2). The text does not mention his father nor his mother, the day of his birth nor that of his death. It is certainly characteristic and striking that although in the book of Genesis so much care and attention is bestowed on genealogical tables, the pedigree of a person so exalted that even the honoured ancestor of the chosen race bowed before him, should not be at all mentioned. However, it may be *possible* to account for this silence by supposed ignorance on the part of the writer, we know that a higher power watched over the sacred penmen. In supreme wisdom He opened to, or shut from, them the sources of historical investigation. Hence any such omission in their narratives gains special importance. With the epistle to the Hebrews (chap. vii. 3) we may infer that, from this point of view, the silence of the text indicates that the position and dignity of Melchisedec did not merely depend upon his natural descent, and that this typified the idea that the office of the perfect royal priest should derive its authority and its warrant not merely from human descent. Besides *Jerusalem*, the *royal* city καὶ ἐξοχόν, is the residence of Melchisedec. Jerusalem is queen among the cities (Ezekiel v. 5), as Palestine among countries. It was such by nature and situation (as we shall by and by show), nor did it attain its rank either through David or even through Christ. Abram is to become Melchisedec. In David the royal dignity is attained, and hence the city of Melchisedec becomes that of David. We agree with *Hofmann* that the bread and wine which Melchisedec brought to Abram were not merely meant for refreshment. The statement which immediately follows, "And he was a priest of the Most High God," indicates that some priestly service was implied. In this case, as throughout antiquity and especially in the Mosaic service

bread and wine symbolised, as the best fruits of the land, nourishment generally. The fact that Abram received these gifts from the hand of the priest indicated that God, whose mediator the priest was, would refresh him after every contest, and bestow on him the best fruits of the promised land. Symbolically, the bringing of bread and wine serves the same purpose as the blessing of Melchisedec. By that blessing Abram is set apart for his career; it is the blessing of an old man who has finished his work bestowed upon a youth who stands at the commencement of an indefinite development. With this blessing Melchisedec disappears from the stage. Abram gives tithes to this royal priest, not of his own goods, far less of those which he had again rescued, but from the spoils which he has taken from the enemy. He knows that God has given him the victory, and he acknowledges it by offering unto the Most High God, through the priest, a tithe of its fruits. Melchisedec has often, but very improperly, been compared to king Anius, of whom *Virgil* writes (Aen. iii. 80): "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos."

On this subject compare the appropriate remarks of *Creuzer* (Symbol., 1st edit., vol. iv., pp. 405 to 408).

To this view of the history of Melchisedec *Hahn* says: "We cannot persuade ourselves that the record implies either that Melchisedec had blessed, or that Abram was blessed. To our mind this view depends on the ungrounded supposition that the subject in verse 20 is Abram and not Melchisedec; but it is difficult to perceive, considering that the other is the most natural interpretation, why it should be set aside. Indeed it is impossible that Abram should be the subject of that sentence. We do not read that Abram had, on this expedition, got any prey, and the general expression 'of all' scarcely allows any such supposition. But everything becomes plain if Melchisedec, as Gentile royal priest, gives tithes of all to Abram in acknowledgment of his superiority. In that case the expression defines more clearly the words in v. 18, 'he brought bread and wine.'" But v. 19 clearly shews the correctness of our interpretation. It is only necessary to appeal to it. The context places it beyond doubt that the subject is changed in v. 20. The idea of "tithes" is so closely connected with that of a priest that the writer could not anticipate any misunderstanding. Melchisedec was a priest, Abram was not. When therefore the writer says, "He gave tithes to him," his readers could not doubt that Abram gave and Melchisedec received them. The addition "of all" comprises everything of which Abram could dispose at the time, nor could this be aught else than the prey taken from the enemy.

THE OFFERING OF A COVENANT-SACRIFICE FORMS THE FIRST
STAGE OF THE COVENANT.

§ 56. (Gen. xv.)—The victory which, by the blessing of God, Abram had gained over Chedorlaomer had raised him above the sphere of his natural strength, and this elevation had been farther increased by his meeting with Melchisedec. It was natural that this tension should give way when he returned to his ordinary avocations. The higher he had been raised above his ordinary feelings, the more decided was the reaction, and the fear and distrust which accompanied it. Humanly speaking his expedition against the powerful king of the East had been a dangerous undertaking. It was reasonable to suppose that the vengeance of this powerful conqueror would overtake him. When overwhelmed with such fears Jehovah came to Abram *in a vision* (1), saying: "Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and exceeding great reward." But frequently when we give place to fear everything appears dark, because our vision has grown dim, and fears and doubts increase continually. Thus Abram also now not only felt apprehension on account of the vengeance of Chedorlaomer, but also doubts with reference to his own relation to the promised future. All this filled his heart with sadness. Encouraged by the words of Jehovah, he pours out his cares before Him. "Jehovah Adonai"—he asks—"what wilt Thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this *Eliezer* of Damascus" (2.) But Jehovah replies, in distinct and unmistakable terms, "This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir!" And He brought him forth abroad: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars. Art thou able to number them? So shall thy seed be." Then Abram *believed* Jehovah, and He counted it to him for righteousness (3.) This faith required a sign in order to attain assurance, so that if at any future period he should be assailed by similar doubts and fears he might have this pledge to strengthen and to comfort him. And on this basis Jehovah now actually enters into *covenant* (4), by a *covenant-sacrifice* which Abram prepares and offers (5.) Birds of prey come down upon the carcasses, but Abram drives them away. Meantime the

sun has gone down. Abram, grieved about this omen which seemed to endanger the ratification of the covenant, fell into a deep *sleep*, and horror and great darkness came upon him. That omen, and the reason why he is not immediately to obtain possession of the land of promise, are now explained to him. The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full, and only the seed of Abram would obtain possession of the land. But like Abram himself, his seed also must pass through trials and sorrows. Four hundred years shall they be strangers in a land that is not theirs, be obliged to serve and be afflicted. But Jehovah will also judge that nation whom they shall serve, and afterwards shall they come out with great substance (6.) And when night had gathered around, the glory of the Lord appeared in the symbol of a *pillar of smoke* and *of fire*, that passed between the pieces of the sacrifice, and, as it were, sanctioned and ratified the covenant on the part of God (7.) Finally, Jehovah repeats the promise "to thy seed will I give this land," and enlarges it by giving a prophetic *delineation of its boundaries* (8).

(1.) Interpreters are not agreed whether all the events here recorded took place *in vision*, or whether and at what exact point the ecstatic vision gave place to ordinary perception. *Baumgarten* thinks that the transition is marked in verse 5; others that it is only in verses 8 and 9. In our opinion, considering the external and internal connection of these events, the whole took place in vision, so that the description in v. 1 applies to the whole chapter. It is objected that the choice of the sacrifices, the killing and dividing them, which were purely external events, implied a cessation of the ecstatic state. But this objection rests upon a misunderstanding of that state, or rather upon confounding it with a merely natural, or morbid, or magnetic ecstasis. Genuine prophetic vision is neither mesmerism nor a morbid magnetic phenomenon, which excludes full use of the senses, or renders external activity impossible. The inward sense is not raised by depressing the outward senses; for, when what is Divine affects human nature, the natural harmony is not disturbed, but elevated and properly adjusted. Interpreters are also divided as to the time when these events took place. *Baumgarten*, laying stress on verse 5, thinks that the vision took place during the night. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam p. 51) appeals to v. 12, and infers that it had taken place during the day. The former supposes that the events had lasted from one night to the other,

while the latter thinks that stars may in vision have been seen during the day also. But if we remember that prophetic ecstasis was not a morbid and unnatural, but a healthy though supernatural state, which did not unfit a man for ordinary life, we cannot be startled by finding that it lasted between twelve and eighteen hours. At the same time it seems to us inappropriate to suppose that he should have seen the stars during day-light, as there is no reason why that which was object of external vision should have been transferred into the sphere of inward vision.

(2.) It is foreign to our purpose to enter on the exegetical difficulties of these words. Separated from all his relatives, and childless in his old age, having for ten years waited in vain for the promised seed, Abram is no longer able to look with confidence on the promise. Present fears darken his prospect, and he thinks that nothing is left save that his steward Eliezer (generally supposed to have been the servant, chap. xxiv. 2, who possessed the implicit confidence of Abram) should become his heir. Perhaps he even meditated adopting him, and thus transferring to him his own rights and hopes.

(3.) He who, in the exercise of his free will, comes up to the Divine idea, and to the purpose of his existence, is **RIGHTEOUS**. By the fall man lost *this* righteousness, or rather the capacity for attaining it. But as salvation is impossible without righteousness, and as in the eternal counsel of His grace God has resolved to save man, *He must Himself* restore righteousness to man. This then is the object of the plan of salvation. In room of the idea laid down by God in creation, that embodied by Him in the plan for restoring and saving man becomes the rule and testing point for human freedom. Just as according to the original arrangement he would have been just who had come up to the requirements of the Divine idea expressed in creation, so now is he righteous who submits to the conditions of the plans of salvation. But the idea embodied in this deliverance is not that man should, in the exercise of his freedom, justify himself, but that this freedom should not operate as an obstacle to the righteousness of God, and that man should fall in with the salvation offered to him, in as far as it became manifest in each successive stage of development. Thus, then, a new way has been opened in which to obtain righteousness, that of *faith*, i.e. of a free, full, and unconditional surrender of one's-self to the idea embodied in the Divine plan of salvation. This faith does not indeed work out salvation, but it is the condition under which salvation becomes ours. Abram believed, i.e. he wholly surrendered himself to the Divine promise, under which at that stage of development, salvation appeared, and thus he became just. But as his faith takes hold of the salvation objectively proffered, his *justitia formalis*

becomes *justitia materialis*, i.e. his faith is accounted to him for righteousness. And because Abram was the first in whom this indispensable relation to the idea of salvation clearly and decidedly pervaded the consciousness, because in his faith and as a witness to all generations he fully represented this relationship, *he became the father of the faithful*.

(4.) We read here for the first time of a COVENANT into which God is about to enter with *Abram*. All that had preceded, all the demands, promises, and leadings on the part of God, and all the obedience, faith, self-renunciation, and self-reliance on the part of Abram, were only preliminary steps. But even the covenant *now* made is only partial, and requires completion, on which ground we have designated it as the first stage of the covenant. It is only partial, inasmuch as God only, and not Abram also, enters into and binds Himself by it. For only God and not Abram passed between the pieces of the sacrifice. This view perfectly tallies with the account here given. The motive from which the covenant was made was the fear and unbelief of Abram. By formally and solemnly entering into covenant, God gives him a pledge that His promise might be implicitly relied on, and at the same time a token to support his faith. For these purposes it is quite sufficient that God alone ratifies the covenant, nor does He *yet* require Abram solemnly to undertake the covenant obligations devolving on him. It is only afterwards, when, on the ground of the engagement which God had in this covenant undertaken, the faith of Abram had become strong, and when the birth of the promised seed was nigh at hand, that giving and asking, on the part of God, go hand in hand, and that He calls upon the patriarch to ratify the covenant by solemnly undertaking its obligations. This takes place in the covenant of circumcision (chap. xvii). Hence these two events condition and supplement each other.

(5.) The covenant is made by SACRIFICE. For God is holy, and nothing unholy can stand before him. Hence He can only enter into covenant with man when sin, which had separated between God and man, has been removed. True, Abram's faith has been accounted to him for righteousness, but this righteousness is only the form for the *justitia materialis*, which was to be provided by the Divine plan of salvation. During the period when salvation is only preparing, the latter is concentrated in the sacrifice. By the atonement of animal sacrifice the sinner obtains through faith the forgiveness of his sins. The distinguishing peculiarity of the sacrifice of Abram, which constituted it a suitable basis for the covenant, lay in the selection of certain animals, and in the division of these sacrifices into two portions, through the midst of which the parties to the covenant were to pass,

thereby solemnly ratifying their union in the covenant. Commonly this circumstance is interpreted as implying that what had been done in the sacrifices which were divided should happen to the party who would break the covenant (comp. *Winer Real-Enc. Art. Covenant*). *Tiele* asserts that such a transaction were unworthy of God, and, in his fictitious zeal for the honour of God, despite the explicit statement in v. 18, maintains that the whole narrative has no connection with the covenant. But even supposing that the assertion were correct in itself, such an accommodation to human customs on the part of God is no more contrary to the Divine character than is the circumstance that He condescends to enter into covenant with man at all, and by an oath undertakes certain covenant-engagements. But we go farther, and hold that the above view is not (as is asserted) corroborated by Jeremiah xxxiv. 18 to 20, and that it does not correctly explain the meaning of this symbolical transaction. It was first propounded at a later period, when the understanding of symbols was no longer clear and reliable. It will be noticed that this view militates against the institution of sacrifices, as in that case the killing and the shedding of blood would not represent the atonement, on the basis of which the covenant was to be made, but only and exclusively an idea wholly foreign to that of sacrifices. Indeed if it were correct we should no longer feel warranted in employing the term sacrifice at all. But it is manifestly the purpose of this symbol to express, along with the separate existence of the two who had entered into covenant, the unity laid down in the covenant. This circumstance both *Klaiber* (*Doctr. of Reconciliation*, 1823, p. 81) and *Baumgarten* (ad h. l.) have perceived and expressed. The division of the sacrifices into two portions represents the two parties to the covenant. As these portions constitute in reality only one animal, so are the two parties to the covenant joined into one. The passing through the portions of the sacrifice represents, as it were, the means by which they who had been separated were to be united. In the selection of the sacrifices, the commandment of Jehovah that, of course excepting the doves, all should be *three years old*, appears striking. The view of *Hofmann* (i. p. 98): "the animals must have been three years old, and Jehovah accepted them when in their *fourth* year, because the seed of Abram was only to enter the land of promise in their fourth generation, v. 16" (which is also adopted by *Delitzsch*), is more satisfactory than that of *Baumgarten*, who thinks that it refers to the part God had in the sacrifice. But God took no part in the sacrifice, as the sacrifice about to be offered represented the sinning party only. He *takes* part in it after the sacrifice has been offered to him. On the other hand

we can readily understand that the age of the animal should have borne reference to a particular generation of the descendants of Abram, as the sacrifice represented Abram, and no doubt his seed also.

(6.) On the four hundred years of servitude, comp. vol. ii.

(7.) For the first time THE GLORY OF THE LORD (the Shechinah) appears in a symbol similar to that which was afterwards seen by Moses in the burning bush, by the Israelites during their passage through the wilderness in the pillar of cloud and of fire, and in the tabernacle in the cloud above the mercy-seat. As at a later period it was hid by the bush and by the cloud, so here it appears enveloped in a furnace (of the kind, more common in the East, shaped like a cylinder, at the upper opening of which fire, enveloped by smoke, bursts forth). It is the symbol of the gracious presence of God. The splendour of His glory, the devouring fire of His holiness, which the eye of man cannot bear, and before which the sinner cannot stand, is in grace enveloped.

Delitzsch observes: "Commonly in His intercourse with the patriarchs, Jehovah manifested Himself in a form much more condescending. But on this occasion, He, once for all, shows to Abram how infinitely elevated and fearfully majestic was that God who ordinarily condescended so much to him."

(8.) On the prophetic DETERMINATION OF THE BOUNDARIES of the land of promise, comp. *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. iii., p. 265. The river of Egypt, which forms the boundary on the one side, is certainly the *Nile* (and not the rivulet El-Arish). It is equally true that even during the most flourishing period of the Theocracy, the boundaries of the country never extended from the Euphrates to the Nile. But then it is not and cannot be the object of this prophetic promise to furnish data meant to be geographically exact. As in many other places, the Euphrates and the Nile are here considered as the representatives of the two great powers of the East and of the West; and the meaning of the promise is, that the land and the commonwealth of the descendants of Abram should be independent, and continue by the side of, and between, these two empires, and that no other empire or nation should permanently bear independent sway in the districts which lay between Judæa and these two great empires.

HAGAR AND ISHMAEL.

§ 57. (Gen. xvi.)—Abram is now aware that the promised seed is to be the fruit of his own body (xv. 4), and in believing confidence he awaits the fulfilment of God's word. Not so, im-

patient Sarai. Hitherto none of the promises had contained any special notice *of her*, and her prospects of becoming mother decreased with her age. At length, concluding that she had not been destined to give birth to the promised seed, she urged her husband to take her Egyptian maid *Hagar* as concubine, that (as the custom was at the time) she might obtain by her *servant* that which seemed denied to herself. Abram complied; but the consequences soon showed how vain any such attempts at self-deliverance were. Hagar now despised her mistress, and when the latter intended to humble her, fled towards her native country. But the connection with Abram surrounds even the rebellious maid with a certain halo. The son whom she is about to bear is to be educated in the house of Abram, in order to be capable of obtaining the measure of blessing destined for him (1.) In the wilderness not far from Shur (2), *the angel of the Lord* (3) arrests the course of Hagar, and induces her to return. In the eighty-sixth year of Abram's life, she gave birth to a son, who, according to the angelic injunction to Hagar, was called *Ishmael* (*i.e.*, Heard of God.)

(1.) The angel of Jehovah found Hagar by a fountain in the way to Shur. On the situation of *Shur*, comp. especially *Tuch*. In Gen. xxv. 18, this Shur is said to be "before Egypt" (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 7; xxvii. 8). At any rate, it seems likely that Hagar would have fled toward her own country, Egypt. "As the wilderness is not a place through which many different roads lead, it is likely that Hagar pursued the path that was followed at all times. This leads from the modern Cairo to Ajrud, and thence through the pass of Mukhjeb to the plateau of the Et-Tih, then passes through the western part of the great wilderness as far as the northern boundary of the Jebel Helâl, and turning eastward merges in the roads which lead from Sinai and Akabah by Beersheba to Hebron." Hence, speaking generally, Shur is the western part of the wilderness, which is presently called by the Arabians the wilderness of Jifar, in contradistinction to the eastern portion, or "the wilderness of the children of Israel." It is still considered as belonging to Egypt. In the narrative, the exact locality is even more particularly indicated by the statement that it was between Kadish and Bered. But as the situation of the former place has not yet been exactly fixed, while the latter is wholly unknown (*Tuch* supposes that Bered is the modern Jebel Helâl) this statement only confirms what had otherwise been ascertained, viz., that

these events took place in the wilderness between Palestine and Egypt. Hagar calls the fountain where this vision is vouchsafed to her the "fountain of the living who beholds me." According to *Rowland* (in *Williams*, the Holy City, p. 489), the Arabs still call a fountain about ten hours beyond Ruhaibeh (*Robinson*, i., p. 196), "*Moilahi Hagar*," which he curiously enough interprets *Moi* = water, and *Lahi* = לַיִם. *Robinson* also knew of this place, but calls it *Muweilih* (i., p. 172). *Tuch* thinks that the locality exactly agrees with the Biblical account, a statement to which *Raumer* objects (*Palestine*, p. 44), since the situation of *Kadesh*, as indicated by *Rowland*, cannot possibly be correct. For farther particulars about *Kadesh* we refer to vol. ii.

(2.) On the prophecy to Hagar about her son, comp. § 64, 6.

(3.) About the angel of the Lord, comp. § 50, 2.

CIRCUMCISION, THE SECOND STAGE OF THE COVENANT.

PREFATORY NOTE.—*Thirteen* years have now elapsed since God had last revealed Himself to Abram. During this period of probation, he was to preserve and to prove that faith which had been reckoned to him for righteousness. But during the long time which had elapsed since the promised seed had been expected, it had appeared that Sarai was *by nature* barren. Now the period had arrived when that which was impossible to *nature* should be obtained through *grace*—when the *promise* should pass into the first stage of its *fulfilment*, and that son be born to Abram by whom he was eventually to become a great nation and a blessing to mankind. Hitherto the promise had remained without earnest of its fulfilment. But from this period the fulfilment was to appear by the side of the promise, to grow up and to enlarge, gradually to narrow the promise, until at last it would be completely swallowed up in the reality. The promise was entirely God's, but the fulfilment was the result of the co-operation of God and man. Hitherto the covenant had been ratified only by one party, as Abram had not yet undertaken any covenant obligation (vide § 56). This defect is now to be supplied. As yet Abram had only called into requisition the power of nature. An experience of twenty-four years had convinced him that only *grace*, not *nature*, could qualify him for the high

calling, to become, in his seed, a blessing for all nations. But this high point was only attained after the covenant had been fully ratified. When Ishmael was born, Abraham had not yet been *circumcised*; but then Ishmael was not the son of the promise. The promised seed could only be obtained through means of the covenant, and through the co-operation of the two parties to it. Abram begat, and the dead body of Sarai became a spring of life, in consequence of the co-operation of the creative and reviving power of God. The birth of Isaac is the first result of the covenant. It must therefore be preceded by a complete ratification of the covenant.

§ 58. (Gen. xvii.)—When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to him. “I am the Almighty God, walk before me, and be thou sincere. . . . As for me, behold *my covenant is with thee*. . . . *Thou shalt keep my covenant* therefore, thou and thy seed after thee.” The promise that Abram is to become a father of many nations is here repeated. On the ground of this promise his name is no longer to be *Abram*, but *Abraham*, nor is *Sarai*, who was to become the mother of the promised seed, any longer to be called *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (1.) Besides this *seed*, through whom salvation is to come, *everlasting possession* (2) *of the land*, in which this salvation is to become manifest, is again promised to Abraham. The Lord also appoints *circumcision* (3) as the sign of the covenant, which is now to be completely ratified by both parties. To this institution Abraham and all the male members of his household (4) are immediately to submit, and every new born child on the *eighth* day after its birth. The Lord said: “And my covenant shall be in your flesh *for an everlasting covenant*” (5). To neglect circumcision was *to break the covenant*, and deserved the punishment of death. To receive circumcision was to have part in the *blessings of the covenant*. At the same time it became also a personal and lasting *admonition* to remember the *obligations of that covenant* which had been undertaken (6.) But Abraham cannot yet understand how God is to give him such seed, seeing Sarah was as good as dead. Accordingly he prays “Oh! that Ishmael might live before thee.” To this the Lord replies in express terms, “Yea, Sarah thy wife shall bear

thee a son indeed, and thou shalt call his name Isaac. With *him* will I establish my covenant, and with his seed after him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee. Behold, I have blessed him, and will multiply him exceedingly. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear unto thee in the next year."

(1.) It certainly has a peculiar meaning, that when we enter on the second stage in the life of the chosen, the names of ABRAM AND HIS WIFE SHOULD BE CHANGED. This, as it were, is a *symbol* and an *earnest* of the new thing which the Lord is to bring forth. For "the name indicates the character." It is the *motto* for the new path of life opening before them. (On the import of the giving and changing of names generally, comp. the profound remarks of *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. ii., p. 270.) Etymologically, the former name אַבְרָם is = אֲבִירָם (1 Kings xvi. 34), and equivalent to "*pater altitudinis*" (comp. *Tuch*, ad h. l.). On account of its indefiniteness, this name is less suitable for indicating the peculiar calling of the father of nations, than the new name אַבְרָהָם = "*pater multitudinis*"

(أَبْرَاهَم) = numerus copiosus). More difficult is it to interpret the other two names. Commonly the word שָׂרִי (LXX. Σάρα) is translated "my princess," and שָׂרָה (LXX. Σάρρα) "princess." According to the precedent of Jerome, this is then explained as implying that she was not to be the mother of only *one* family, but in general and without limitation to be called a princess. But irrespective of the circumstance that שָׂרִי is a masculine form, *Iken* (Dissert. Philol. Theol. i., Dissert. 2) is certainly right in remarking, "quid quaeso dici potest frigidius!" *Ewald* maintains there is no difference between the two names, that the second form is only a more full pronunciation of the first, and he interprets both as meaning "contentious," deriving them from שָׂרָה, to contend. *Lengerke* also thinks that the two forms are identical (= princess), the one being an earlier and the other a later modification of the word. But without doubt the author of Genesis regarded the change as not only a modification of the form, but also of the meaning. Hence the greatest probability still attaches to the opinion of *Iken*, who suggests that, according to a common use of the plural, שָׂרִי means as much as *principatus* or *nobilitas*, while שָׂרָה must be derived from שָׂרָה ii., to be fruitful. The change of the letters א and ה is not uncommon. This interpretation is confirmed by the reduplication of the second radical letter

in the LXX., while it admirably agrees with the context (v. 16, "she shall become nations"). *Delitzsch* (p. 227) has again called attention to an old but deep remark, to the effect that the fundamental letter of the name Jehovah, which is the guiding star of that wonderful future, towards which the seed of Abraham was, in virtue of the covenant, to tend, had been now inserted into both these names. But we confess to some difficulty in supposing that this was specially intended in the change of the names.

(2.) In this promise (v. 8) both the possession of the land and the covenant about to be instituted, are designated *as everlasting* (vv. 7 and 13). Nor can we wonder that the *covenant* should be called such, since it was certainly to attain its goal. For, if the result of the covenant is everlasting, the covenant itself, whose completion that result is, must likewise be such. The promise of an everlasting possession of the land indicates, in the first place, that the future position was to be vastly different from the present circumstances of Abraham, when, as pilgrim, he could not call one foot of the promised land his own. But farther, the land of promise is the inheritance and the possession of his seed, and ever remains such, even though Israel should be banished from it, and their exile last not only seventy but even 2000 years.

(3.) ON CIRCUMCISION, comp. especially *Bergson* (Circumcision viewed in its Historical, Critical, and Medical Aspect, 1844), *Friedreich* (Remarks on the Bible, ii., p. 39), *Hofmann* (in the Halle Encyclop., ix., p. 267), *Winer* (Real-Lex., s. h. v.), and the literature there indicated, which, however, does not much assist us in understanding the religious meaning of the rite. According to *Herodotus*, the Israelites derived circumcision from the Egyptians (ii. 104): *Μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνιζες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογεῖνσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθημέναι.* But this information was certainly not derived from Palestinian Syrians but from Egyptian priests. Christian writers have, on the other hand, been formerly in the habit—chiefly from unhistorical prejudices—of maintaining that the Egyptians had derived circumcision from the Israelites. To this view *Tuch* (Comm. p. 344) rightly objects that at the time of their sojourn in Egypt, the Egyptian system of isolation had been fully established, and that foreign nomadic races were held in abhorrence. At the sametime circumcision was not in *universal* practice among the Egyptians. According to *Origen* (Hom. 5 in Jer.) *only priests*, and according to *Clement* (Strom. i., p. 302, Ed. Sylb.) those also who wished to be admitted to the *mysteries*, under-

went this rite. A comparison of the religious symbols of the Old Testament with those of ancient heathendom, shows that the ground and the starting point of those forms of religion which found their appropriate expression in symbols, was the same in all cases, while the history of civilisation proves that, on this point, priority cannot be claimed by the Israelites. But when instituting such an enquiry, we shall also find that the symbols which were transferred from the religions of nature to that of the spirit, first passed through the fire of Divine purification, from which they issued as the distinctive theology of the Jews, the dross of a pantheistic deification of nature having been consumed. Taking this view of the subject, we do not hesitate to admit that the circumcision of the Egyptians, or, if you like, of any other nation, originated at the same time with, or even prior to, that of Abraham. It is possible that during his sojourn in Egypt Abraham had there become acquainted with the rite of circumcision, and that this circumstance formed, in his case, a subjective point of connection for the objective Divine institution. But it is equally possible that circumcision was introduced in the family of Abraham and in the country of Pharaoh without any reference to each other, and that in both cases it owed its origin to a kindred direction of religious thinking which expressed itself in symbols. This is the more probable, as circumcision was introduced among nations (as, for example, in America, in the South Sea Islands, &c.) who cannot possibly have stood in any connection either with the Israelites or with the Egyptians.

It cannot be denied that in those forms of religion which consisted in nature-worship, circumcision was connected with the service of Phallus. But we most decidedly object to the view of *V. Bohlen* (p. 194), of *Tuch* (p. 344), of *Vatke* (i., p. 380), according to whom it was "a modification of the habit of emasculation in honour of the Deity, the foreskin only being in this case taken away." It rather implied the opposite of this. Emasculation was the removal, circumcision an increase of the powers of nature. The former was a sacrifice and surrender made to the *destroying*, the latter to the *generating* power of nature in its highest manifestation. In general, Symbolic takes its starting-point from the outward phenomenon and experience, and transfers to supersensuous ideas the import of objects in nature, as this import is gathered from such experience. The statement of Herodot. ii. 37: τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρῶς εἶνεκεν, to which Philo de Circumcis. ii., p. 210, adds fruitfulness as another reason, dates from a time when the freshness of symbolic views had been lost, and an attempt was made to supply this defect by utilitarian theories. Besides, it does not

explain why the rite of circumcision should have been confined to the priests, as the preservation of health and fruitfulness were of the same importance to the other classes in the community. Still, this view contained elements capable of serving as a foundation for such a symbol. The religious importance of generation in the worship of nature consisted in this, that it was regarded as the central and highest point in the (deified) life of nature. Hence the rite of devoting it to the gods, to which we have above referred. But as everything human required to be purified, set apart and dedicated, before it could be brought into immediate contact with the Deity, so generation also, which was to exhibit a perfect representation of the Divine power of procreation inherent in nature. Hence the rite of circumcision was, on the grounds indicated by Herodotus and Philo, regarded as the removal of something undedicated and prejudicial, and thus became the symbol of dedication to the Deity. Hence also those persons who had peculiarly or exclusively devoted themselves to the ministry of the worship of nature were specially bound to submit to circumcision, in order to exhibit, in the highest ideal purity, power, and fullness, those functions of life which, above all others, were regarded as the representations of life-manifestation on the part of the Deity.

But this view of circumcision was distinctively that of heathenism; and Judaism could not adopt it without, at the same time, contradicting itself. On the other hand, it was in general true that, in itself, all natural generation was unsanctified and non-dedicated, that it was surrounded by impure and disturbing elements (represented by the foreskin); nor was a conviction like that discordant from the religious views of the Patriarchs and their descendants. And as their view of generation in its relation to religion, so that of the impurity attaching to it, was wholly and essentially different from that of the heathen. To Abraham, also, and to his descendants, generation had its *religious* import, being the *medium* by which the covenant was to develop: "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The fulfilment of this promise implied that the seed of Abraham should continue until salvation was fully exhibited before all the nations of the earth. Up to that period, then, generation was to be directly *subservient to covenant purposes*, which could not have been attained without it. But merely natural generation, which, in the case of Abraham, could not have been the means of producing the first link in the chain, would, even in his descendants, not have led to the goal in view. Hence, in the covenant, God promised His co-operation, and as His power at the first gave to Abraham the first link of the great chain, much more does his omnipotence appear in the production of the last

link in which the promise was to be wholly fulfilled. Merely ordinary generation could not produce that *seed*, through whom salvation should be brought, because this seed must have been free from the *guilt* and *condemnation* which results from sin. Generation is the channel through which the nature of man, infected by sin, is continued from father to son. The impurity and unholiness which clings to it must be removed, if the object of the covenant is to be attained. But the foreskin is the symbol of natural growth, of impurity and disturbance. To exhibit, therefore, the idea that, *in itself*, natural generation was tainted with impurity, and hence incapable of attaining the object in view, but that this was to be reached by the operation of God, the Lord commanded that the foreskin should be taken away, and that, before the first link of the chain was called into being. Still, as the foreskin is merely the symbol of these impediments, its removal is not identical with that of the *impediment* itself. By and by, when the object of the covenant would be attained, God would, in the course of the development, also remove that impediment itself. Hence, what at that time was a symbol, became also a *type* for the future, and, as such, it points to a mode of generation where sin and impurity should actually and absolutely be removed, and where the aim of the covenant should be attained. (Comp. *Ebrard*, *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*, p. 26.)

If, viewed in its *negative* bearing, circumcision, as introduced in the family of Abraham, implied a symbolical removal from generation of what was unholy and impure, viewed *positively*, it conveyed a symbolic dedication and setting apart thereof for Divine purposes, in and through the covenant. For, in this manner, the covenant people is called into being and continued, and this people is to be a *holy* and a *priestly* nation (Exod. xix. 5 and 6). This, then, is the *objective* import of circumcision, the ground on which *God insists upon it*. Its *subjective* aspect, the ground on which Abraham administered the rite to himself and to his family, was, that thereby man falls in with the Divine covenant-idea, and undertakes the covenant obligations devolving on him. Thus circumcision becomes a *sign and seal of the covenant*, i.e., it makes every one who has submitted to it a *partaker of the privileges*, and *demand*s at his hands fulfilment of the *duties* connected with the covenant. And because not only the abstract and ideal totality of the people, but every single individual, shares in the covenant privileges and obligations, he must also personally have part in the covenant, and take its sign upon himself.

If even the *generation* of the covenant people is to be sanctified and devoted to covenant-purposes, it follows, as matter of course,

that their *whole life*, which commences with this generation, is to be set apart for these objects (Rom. xi. 16), to subserve and to advance them. The child begotten in circumcision is thereby sanctified for the covenant (1 Cor. vii. 14), and this is realised when, in turn, it undergoes circumcision. Circumcision, which is to remove the growth of nature—that which is unholy and impure—from the principle and source of life, is, so to speak, to extend its power and influence through all the ramifications of life. It implies the obligation of withdrawing all the other relations of life from the dominion of nature, of circumcising the *foreskin of the heart, of the lips, of the ear*, &c. (Lev. xxvi. 41; Deut. x. 16; xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4; ix. 25, &c.), and of devoting heart and mind to the duties and purposes of the covenant.

The new-born child was to be circumcised on the EIGHTH DAY. This ordinance had its origin in the sanctity attaching to the *number 7*. Seven periods (days, years, weeks of years) form a cycle in which smaller or larger circles are described, to be in turn followed by new circles and a new development. Hence, the eighth period of the old formed always the commencement of a new development, and the child was to be circumcised after the first seven days had run out. By circumcision the child entered into covenant with God; he was introduced into a new world, into the kingdom of God—and a new era commenced in his life. This was to take place when, with the eighth day, a new cycle had begun.

Circumcision was confined to the *male sex*. Females had no equivalent for it. This was neither owing to the physical nor to the ethical state of woman, but to the dependent position which she occupied in antiquity. Circumcision, indeed, implied as much the humiliation as the exaltation of man, expressing, as it did, both his natural incapacity for being a member of the covenant, and his especial divine calling in that direction. The absence of circumcision does not convey that these lessons and privileges applied not to woman also, but that she was dependent, and that her position in the natural and covenant-life was not "*without*" the husband, but *in* and *with* him, not in her capacity as *woman*, but as *wife* (and mother). But woman is sanctified and set apart in and with man; in and with him she has part in the covenant, and, so far as her nature and position demand and admit of it, she has to co-operate in the development of the covenant.

(4.) Not only Abraham and the son of promise who is to be born unto him, but *Ishmael* also, the son of the handmaid, and even all the *servants* of the family, whether born in the house or bought with money, are to be circumcised. By taking upon themselves this sign of the covenant, they also obtain part and

share in the covenant into which God entered with Abraham. Ishmael left afterwards, indeed, the communion of his father's house, and hence also the covenant, which was confined to this family. But he was only cut off by his own act, and because he had become wholly a stranger to the purposes and interests of this covenant. But all those servants who continued in communion with the chosen family remained also in communion with the covenant. Here also we see how unjust the accusation, as if the Old Covenant was the expression of a narrow-minded and exclusive particularism. It was not such even in its commencement, and ever afterwards any stranger who was not of the seed of Abraham might, by submitting to circumcision, enter into communion with the covenant and share its blessings. The only essential difference between such members of the covenant-people and the descendants of Abraham was the continuance of the promise that the chain which was to terminate in Him who was to work out salvation, would commence with and continue in the direct descendants of Abraham.

(5.) We have seen that, in the second stage of the covenant, man sanctions and ratifies the covenant into which God had formerly entered. The duties which Abraham now undertook may, in general, be summed up in the words with which the Lord addresses him: "Walk before me and be thou perfect (unblameable)." He is to display a *faith* which implicitly surrenders itself to the guidance of God; and this faith is to result in an *obedience*, which, so far as in him lies, causes him to come up to the demands of God. As the promises of *God*, which, in the covenant, He had undertaken to fulfil, so the demand made upon man is, in the first place, general and indefinite. The covenant-duties of Abraham come out more definitely in chap. xviii. 19, when Jehovah expresses what line of conduct He expected of the seed of Abraham. "I know him, saith Jehovah, that he will command his children and household after him, that they shall keep the way of Jehovah, and do justice and judgment, that Jehovah may bring upon Abraham that which He has promised to him."

JEHOVAH VISITS ABRAHAM IN THE WOOD OF MAMRE.

§ 59. (Gen. xviii. 1—15.) Soon afterwards three men, in whom Abraham immediately recognises a personal representation of Jehovah, appear before his tent in the wood of Mamre. His correct and delicate tact induce him to receive the strangers in a manner corresponding to the form of appearance which they had

seen fit to choose. Although knowing their character, he humbly and pressingly invited them to come into his tent, and entertained them with the utmost hospitality. But their visit had rather been intended for Sarah than for Abraham. Accordingly, the strangers enquire after her, and, when Abraham informs them that Sarah was in the tent, one of them solemnly promises and announces that Sarah should within a year bear a son. When Sarah heard this, the contrast between the promise and her actual circumstances appeared to her so odd that, considering her own dead body, rather than what had been promised and the character of Him who now spoke, she laughed, doubting within herself the possibility of the event announced. This led to a conversation with Sarah, in which, while her unbelieving merriment was reprov'd, the promise was repeated in the most confident and circumstantial manner, and its fulfilment directly traced to the omnipotence of Jehovah. Ashamed of her unbelief, Sarah would now fain have denied that she had laughed, but the heavenly stranger replied to her assertions: "Nay, but thou didst laugh."

(1.) *Baumgarten* holds that it had been the PURPOSE OF THIS THEOPHANY to "*repeat once more to Abraham the great and important promise of the birth of a son by Sarah.*" Referring to this statement, *Tuch* points out the identity of this promise with that in chap. xvii., and the chronological data of the two accounts (comp. xviii. 10 with xvii. 21), and infers that both are only different narratives of one and the same legend. In point of fact it is, to say the least, highly improbable that Jehovah should have again appeared to Abraham merely to repeat to *him* what, only *a few days* before, he had announced with the same fulness and distinctness. But the three strangers have a twofold mission: the one to Sarah, the other (comp. § 60) to Abraham. In his former manifestation God had assured *Abraham* of the birth of a son by *Sarah*, and Abraham had in faith received this promise. In virtue of this believing surrender to the promise, the Divine creative agency rendered Abraham capable of begetting a son. But, in order that Sarah might also learn to believe and be enabled to bear the promised seed, her dead body also must be quickened and revived by the same power. Probably, Abraham's account of the Divine revelation with which he had been honoured had not sufficed for this purpose. A stronger appeal must be made to her, and Jehovah himself must announce and assure her of

that which had seemed incredible to her. Then only she believes and attains that spiritual elevation, where she becomes capable to be the mother of the promised seed (Heb. xi. 11). The narrative distinctly and decisively proves that the renewal of the promise was meant for Sarah and not for Abraham. The first sentence which the strangers utter, is to enquire: "Where is Sarah thy wife?" and immediately afterwards the messenger of Jehovah adds the prediction, which it was meant Sarah should hear, and which she actually heard. Then follows the colloquy between the heavenly guest and Sarah, in which Abraham takes no part, but, so to speak, remains in the background.

We have no difficulty in understanding how the *angels* (as they are expressly called in chap. xix. 1) who represent Jehovah "partake of the food" set before them. If they took upon themselves a human body, they could also eat. The account is similar to that in Luke xxiv. 41. At the same time the fact that the angel of Jehovah condescended to enter into Abraham's tent, and to partake of his hospitality—which *we* regard as a type of Him who tabernacled among us (John i. 14), and was found in manner as a man (Philip. ii. 7)—must have been to Abraham a guarantee for the reality of the covenant, and a prophetic pledge of future and still more condescending manifestations on the part of Jehovah. That Jehovah was in this instance represented by three angels, and not by one only, we explain with *Delitzsch* on the ground that it was their mission not merely to promise, but also to punish and to deliver. We doubt that it could have borne any reference to the Trinity, as the knowledge of this mystery must have lain beyond the consciousness of the Patriarchs. We should rather feel inclined to think of the symbolical meaning of the number *three*, in which plurality again returns to unity. We suppose that the angel who talked with Sarah, and remained behind with Abraham, was that prince of angels who, according to Dan. x. 21, xii. 1, in the appointment of Jehovah, occupies a peculiar relationship to the seed of Abraham. This view, however, does not in any way imply that the other two angels who came to Lot, and whom he addressed in the same manner as Abraham had addressed the three, by "My Lord" (xix. 18), were not also the representatives of the Deity (comp. § 50, 2).

§ 60. (Gen. xviii. 16, &c.)—*One* purpose of this Theophany had now been obtained. Sarah has been brought to believe in the promise, and thus rendered capable to become the mother of the promised seed. Therefore the men now leave the tent of Abraham, and return towards Sodom. Abraham accompanies them on the

way, and then the *second* purpose of the *Theophany*, in so far as it applied more particularly to *Abraham*, is brought to light. Jehovah cannot hide from him who was His friend, and with whom He had entered into covenant, that He was going down to execute judgment upon the cities in the valley of Siddim, the measure of whose sins had become full. Remembering his calling and position in the covenant, Abraham, equally bold and humble, ventures to intercede that Jehovah would spare the cities for the sake of those righteous that might be found in them. Jehovah hears his prayer. Every gracious reply inspires Abraham with fresh courage to make farther intercession, until at last he obtains promise that Jehovah would spare these cities if even ten just persons were found in them, for these ten's sake.

(1.) The *Divine* PURPOSE OF JUDGMENT which Jehovah has come down to execute upon the degenerate cities bears such close relation to Abraham that, in virtue of the covenant, Jehovah must reveal it to the Patriarch. "How can I hide from Abraham," saith the Lord, "that thing which I do? seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. For I have chosen him that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of Jehovah and do justice and judgment; and so Jehovah may bring upon Abraham that which He has promised to him." Through the covenant with Jehovah, Abraham has become the hereditary proprietor of the land. Mindful of this covenant, Jehovah will not do anything with the land without the knowledge and the assent of Abraham. On the other hand this covenant-condescension on the part of God also increased the covenant-obligations of Abraham. The Patriarch possesses or inherits the land only in virtue of the covenant. These blessings are secured to him only if he and his seed after him walk in the ways of Jehovah, in obedience to the covenant. He is therefore to instruct his household and his children in these ways, and to see to it that they remain faithful to the covenant. If they forsake the ways of Jehovah and choose to walk in those of the heathen, the same judgment which had been executed on the Gentiles would also overtake them. Thus the communication of Jehovah's purpose in reference to Sodom is at the same time a solemn and telling warning addressed to Abraham and to his posterity. As, at a later period, the Israelites are to execute the ban upon the Amorites when the measure of their iniquity has become full, and thereby practically to declare that this

judgment was just, and that they themselves incurred the same if they should ever forsake the ways of Jehovah and enter on those of the heathen (Deut. viii. 19 and 20), so when Abraham's intercession could not be farther extended than to the supposition that ten just men were to be found in Sodom, the patriarch has virtually to approve of the judgment against the doomed cities. Thus also in his own name and in that of his descendants he approves and consents that a similar judgment should overtake them, if, forgetful of the covenant-obligations, they should, by their apostacy and sin, ever share in the iniquity of the heathen. In the text and indeed throughout the whole Old Testament the judgment upon Sodom is not regarded as being an isolated event which had taken place before the Israelites had got possession of the land, and which bore no special reference to *their own* history, but as a continual warning and a call to repentance, as a type and prediction of future judgments, which they might either call down or else turn aside (Deut. xxix. 23; Isaiah i. 9 and 10, xiii. 19; Jer. xx. 16, xxiii. 14, xlix. 18; l. 40; Lament. iv. 6; Ezek. xvi. 46, &c.).

This is the *only* reason why Jehovah will not and cannot hide His purpose from Abraham; and it becomes sufficiently apparent, from the manner in which He couches His communication. The words "in him shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" imply yet another motive for this communication. It is not to be hid from Abraham, who was the medium by whom all nations should be blessed, what God had determined in regard to these nations.

These two considerations shew us the only correct mode of viewing the INTERCESSION of *Abraham*, on behalf of the cities over whom the judgment of destruction hung like a threatening cloud. It is altogether erroneous to *limit* the motive for this intercession to the interest which Abraham took in the fate of Lot, or even to a kind of sentimental generosity. In respect of the former it would have been sufficient had he only pled for the family of Lot, and the latter would, to say the least, have been quite out of place in presence of the holy and just Judge. The promise of the land, and of the salvation of all nations through his seed, are the two great turning-points on which the history of Abraham moves. They are the two powerful levers which throughout are brought to bear upon the development of the covenant. They are also the turning-points and the levers of this intercession, and inspire the patriarch with humble courage and hope. Abraham was set apart to be the proprietor of *the land* in which these degenerate cities lay. As on that ground (§ 54, 3) he had formerly appeared as the protector, avenger, and deliverer of the land from its enemies, so he felt now called as mediator to appeal

from the wrath of Jehovah the Judge to the mercy of Jehovah the Covenant-God. Besides, Abraham was to be the medium of blessing and of salvation to *all nations*: he or his seed after him were to be the medium by which the Divine plan of salvation was to be accomplished for the heathen. Hence he was both warranted and called upon to act in this case also as mediator for the *nations* who, in the judgment of God, were threatened with destruction, that so by appealing to the mercy of Jehovah who had decreed salvation, he might, *if possible*, deliver them from destruction, and preserve them for that salvation which was to proceed from him and to extend to all nations.

SODOM IS DESTROYED AND LOT PRESERVED.

§ 61. (Gen. xix. 1 to 26.)—While Abraham holds communion with one of the three heavenly visitors, the others turn towards Sodom. Lot (1) received them hospitably, but the heavenly beauty of the angels only excited the vile licentiousness of the Sodomites. At night they surrounded the house of Lot, and demanded the surrender of his guests. In vain Lot remonstrates, and at last, to avert from his visitors the threatened indignity, even offers his own two daughters to the populace. Exasperated by his refusal, the Sodomites now rush forward to attack Lot, but the angels deliver him and smite the presumptuous sinners with blindness. Warned by the angels, Lot leaves Sodom early next morning, together with his family, unaccompanied however by those who were to have been married to his daughters, and whom he had been allowed to take with him in his flight. The attempt to deliver *them* was vain. To his admonition they responded only by derision and scorn. Outside the city Jehovah admonishes Lot to make haste and flee to the mountains; but in compliance with his entreaty He spares the little town of Bela or Zoar to be a place of refuge to him. And now Jehovah sends fire and brimstone from heaven and destroys the whole district, with its cities and inhabitants (2.) Despite the express command to the contrary, Lot's wife looks behind, and is changed into a pillar of salt (3.)

(1.) THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS POSITION OF LOT clearly appears from the account before us. No doubt he had entered

into too close fellowship with the Sodomites, although the text distinctly bears that he had frequently opposed their sins, the expression (ver. 9), "He will needs be a judge," referring, as *Tuch* rightly observes, to previous and repeated admonitions of Lot under similar circumstances. The statement in ver. 29, that Lot was delivered from the overthrow because God remembered Abraham, does not (as *Tuch* supposes, p. 358) contradict chap. xviii. 26, according to which he was to be spared on account of his own righteousness. The latter passage neither affirms nor denies the righteousness of Lot, and chap. xix. 29 only proves that God had listened to the intercession of Abraham so far as it was consistent with His judicial justice.

(2.) In general compare *J. Clericus* Diss. de Sodomae et finit. urbium subversione, in his Commentary on Genesis. In Deut. xxix. 23 THE NUMBER AND THE NAMES OF THE CITIES DESTROYED are particularly mentioned as Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Zeboim (comp. Hosea xi. 8). In Wisdom x. 6 we read of five cities, but the expression Pentapolis must not be too closely pressed. If in Gen. xix. 24 we have only an account of Sodom and Gomorrah, this is explained by the circumstance that the record professes to furnish a narrative of the deliverance of Lot rather than of the destruction of the cities. *Strabo* (l. 16, 2) speaks of thirteen cities that had been destroyed.

It is commonly supposed that the DEAD SEA occupies the place of the destroyed cities. But this has been controverted by *Reland* (Pal. p. 254), with arguments which have not been set aside by *J. D. Michaelis* (De Natura et Origine Maris Mortui in his Commentat. soc. Gott. obl. iv. v.), and which claim to be heard and weighed even after the publication of the account furnished by the American expedition to Jordan (comp. § 39, 6). The supposition of *Lynch* that the cities destroyed are buried in the mud forming the southern basin of the Dead Sea can, in our opinion, not be inferred with certainty from the mere difference of bottom in the northern and southern basins. According to Gen. xiii. 10 the cities lay in the *circuit* (circle) of the *Jordan*, and according to Gen. xiv. 3 the Dead Sea covered the place of the *vale of Siddim*;—but this is no reason for completely identifying the above localities. Indeed the last quoted passage shews that the vale of Siddim was in the neighbourhood of these cities, not that they lay in that vale. More than that, the statement that the kings of the five cities assembled for battle in the vale of Siddim seems rather to imply that the cities had not covered the valley. On the other hand Deut. xxix. 23 and Zeph. ii. 9 (Jeremiah xl. 18, l. 38) appear to favour the view of *Reland*. According to Zeph. ii. 9 the locality of Sodom and Gomorrah had become "the breeding of nettles and saltpits and

a perpetual desolation," while according to Deut. xxix. 23 the whole land "burned with brimstone and salt that it is not sown nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein." In perfect accordance with this *Josephus* (de bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4) mentions that the district *Sodomitis*, which had formerly been a fruitful country, containing many cities, lay along the Dead Sea. However, the southern basin of the Dead Sea must have originated with the destruction of these cities, as, according to Gen. xix. 17 and 25, *the whole neighbouring country*, not the cities only, was destroyed. But as the Dead Sea is still bounded on the south by salt-pits (as described in Zeph. ii. 9 and Deut. xxix. 23), and as, according to Genesis x. 19, these cities had formed the southernmost boundary of Canaan, we are warranted in supposing that the four cities had stood on the spot where now salt-pits surround the southern boundary of the Dead Sea. In general we may state that the formation of the southern basin of the lake by the sinking of ground, undermined by subterranean fire, probably belongs to a period posterior to that of the destruction of the cities.

Robinson has made special investigation of the SITE OF ZOAR (vol. ii. p. 517). The notices in the Bible, in *Josephus*, in *Jerome*, in *Eusebius*, &c., lead us to look for this city on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, and within the territory of Moab. *Robinson* inclines to fixing its site at the mouth of Wady Kerak, where the latter opens upon the Isthmus of the long peninsula that stretches into the Dead Sea. On that spot *Irbij* and *Mangles* had discovered traces of an extensive ancient site (*Robinson*, vol. ii. p. 107).

It is not difficult to discover some points of resemblance between this account in the Bible and the legend of *Philemon* and *Baucis* (Ovid Metam. viii. 616). But it is impossible to decide whether there is any real resemblance to them. We are not inclined entirely to set aside the conjecture, considering the extensive spread among non-biblical writers of the account of the destruction of the cities (for example *Tacitus* Histor. v. 7, *Solin.* c. 36, and especially *Strabo* xvi. p. 374).

(3.) The older commentators generally supposed that Lot's WIFE had, in the most literal sense, been changed into a pillar of salt. Indeed, to carry it to the extreme of absurdity, legend had it that it was still with her after the manner of women (Carm. de Sodoma in *Tertull.* p. 813, *Iren.* 4, 51), *Tuch* maintains: "Any person who should hold that such a metamorphosis would have been incongruous with the spirit of the Old Testament, or with the character of Jehovah, and who should attempt to interpret it into a possible fact, only declares that he has not understood the spirit of this ancient poem." Notwithstanding

this remark we still hold that it was a possible fact, and assert that any one who would convert a metamorphosis of Ovid into a judgment on the part of the God of the Old Testament is wholly unacquainted with the character of the Old Testament. However, assertions and counter-assertions of this kind are of no value. The text says nothing of a metamorphosis, and the expressions employed are so indefinite as to shew that the writers were really ignorant of the manner of her death. Lot himself had to hurry on, and could not stay to investigate what had become of his wife, who had remained behind. Probably a later search would shew that the place where she had been left was converted into a heap of salt, which therefore was considered both as her grave and as a monument of Divine judgment upon man's unbelief (ἀπιστοσύνης ψυχῆς μνημεῖον ἐστηκυῖα στήλη ἁλός Sap. 10, 7). *Josephus* (Ant. i. 11, § 4 ἱστορήσα δ' αὐτήν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει), and later travellers have declared that they had seen the pillar themselves, but their remark must refer so some mass of salt in the neighbourhood, which popular opinion would point out as a relic connected with this ill-fated woman. The members of the American expedition under *Lynch* discovered on the eastern side of Usdum a pillar of massive salt, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper portion is rounded, and about forty feet high. It rests upon a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. Probably this is the pillar to which *Josephus* refers. The command not to stand still nor to look round had reference both to outward circumstances and to the state of mind of those who were escaping. If neglected, a person might readily have been overtaken by the rapid progress of destruction. On the other hand, to look round was to manifest a *corresponding state of mind*. When Lot's wife, even in that hour of anxious haste, could not forbear to look round, it implied not only doubt and unbelief as to the Divine warning, but a drawing towards those who had been left behind, which showed that her heart clung to the lusts of Sodom, and that she had unwillingly followed the angels' bidding (Luke xvii. 32). Comp. *Clericus* Diss. de Statua salina in his Comm.

§ 62. (Gen. xix. 27, &c.)—Lot does not long remain in Zoar. The judgment executed upon Sodom had filled his soul with such awe that he no longer deemed himself safe anywhere in the neighbourhood of the Canaanites, all of whom were more or less guilty of the same estrangement from God as the Sodomites. He now sought refuge in the wilderness. A cave in the mountains of what afterwards became the land of Moab served him

for a dwelling-place. His daughters, infected by the moral poison of Sodom, concluded that his retirement from the world would deprive them of every prospect of marriage. Accordingly, to make up for the loss of their intended husbands, they intoxicate their father, and, as the result of their incestuous union, give birth to *Moab* and to *Ben-Ammi*, respectively the ancestors of the Moabites and the Ammonites.

(1.) Since the time of *De Wette* (Crit. of Mos. Hist. p. 94) a certain kind of criticism has spoken of this narrative as if it could only have originated in the NATIONAL HATRED WHICH THE ISRAELITES BORE to the Ammonites and the Moabites. But the Pentateuch shows the very opposite of such national hatred (Deut. ii. 9 and 19). It is only in punishment of their unbrotherly and hostile conduct towards Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4 and 5), and to protect the Hebrews from their lascivious and seductive worship of nature (Numb. xxv. 1, &c.), that they are interdicted from entering the congregation. Nor is it as *M. Baumgarten* supposes, the purpose of the above narrative to shew the interest which sacred history takes in the nephew of Abraham. It is rather intended to point out the reasons of the peculiar relation which afterwards subsisted between Israel and these nations, and to bring the history of Lot to a proper conclusion.

Although Jehovah had expressly assured Lot that Zoar would be a safe place of refuge, the latter deemed it more advisable to take up his abode in the desert mountains which had previously been pointed out to him. This want of faith quite agrees with what we know of the character of Lot. The more close and intimate his former communion with these degenerate races had been, the more natural is it that in so weak a character a complete revulsion should take place after the judgments which he had witnessed.

It is almost absurd to account for the sin of the daughters of Lot on the supposition that they had fancied that all the male population of the earth had perished in the destruction of Sodom. But neither is it correct when *Baumgarten* (p. 215) explains it on the ground that Lot's fear of any contact with strangers was shared by his daughters, and that they deemed even incest excusable in order to procure descendants of pure and unmingled blood. Their proposed marriage with Sodomites shews that considerations like these did not weigh very heavily either with their father or with them. We can be at no loss for their motives. Disappointment about the loss of their intended husbands, dislike of the isolation of their father, sensuality, stimulated by the lusts of Sodom, perhaps at that time asserting its power

more than ever before, a low moral sense, and perhaps a real or fancied desire for progeny, may all have conspired to bring about this result.

Baumgarten explains the name מוֹאָב as derived by a difference of dialect, or by a corruption which frequently occurs in proper names, from מִצְרַיִם, and he interprets בֶּן עַמִּי as "Son of my People," implying that he had been derived not from a foreign but from their own race. But as the text does not furnish any hints for an etymological derivation of these names, we are not warranted to suppose what is erroneous, at any rate so far as the name Moab is concerned. Manifestly מוֹאָב = מִצְרַיִם is derived from רָצַב, and therefore means "He that has been desired, or longed for." The name seems to refer to the longing, expressed (in vv. 31 and 32) by the elder daughter to obtain seed.

ABRAHAM AND ABIMELECH.

§ 63. (Gen. xx. xxi v. 22 to 34.)—The day after Abraham had made intercession for the cities of the valley, he got up early in the morning to the top of the mountain near Hebron, whence he obtained a view of that district. And lo! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a great furnace (chap. xix. 27, 28). Either on account of its vicinity to the valley of destruction, or in quest of pasturage, he left Mamre and journeyed towards the south-east, settling within the territory of Abimelech of Gerar, king of the Philistines (1.) As formerly in Egypt he again passes his wife for a sister. Misled by this statement, Abimelech sends for her to his harem (2.) Apparently the king was not a violent or despotic ruler, but generous, noble, and even feared the Lord. On this ground God prevented Abimelech (for his own sake also) from touching Sarah, by laying him on a bed of sickness, and He even condescends to reveal to him in a dream the true state of matters, calling upon him not only to return to Abraham his wife, but, for the atonement of his guilt, also to secure the intercession of the Patriarch, who was a *prophet* (3.) The king obeys. In the most respectful manner, and in solemn public assembly, he restores to Abraham his wife, at the same time bestowing rich presents upon him (4.) To the reproof of Abimelech that by his former misrepresentation the Patriarch had brought him into danger, he has nothing else to reply than

that he had thought that the fear of God was not in this place, and that in a certain sense Sarah really was his sister (5.) In answer to the prayer of Abraham, God then removed the *plague* with which the household of Abimelech had been afflicted (6.) Not long afterwards the king, accompanied by Phicol, his chief captain (7), visited Abraham to enter into covenant with him: for he had observed that God was with him in all that he undertook. The covenant between them was made in Beersheba (8.)

(1.) From Gen. x. 9 it would appear that GERAR was not far from Gaza, and from ch. xxvi. 26 that it lay in the neighbourhood of Beersheba. But as, according to Gen. xxvi. 23, *they went up* from Gerar to Beersheba, we shall have to look for it between Gaza and Beersheba, on a site nearer to the seaboard than the latter place. This quite agrees with 2 Chron. xiv. 12, according to which Gerar lay to the south-west of Judah, and with Gen. xx. 1, according to which it lay between Shur (§ 57, 1) and Kadesh. Rowland has lately discovered, three hours to the south-east of Gaza, a deep and broad wady, called the *Jurf-el Gerar* (i.e. the river Gerar). Somewhat above that place, and where the Wady es-Sheriah debouches, traces of an ancient city were also discovered, bearing the name *Khibet el-Gerar* (comp. K. Ritter Geo. xiv. p. 1084).

(2.) On the conduct of Abraham, comp. our remarks § 52, 2; see also the note preceding it as to the doubts thrown on the historical character of this event on account of the AGE OF SARAH. In the present instance this difficulty is somewhat increased, as since her visit to Egypt twenty-three or twenty-four years had passed over Sarah, and, according to chap. xviii. 11, it was no longer with her after the manner of women. We cannot get over this difficulty by supposing with *Drechsler* (Genuineness of Genesis, p. 222) that in this case as in others the love of change, or a freak of oddity, should have inflamed the lusts of a royal debauchee. For, neither does the text represent Abimelech as a "brutal" debauchee, nor do we imagine, even had he been such, would his lust have been excited by a woman ninety years of age, at least if her appearance was similar to that of an European at that period of life. But the matter admits of ready explanation. Since the visit of the angels in Mamre when Sarah was *set apart* to become a mother, and through the creative agency of God *rendered capable* of it, her youth and beauty had returned. If she was to conceive and become mother, her youth must have been renewed; this new life would manifest itself in her appearance, and lend it fresh beauty and new charms.

(3.) God designates Abraham as a PROPHET. Comparing

merely the *natural* position of Abraham in this transaction with that of Abimelech, the Patriarch would have appeared under great disadvantage, and therefore God points out that by grace and calling he occupied another and a much higher place, from which he was not removed even when, through the weakness of his nature, he lost so much of his personal dignity. With Abimelech God holds intercourse only by a *dream*; but Abraham is the friend of God. To him He confides His council, into his mouth He puts His words; Abraham acts as mediator for the nations, and even, while Abimelech stands so much higher than the Patriarch in point of natural dignity and moral strength, the latter has to intercede for him, that the sin, of which without knowing its full extent he had become guilty, might be forgiven, and that the plague, with which he and his household had been afflicted, might be removed.

(4.) For an explanation of the difficult expression in ver. 16, בַּסֵּהַת יִצְחָק, we refer to the Commentaries, and *Ewald's Grammar*, p. 242, note.

(5.) Abraham declares that *Sarah* was indeed his *SISTER*, being the daughter of his father, but not of his mother. It is remarkable that the genealogy of Terah (chap. xi. 27) does not contain any mention of the name of Sarah. It has therefore been suggested that Ischah, the daughter of Haran (chap. xi. 29), was the same as Sarah. *Josephus* (Antiq. i. 6, 5) already adopts this view, which is also preserved in Arabic tradition (*Abulfeda Historia anteisl.* ed. Fleischer p. 20). In that case the word sister would, as in other analogous instances, be employed in a wider sense, and Ischah would have obtained the name Sarai = the Princess, on the occasion of her marriage with Abraham, the first born son of Terah, and the chief of his family.

(6.) According to verse 17, "God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his concubines, that they bare children." This expression has been frequently understood as implying that the injury done to Abraham had been punished by rendering the wives of Abimelech barren. As in that case it is conjectured that at least two or three years must have elapsed before this barrenness could have been observed, it is concluded that this section must be out of its proper place, as, according to chap. xvii. 18, "Sarah was to bear a son *within the year*," and according to chap. xxi, she actually gave birth to Isaac. But the circumstance that Abimelech himself had to be healed (comp. also verse 6) shews that the punishment was not what is supposed by some. We conceive that it consisted in an "*impotentia copulæ*" from disease on the part of both Abimelech and his wives, and which therefore implied also barrenness. Some such plague must have shewn itself during the first days of Sarah's sojourn in the harem.

Tuch and others understand the expression to refer to some weakness in the pangs of birth, on account of which the wives of Abimelech could not bring forth their children, in which case it would not be necessary to suppose that Sarah had remained for any length of time in the king's harem. But many reasons might be urged against this suggestion. In the text we read of the conjugal connection in the family of Abimelech, but it is not viewed as for the purpose of the gratification of lust, but for that of obtaining children, and hence the latter is prominently brought forward as the result of the removal of the plague.

(7.) *Baumgarten* rightly remarks, "that Abimelech should have taken with him *his chief captain*, shews that he had not a private, but a public transaction in view." The same names occur again in Gen. xxvi. 6 (comp. § 71, 1).

(8.) IN ENTERING INTO THIS COVENANT, Abraham set seven ewe lambs by themselves as a symbol of the covenant to which they had sworn. It is not said that they were offered in sacrifice, but this seems probable from the practice common at that time in making covenants, and from the peculiar expression used in v. 27.

Seven is the number indicating the covenant, and hence also an oath (comp. *Bähr*, Symbolic i. 187, and the writer's Essay on the Symbolical import of numbers in the "Stud. u. Krit.," for 1844, p. 346). The text connects the name of the place with the transaction which then took place. *Tuch* is right in stating that the name BEERSHEBA means in the first place "seven wells," and not "well of the oath." But this admission proves nothing either for his or our view of the text. It must also be remembered that in making this covenant Abraham claimed a *well*, which he had digged, but which the subjects of Abimelech had violently taken from him. The situation of Beersheba, a town of great importance, not only as being the southern boundary of Palestine, but also from the recollections which from the time of the patriarchs were connected with it, has been accurately indicated by *Robinson*, who, after the lapse of centuries, was the first again to visit its site. He describes the ascent from the wilderness as follows (vol. i. p. 203):—"Our road thus far had been among swelling hills of moderate height. We now began gradually to ascend others higher, but of the same general character. . . . We reached the top . . . and looked out before us, over a broad lower tract; beyond which our eyes were greeted with the first sight of the mountains of Judah, south of Hebron, which skirted the open country and bounded the horizon in the east and north-east. We now felt that the desert was at an end. . . . In an hour and a half we reached Wady es-Seba, a wide water course or bed of a torrent. . . .

Upon its northern side, close upon the bank, are two deep *wells*, still called Bir es-Seba, *the ancient Beersheba*. We had entered the borders of Palestine. . . . Ascending the low hills north of the wells, we found them covered with the ruins of former habitations, the foundations of which are distinctly to be traced, although not one stone remains upon another." According to the interpretation of *Hitzig* the name Beersheba would mean, "the well of the camel, which can bear thirst for seven days" (see Orig. Hist. of the Philist. p. 109).

ISAAC IS BORN. ISHMAEL IS CAST FORTH.

§ 64. (Gen. xxi. 1 to 21.)—At Beersheba, in the neighbourhood of which Abraham sojourned for a long time, Sarah gave birth to the long-expected son of promise (1) (in the one hundredth year of Abraham's, and in the ninetieth of her own life). Abraham called the name of his son Isaac (2), and circumcised him on the eighth day. At the feast made when Isaac was weaned (3) Sarah demanded that Ishmael, who had mocked, should be cast out with his mother. Abraham was unwilling to comply, but God commanded him to do so, and, to make his obedience the more easy, He added the promise that of the son of the bond-woman also He would make a great nation, because he was the seed of *Abraham*. The Patriarch now obeys, and sends away Hagar with her son (4.) They depart towards Egypt, but, on her journey through the wilderness which commenced near Beersheba, Hagar loses her way. The angel of the Lord preserves Hagar and her child from perishing by thirst. Ishmael grows up in the wilderness of Paran (5), and becomes the powerful ancestor of twelve Arab tribes.

(1.) THE BIRTH OF ISAAC is the first result of the covenant, and the first step towards its goal. But if the development is to make organic progress, its commencement must already contain in germ what shall fully appear at its close. Hence, with the birth of Isaac, the promise "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" commences to unfold, and to tend towards its fullest realization. In truth, Isaac himself is that seed, and his birth is an implicit but practical pledge on the part of God that the salvation of the world shall be accomplished. The further increase of Isaac farther unfolds that salvation, and the

goal of this development constitutes also the attainment of the great salvation. This development is carried on by means of generation, which is, therefore, sanctified within the bounds of the covenant. So long as Abraham was uncircumcised, he was not to beget Isaac, thus indicating that the goal was not to be attained by merely natural generation. But the *generic*, not the *individual*, development of Isaac will lead to the goal. Generation is to continue subservient to covenant purposes until the seed of promise has passed through the preparatory process, and attained the maturity necessary for being capable of presenting salvation in its fulness. Hence, Isaac and all his seed after him must be circumcised, *until*, in the fulness of time, the development of the seed of promise which had been aimed after, has been fully attained. Then the purpose of circumcision has been exhausted and fulfilled, and its further continuance is superfluous. With Isaac commences therefore a *series*, of which, at that time, the termination was not yet in sight. But from the first the goal was clearly indicated, and the commencement is itself a guarantee that that goal shall ultimately be reached. For the generation of Isaac was not *κατὰ φύσιν*, but *παρὰ φύσιν*, not by human strength left to itself, but by the co-operation of creative omnipotence, and in accordance with the promise of the covenant. Again, the commencement is not merely a guarantee but also a *typical representation* and a *pre-formation* of the end, as the tendency at work, the life-power, in virtue of which the course of development will be continued and carried on to the end, must manifest itself from the first, and impress upon the commencement of the development its peculiar stamp, and thus, from the first, have exhibited its distinguishing characteristics. If the entire development of the covenant could only be brought about by a special and powerful Divine co-operation—if, more especially, the goal could only be attained by the *highest* manifestation of this Divine co-operation, the commencement also must have been *παρὰ φύσιν*. On the other hand, if the commencement was *παρὰ φύσιν*, we are warranted in expecting and inferring that the goal towards which that commencement tends shall likewise be *παρὰ φύσιν*.

(2.) The NAME given to the *son of promise* points to the contrast between the idea and the reality; to the promise of God and the Divine guarantee of its fulfilment on the one hand, and on the other to the incapability of Abraham and of Sarah for generation, and to the *physical* impossibility that the promise should become true, resulting from this circumstance. When by the birth of a son this contradiction has been removed, a new and no less decided contrast appears between the inexhaustible fulness of blessing for all nations of the earth which the promise

had attached to this son, and the weakness and poverty of the child which had just come into the world, feeble and helpless like other children. The former contrast had caused the laughter of Abraham and Sarah—the latter that of Ishmael. In *Abraham* the *laughter* was that of joy and hope, inspired by faith (chap. xvii. 17). When the announcement was first made to *Sarah*, she laughed, while thinking of a contrast which, to all appearance, could not be removed (chap. xviii. 12); and after the birth of a son, she exclaims, in the happy consciousness that the promised event had now really taken place (chap. xxi. 6): “God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me.” Again, when Isaac is weaned, Ishmael *laughs*, mocking the weak babe, about whom his parents make so much work, and with whom they connect such exceeding hopes (chap. xxi. 9). In each case the laughing is not accidental nor unimportant; it stands in connection with the central point of these occurrences, and indicates the relation which each of these persons occupied towards the great event. Comp. also *Hengstenberg’s* Contrib. ii., p. 275, and *Drechsler*, Unity and Genuineness of Genesis, p. 214.

(3.) It is impossible definitely to ascertain the *exact time* when ISAAC WAS WEANED. From 2 Macc. vii. 27; from 1 Sam. i. 23, 24; and from *Joseph. Ant.* ii. 9, 6, it has been inferred that among the Hebrews suckling was continued for so long a period as three years. To this *Tiele* and *Baumgarten* reply that the cases there mentioned were extraordinary, but then the same remark applies to Sarah. Generally the youngest children were weaned at a later period than others. The point is only of importance in order to determine the age of Ishmael when cast forth. *Baumgarten* rightly observes that “weaning is the first step in the direction of independent existence, it was therefore solemnised by a feast;” and we add, it was therefore at that time also that Sarah demanded that Ishmael should be cast forth.

(4.) ISHMAEL was at least fifteen years OLD when he was cast forth. He was thirteen years of age when circumcised (chap. xvii. 25). A year passed before Isaac was born (chap. xvii. 21, xviii. 10); and at least *another* year must have passed before Isaac was weaned. This might indeed appear inconsistent, if, as *Tuch* maintains, p. 382, the narrative represented Ishmael as a little child which had still to be carried in its mother’s arms. *Tuch* supports his statement by the following three reasons:—1. In verse 14, Abraham is said to put on the shoulder of Hagar provisions “and the child.” The LXX. indeed translate this ἔλαβεν ἄρτους καὶ ἀσπὸν ὕδατος καὶ ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀγαρ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμων αὐτῆς τὸ παιδίον, and *Tuch* agrees with them. But, literally translated, the words of the text are as follows:—“Abra-

ham took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away." The position of the words shews beyond controversy that the writer only meant that the bread and the water were put on her shoulder, and not the child. 2. In verse 15, &c., we read that Hagar had cast "the weeping child" under one of the shrubs. But this description, it is argued, implies that the "child was very young," and had to be carried or led by the hand (v. 18). In this instance also *Tuch* seems to have followed the LXX., who, without any warrant in the text, render v. 16 by way of painting the scene in language sufficiently dolorous and pitiable: ἀναβόησαν δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἔκλαιεν. But in the original we do not read that the *child had wept*, although it is distinctly said that *she* (Hagar) lifted up her voice and wept. Manifestly the narrative, bearing in this the impress of truth, represents the lad as so worn out with thirst that he is not able even to cry, while the mother is stronger, and at least capable of weeping, and of escaping from the sight of her suffering child. But it is well known that woman is much more capable of bearing such difficulties and privations, and that she does not so rapidly sink under them, as man, far less as a lad of fifteen years of age would do. That she cast the lad under one of the shrubs does not prove that he was a mere child, but only that he was so worn out as no longer to be able to walk without support, and hence that his mother had almost to carry and to lay him down. Again, the express statement that after he had been refreshed by drinking from the spring, Hagar *led the lad*, who must still have been exhausted, by the hand, proves that he could not have been a child, as else he would have had to be carried. 3. It is inferred that Ishmael was *not grown up*, because we read in verses 20 and 21, that when he was grown up he became an expert archer, and took a wife from Egypt. But this inference makes no account of the possibility that Ishmael may not have been full grown when in his fifteenth year. *Tuch* has also overlooked the account in verse 9, where Ishmael is represented as mocking. This expression would rather lead us to infer that he was a rude, rough lad of fifteen, and not a child of two or three years. Nor is it possible to convert the expressions used in that verse as referring to "*mere childish jokes*." It is well known that the *Piel* always implies intense or reiterated action. The word there used can therefore only be translated by "mocking much, or frequently mocking." Besides, the meaning intended to be conveyed, and the whole context, are against the rendering of *Tuch*. Manifestly the statement, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar mocking (that he was a mocker)," is meant to indicate the reason which induced her to demand at that very time that Ishmael should be cast out. If

so, how would this agree with the theory of "childish and harmless joking?" The casting forth of Ishmael was for the purpose of separating him from the chosen family, and from its calling. Inwardly he had already separated himself, and his external separation was only a necessary consequence. Had Ishmael remained a member of the household of Abraham, he could not have fulfilled the destiny towards which his natural disposition, his own choice, and the blessing of God pointed. On the other hand, had he remained with the chosen family for a longer time, his presence would have interfered with its peculiar development. That this separation took place in the manner in which the narrative records it, was no doubt meant for the instruction of Abraham rather than for the sake of Ishmael or of Hagar. Abraham was to learn to renounce everything for the Divine calling and for the promise—even his natural paternal affection. In this manner was he to reach that height of self-renunciation, of devotedness to God, and of faith, which, as we shall by and by see, he attained. *Baumgarten* (l. c.) aptly remarks—"Abraham is to renounce his natural feelings, and to comply with the demand of Sarah. Accordingly the dismissal of Ishmael takes the form of casting forth; and it is a complete misunderstanding when *Michaelis* and *Tiel* adorn the scene, and depict it as if it had been an affectionate leave-taking. Hagar receives only a piece of bread and a bottle of water; neither servant nor beast of burden accompany her (v. 14). Abraham felt the more able to use this severity that he had received a promise for Ishmael, which had but lately been reiterated. This was sufficient guarantee that Ishmael and his mother would not be allowed to perish in the wilderness. This casting forth was necessary, in order distinctly and prominently to exhibit the all-important difference between the child of grace and that of nature. After this difference had been fully brought out, Ishmael was again allowed to approach his father, and to share in his wealth." It will be noticed that, according to chap. xxv. 6, Abraham gave rich gifts to all the sons of his concubines. That Ishmael was included among them may the more certainly be inferred that, according to chap. xxv. 9, Isaac and he buried their father in the cave of Macphelah.

(5.) On the *wilderness of* PARAN, which must be sought in the north-eastern part of Arabia Petrea, comp. *Winer* (s. h. v.); *Raumer* (Wandering of the Israelites, p. 37); *Ritter* (Geography, vol. xiv., p. 270). For further particulars, we refer to vol. ii. of the present work.

(6.) Even before Ishmael was born, when Hagar of her own accord fled from the house of Abraham (chap. xvi.), the angel of the Lord had portrayed the future *character of her son* in

brief but strong outlines. "He will be a wild man (literally, a wild ass of a man); his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell before (*i.e.*, to the east of—comp. *Baumgarten*, ad Genesin, xvi. 16) all his brethren." And to this day his descendants are like their ancestor. It were impossible to describe more accurately than in these terms the unbridled love of liberty, and the wild irregular roaming of the Bedouin Arabs, characteristics which have remained unchanged for the last thousands of years. Comp. *Michaelis*' Notes for the Unlearned on Genesis xvi. 10; *Lange's* Miscellaneous Works, i., p. 156. Genesis xxv. 12 to 18 describes the further course by which the descendants of Ishmael developed into a nation. Ishmael died at the age of 137 years. His descendants, which, even at the time of Moses, had organised themselves under twelve powerful chieftains, then lived "from Havilah unto Shur, east of Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria." They therefore roamed through the whole territory from the wilderness of Egypt to the steppes of the Euphrates.

THE OFFERING UP OF ISAAC.

§ 65. (Gen. xxii. 1 to 19.)—During the long sojourn of Abraham at Beersheba, the son of promise had grown up. And it came to pass that in a night vision the patriarch heard the voice of God *tempting* him: "Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of *Moriah*, and offer him there for a *burnt-offering* upon one of the *mountains* which I will tell thee of." This was the climax of all the trials and leadings in the life of Abraham. He had first been called to give up his country and his friends; he had next learned, in the son of his hand-maid, who was only the son of nature and of the flesh, to surrender to faith his natural paternal affection; he is now sufficiently prepared for the greatest and most difficult of all his trials; he is to tear the son of promise from his natural heart, and to cast him forth, and that not only like Ishmael from his house, but wholly from the land of the living; nor has he now the consolation of a Divine promise such as was granted him when Ishmael was cast forth. But in this case also does the hero of faith triumph through faith over all the perplexities and doubts which flesh and blood must have suggested. Early

in the morning he takes the lad and two servants, and goes unto the place of which God had told him. On the third day, he reaches his destination. At the foot of the mountain Abraham leaves the servants. "Abide ye here," he says, "I and the lad will go yonder, and when we have worshipped, will come again to you." Isaac himself carried the wood for the burnt-offering, Abraham the fire and the knife—and so both went together. In childlike simplicity, Isaac enquires:—"My father! behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" This question must have entered the soul of the father like a two-edged sword, yet he calmly replies—"My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." The conviction that this was to be emphatically the work of *God* filled the son with peace, and sustained the father under his heavy trial—and so both went together. On the mountain Abraham built an altar, and bound his son upon the wood. Already he had taken up the sacrificial knife, when the angel of the Lord stayed his hand, calling unto him from heaven—"Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do him any harm, for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thine own son from me." And behold, behind him was a ram caught by his horns in a thicket; and Abraham offered him up in the stead of his son. Then the angel of the Lord again repeated the former promises granted to Abraham, but with more fulness and particularity than ever before, and confirmed them with an oath. Afterwards Abraham returned with his son to Beersheba.

(1.) It is impossible accurately to fix the *TIME* when *this event* took place. The circumstance that Isaac carried the wood for the sacrifice shews that he could not have been a mere child. But the general cast of the narrative is opposed to the statement of *Josephus*, *Antiq.* i. 14, according to whom he was twenty-five years old, and to that of the Rabbins, who make him even older. In order to understand the narrative, it is necessary carefully to examine all its relations, and to view the event not only in its subjective but in its objective bearing.

Those critics who reject the historical authority of the Pentateuch, and suppose that Judaism, during the times of the Prophets, gradually evolved from the worship of nature, infer, from this narrative, that the religion of Jehovah had originally

occupied the same level as the *service of Moloch* (*Vatke*, Bib. Theol. i. p. 276). *V. Bohlen* expresses it as his opinion (Comm. p. 231) that in its original form the narrative had borne that Isaac had really been offered up in sacrifice. This preposterous idea has been carried out by *Daumer* (*The Fire- and Moloch-worship of the ancient Hebrews*, 1842, p. 34) with a degree of presumption and coarseness hitherto unknown in this branch of literature.¹ *Winer* more cautiously suggests that the custom of sacrificing children, derived from the Phœnician tribes, was the occasion of Abraham's attempted sacrifice. According to that author, the narrative intends to display the pious resignation and the active faith of Abraham in their highest form, and, at the sametime, to express the divine prohibition of human sacrifices. Similarly *Bertheau* remarks (p. 224), "that Abraham could have received such a commandment presupposes that his consciousness of God had become dim, and is explained by the influence of a custom widely spread among the surrounding tribes, and by the power of habit . . . In his willingness to offer up that which is dearest to him, he is not a whit behind the Canaanites. But, at the moment when he is about to offer up the sacrifice, he obtains by revelation the assurance that *his* god would not accept the sacrifice of a child. . . Hence, the narrative implies that Abraham was aware of the objectionableness of human sacrifices . . . and that, in consequence, he

¹ We subjoin the following as a specimen of the cleverness of *Danmer*: "If people were not accustomed to be purblind on such subjects, this sacrifice of his child on the part of Abraham (although, according to the text in its present form, it had not been completed) might have served to enlighten readers on the subject,"—a result this reserved for the wisdom of *G. Fr. Daumer*. Accordingly he informs us that, from a statement of *Sanchuniathon* (*Eusebius praeeparatio* l. i), we gather that the tradition of Abraham's worship and sacrifice of his child was not completely related in Genesis. According to *Sanchuniathon*, Chronos, whom the Phœnicians called Israel, had during the prevalence of a plague offered up his only real son to his father Uranos, then undergone circumcision, and obliged his followers to do the same, "Abraham was a worshipper of Moloch, a fanatic of the first kind; hence he occupied so high a place among the Moloch-serving descendants of Shem; hence also the reforming pseudo-Isaiah (chap. xliii. 27), who appears to have possessed a more complete tradition about Abraham, reproaches his contemporaries with the sin of their first ancestor." Again, while in the narrative handed down to us Abraham appears as an old man, childless on account of the barrenness of his wife, the older and the more accurate narrative (which of course exists merely in the bright imagination of *Daumer*) only represents him as childless because he had sacrificed all the children of his marriage to Moloch-Jehovah. And from that time till the events enacted at Damascus in 1840 the history of the Jews presents, according to *Daumer*, a continuous series of innumerable sacrifices of children and of men, all of whom were offered up to their dark and cruel idol Moloch-Jehovah. The explanation of *Ghillany* (l. c. p. 660, &c.) in the main agrees with the above, although it is not quite so coarse and silly.

came to occupy a position of direct antagonism to the idolatry of the Canaanites." We shall find that this explanation closely approaches the truth, only that it wholly ignores the reality and the meaning of the introductory words: "*God tempted Abraham, and said unto him.*"

Hengstenberg (Contrib. iii., p. 145) holds that a divine command to offer a sacrifice had, indeed, been issued, but that Abraham had misunderstood its import. The import of the temptation had lain in this, to determine in what sense God demanded the sacrifice of man (1 Sam. i. 25). The same view is advocated by *Lange* (Life of Jesus, i., p. 120): "*Jehovah commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac. The patriarch submitted, but in the decisive moment understood the commandment as if Moloch had enjoined him to slay Isaac. Then Jehovah interposed, praised the obedience of the patriarch, but corrected his error, and showed him the difference between death and surrender, by calling on him to slay the ram, in token that he had given over and offered up his son. Both by the vigour with which Abraham complied with the command of God enjoining the sacrifice, and by the clearness with which he understood the voice of God explaining the sacrifice, the patriarch shewed that he was the chosen one whom Jehovah would employ for founding a theocracy in which all human life should be offered up to him, and yet no human life should be taken away in the exercise of pretended but iniquitous priestly functions.*" All this is very fine, and in part very *true*. But it is manifestly erroneous to said that Abraham had misunderstood and mistaken the command of God. Every expression in the divine command runs contrary to this view, and shews that it was not Abraham's exegesis but that of the Christian interpreters of the 19th century which is at fault. If Abraham should and could have understood the demand of Jehovah as *merely* implying an ideal though real surrender of Isaac, it would have been equally useless and confusing to have ordered him to take Isaac *to go with him* to a mountain in the land of Moriah, and *there* to offer him up as a *burnt-offering*. If it had been the intention of the writer to make a distinction between the *knowledge and the intention* of Abraham, and to characterise the one as false and the other as proper, it would somehow or other have appeared in the narrative itself. But of this we do not discover a trace. Had Abraham's understanding of the Divine commandment been as opposed to it as his intention was in agreement with it, God would have reproved the one when He commended the other. If the view of *Lange* were correct, the only alternative left to us were to assume either that God had intentionally couched His command in language which Abraham could not but

misunderstand, or else, as this would have been unworthy of God, that Abraham might have correctly understood it, in which case the blame of the misunderstanding rests with the patriarch. But what would have taken place if Abraham had understood it correctly, *i.e.* according to the view of *Lange*? In that case we see insuperable difficulties; for HOW and IN WHAT MANNER *could or should Abraham have carried out such a command?* *J. P. Lange* (Positive Dogmatics, p. 823) very naively ignores his former statement, and says "he would have done so *in the very manner in which he actually carried it out.*" But if this be true, wherein, we ask, consisted his supposed mistake? A mere abstract frame of mind, without a concrete and actual manifestation of it, was not what God demanded; a *deed*, a striking fact, was requisite. We therefore maintain that Abraham had rightly understood the command of God, and that God had really demanded at his hand the slaying of Isaac.¹

At the same time we must allow that there is some difficulty in the case, considering that the *same* Jehovah who in the law (Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 1 to 5; Deut. xii. 31, xviii. 10) expresses the utmost abhorrence of human sacrifices, and *prohibits* them as an abomination, should, in this instance, Himself *command* a human sacrifice. The solution of the difficulty lies in the introductory statement "*God tempted Abraham,*" and in the corresponding issue of the event, when God *interposed* in the decisive moment and gave implicit praise to Abraham on account of his *ready obedience*. God *tempted* Abraham to see whether his faith was capable of producing the self-renunciation, the obedience, and the trust which were necessary for its perfecting,

¹ In the work to which we have referred (p. 848, &c.), *J. P. Lange* urges no less than nine arguments against the view advocated by us, which he is pleased to designate as the common view of ecclesiastical schools. We will not weary the reader by enumerating and refuting them, but we assure them that while indeed two thirds of them are new and unrefuted, they do not deserve or require refutation. The other third has been frequently urged, and as frequently refuted. Only the fifth objection claims not an answer but a reproof. "If correct, the inference that God may in vision have really addressed such commandments to individuals, and perhaps have allowed them to be executed, would be legitimate. *Without doubt this misunderstanding on the part of theologians is in part the cause of the extravagancies which in this respect have occurred.*" Alas for those iniquitous critics who, by their correct interpretations of Gen. xxii., are to blame for all the dreadful misdeeds of religious fanaticism, from the Christian Fakirs of the Egyptian wilderness down to the attempt at self-crucifixion, which, according to newspaper reports, have lately been made in a German University town! And what is still more dreadful, among these guilty critics are all the ecclesiastical authorities from the oldest to the present time. But despite all these dangers we can scarcely think it the duty of the critic to interpret away everything, which may give occasion to a half or wholly crazed fanatic for introducing absurdities in the name of religion.

and in order to advance his faith to that stage. Hence, Abraham must be ready for the Lord to sacrifice even that which is nearest and dearest to him, more dear even than his own life. It is true that God did not seek the *slaying* of Isaac *in fact*, but only the implicit *surrender* of the lad, in *mind and heart*. But if all mental reservation, every refuge for flesh and blood, all mere appearance and self-delusion were to be avoided, this surrender could only be accomplished in the shape in which it was actually required. If it was to be wholly an act of faith left to its own energies, without any other point of support, God could not merely ask a mental surrender, but must have demanded an actual sacrifice. On the part of any other than God such a *quid pro quo* would have been a dangerous game. Not so on the part of God, who held the issue entirely in His own hand. When Abraham had, in heart and mind, completely and without any reserve, offered up his son, God interposed and prevented the sacrifice *in fact*, which was no longer required for the purpose of trial, and would indeed have completely run counter to it. This *interposition* on the part of God forms the link of connection between the *commandment* addressed to Abraham, and the prohibition addressed to his posterity. Implicitly, it already contains the prohibition which is afterwards explicitly laid down in the law. Hence, the antagonism between this command and the prohibition is not separated by a development of 600 years, but the two are placed side by side in this very history and reconciled by the issue of it. "Now I know," says the angel of the Lord, "that thou fearest God, and hast not withheld thine own son from me." And again: "By myself have I sworn, because thou hast done this thing and hast not withheld thine own son, that in blessing I will bless thee, &c., because thou hast obeyed my voice."

But why, it may be asked, does the trial of Abraham take *this* form, and what bearing has it upon the history of Abraham and the development of the covenant? This bearing must have been the more important and deep, as manifestly the trial and its issue marked the highest stage in all the leadings, trials, or triumphs in the life of Abraham, and the fullest manifestation of his faith. Every one is prepared to find that the history of Abraham has now reached its climax, and in point of fact the remainder of his life passes quietly and undisturbed, without any other trials, contests, and triumphs, till in a good old age he is gathered to his fathers. *Ewald* (p. 382) beautifully and aptly delineates the bearing of this "myth," as he calls it, and that in language so appropriate that its meaning as a *fact* could scarcely have been better expressed. "But as yet even Isaac, that precious gift so long promised, was only a natural blessing

for Abraham. A son like any other, although the offspring of Sarah—the son of Abraham was born to him and educated in his house. Since his birth he has not been called upon to bear for him pangs, the pangs of a soul struggling in faith; and yet every blessing becomes only spiritual and truly lasting if we are able also to appropriate it in the contest and in the struggles of a believing spirit.” Comp. also especially *Baumgarten’s* Comm. i. 1, p. 232, which presents probably the best treatment which the subject has hitherto received, although it requires to be supplemented in some not unimportant particulars. Abraham’s natural powers had ceased; but through the power of Divine promise was Isaac begotten. Hence, although Abraham had begotten the seed of promise by the strength of his faith in the promise, it was still in the natural way and by the will of the flesh. True, Isaac was begotten in circumcision, *i.e.* the natural character and the impurity of generation had been removed, but only *symbolically*, not *really*. Hence Isaac is the son of promise and of grace, but at the same time also the son of nature and of the flesh. This led to a two-fold relation between Abraham and his child. He cherisheth Isaac as the son of promise and as the gift of Divine omnipotence and of grace; but he also cherishes him as the offspring of his own body. In the heart of Abraham this fleshly affection contends with the spiritual for the sole possession of Isaac. But if the faith of Abraham, which is accounted to him for righteousness, is to be perfected, he must deny his fleshly love to his son, as he had formerly in the exercise of faith given up his father and mother, his kindred and country (Gen. xii. 1). The carnal generation was the basis of his carnal attachment; the promise that of his spiritual attachment towards Isaac. But the former must be given up that the promise might remain the sole basis of his affection. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks: “The circumstance that Abraham begat Isaac necessarily implied that his relation to the promised seed became obscured; and if Abraham was to return to the stage of pure faith, he must, as it were, by another act, annul that of begetting. As by the will of the flesh he had given life to Isaac, so he must by the will of the soul take it from him, in order to receive him again from Jehovah as purely and simply the son of promise and of grace.”

Such then is the bearing of the Divine command given to Abraham. But it had also an important object and meaning as bearing upon Isaac and his position in the covenant. In our view, *what* CIRCUMCISION *was to Abraham (qua begetting)* THIS OFFERING UP *was to Isaac (qua begotten)*. The natural life of Isaac was to be surrendered, because through generation this life in its origin was defiled. The circumcision of Abraham which

had preceded the begetting of Isaac had symbolically, not really, removed natural defilement. The command to sacrifice Isaac is an illustration of the fact that circumcision is not capable of accomplishing really that which it exhibits symbolically, and that natural defilement continued to descend. As the necessity of circumcision showed that the act of natural generation was impure, so this command to sacrifice Isaac manifests that the natural life of the party begotten was also impure.

But circumcision was not to be emasculation. Although tainted with impurity, generation was to continue in order to prepare for the last and perfect generation, in which every defect of nature was not only *symbolically* but *really* removed. In like manner also the life of Isaac was to be offered up, but not taken away. Although tainted by natural sin it was to continue subservient to covenant purposes, until in the course of the development of covenant-activity *that* life which was perfectly pure and holy should be exhibited. As in circumcision Abraham had surrendered himself to God, symbolically to remove the natural impurity of generation, that henceforth it might be dedicated and devoted to covenant-purposes, so Isaac also offers up his life. By this act doom is pronounced on its natural impurity, and after it had passed through the terrors of death he receives it again at the hand of God, but devoted and sanctified for covenant purposes.

Lastly, this event, happening to Abraham—the first in the series of the covenant who begat, and to Isaac, the first who was begotten—has not merely an individual and transitory, but a typical import for the general development. It indicates the character and the conditions under which alone the development can lead to its proper goal. In general it clearly expresses that within the covenant all natural possession must be surrendered, in so far as carnal affection has there its place and claim. Even life, viewed independently and as a product of nature, must willingly be yielded up as in itself unfit for covenant purposes, that it may again be received back from God, but now sanctified, dedicated, and a gift of grace. As the circumcision of Abraham, so the sacrifice of Isaac must henceforth be repeated in every member of the covenant nation. But in the sacrifice of Isaac it has clearly appeared that God demands only the ideal, not the real sacrifice of life. The putting away of everything connected with self and our own will, the surrender of thought and heart, had manifestly been the great object in view, and was therefore sufficient on the occasion of every succeeding birth. Still, ever afterwards was this abstract idea embodied in symbolical action, when the *first born* was offered up in the sanctuary. Such dedication of the first born implied also that of all the other

children, just as *eo ipso* woman was sanctified in the circumcision of the man.

Before proceeding farther we must accompany Abraham on his sad journey to the place where Isaac was to be sacrificed, in order to gain a proper view of his subjective relation to the objective command of God. He is to offer up the son for whom he had hoped and waited for twenty-five years, and on whose life hung all the precious and glorious promises which held out such unspeakable blessing and salvation itself to all nations. And yet Abraham was to preserve his faith in the promises, and his confidence in Him who had given them. This was the testing point in the temptation. And by faith he stood this test. Without finding special mention of it in the text, we conclude that the demand of God must have occasioned a severe struggle in the soul of Abraham; that doubt and faith, fears and hopes, had contended for ascendancy. But, as according to verse 3 he had commenced his journey early on the morrow after that vision, the contest had not lasted long. Similarly the whole issue of the history proves that the struggle had been followed by most complete and undoubted victory. Verse 5 shews in what manner the contest was carried on, and the victory achieved. Abraham orders the servants whom he had brought with him to wait at the foot of the mountain, and confidently adds, "I and the lad will go yonder, and when we have worshipped we will come again unto you." This confident declaration shows how correctly the author of the epistle to the Hebrews had interpreted the meaning and the thoughts of Abraham when in chap. xi. 19 he comments, "accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure." If God had at first given the son of promise from the *dead* body of Sarah, he could also again restore him from the dead. Nor could he feel any doubt on this point, since on the life of this son hung all the promises confirmed with an oath. As formerly Abraham had considered not the dead body of Sarah, but the omnipotence of Him who had given the promise, so now he considered not the sacrificial knife nor the fire, but only the command of God, and comforted himself with the faithfulness of Him who, despite all appearances to the contrary, would fulfil His promise.

But these considerations neither wholly remove the difficulties of the command to sacrifice Isaac, as compared with the later absolute prohibition of human sacrifices, nor do they exhaust the rich and deep bearing, and the comprehensive and extensive meaning of this fact, viewed in connection with the history of salvation generally. On all the heights around, Abraham descried altars smoking with *human* sacrifices which were offered to the

idols of Canaan. It was impossible but that Abraham *must* have viewed the Divine command to offer up his son Isaac—this climax of his self-renunciation—as standing in some relation to the climax in the worship of nature, of which he had witness in these heathen sacrifices. Not only Abraham, but every student of history in later times, *must* draw a parallel between those human sacrifices which were actually slain and this offering which was indeed demanded but arrested in the decisive moment. Indeed, the full meaning and the real relation of both kinds of sacrifices appears only in this parallelism, and by a comparison of the two.

Hengstenberg (Contrib. iii. 144) denies not only that *this event bore reference* to human sacrifices in the worship of nature, but that human sacrifices were *general among the heathen*. But in both these respects he is mistaken. He maintains: "Human sacrifices do not form part of heathenism generally; they are only the darkest night-side of heathenism. They occur among nations who, religiously and morally, are most degraded. The moral feeling of the more noble among the heathen revolted against them, and was not lured by the appearance of magnitude or devotion attaching to them (comp. *Cicero* de officiis iii. 25, and *Curtius* iv. 3, p. 23)." But this assertion of *Hengstenberg* runs counter to undoubted historical facts. Human sacrifices took place not only among the cannibals of Oceania, but, without exception, among all the nations of antiquity, and that not only among barbarous, but among cultivated races; not only among rude tribes, but among the most thoughtful and intellectual peoples (comp. *Euseb.* Prep. Ev. iv. 16; *Baur* Symb. ii. 2, p. 293; *Lasaulx*, The Atoning Sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans, 1841, p. 8; *Ghillany*, The Human Sacrifices of the Ancient Hebrews, 1842, p. 107). Indeed they seem to have been most frequent at the periods when the moral and religious life of the nations was most vigorous, and to have disappeared in times of moral degeneration and of religious indifferentism. *Cicero* may call the sacrifice of Iphigenia a "*tetrum facinus*," and *Curtius* designate human sacrifices generally as a "*sacrilegium*" and a "*dura superstitio*." But the religious and rationalistic superficiality of these writers is well known. Besides, they wrote at a time when the religious life of heathenism in general had sunk so low that one haruspex could not meet another without laughing, and the oracles of Pythia were regarded as the result of clever tricks on the part of the priests, &c. Without doubt, the *moral* life of the Greeks and Romans was much more vigorous and pure during the period when human sacrifices took place, than in the dissolute times of the Roman emperors when such offerings were no longer brought. True, in those ancient times

also, natural feeling—the voice of flesh and blood, paternal and maternal affection—must have resisted such demands on the part of religion, but the intensity of religious feeling silenced and removed this opposition.

It cannot be denied that, however human sacrifices belong to the sombre part of religious development, they spring from a true and deep want of religious consciousness. In proof of this we appeal to the general experience that every error, however dangerous, is based on some truth misunderstood, and that every aberration, however grievous, had started from a desire after real good, which had not attained its goal because the latter was sought neither in the right way nor by right means. We further appeal to the universality of this worship among all nations, which proves that the want which it embodied was genuine, however false its realisation may have been; and, lastly, we point to the strength and pertinacity of this error, however great the obstacles which it required to set aside, and which it actually overcame, for falsehood is only strong through the truth which in perverted form it embodies. Human sacrifices are indeed a dreadful *madness*, but they are the madness of *despair*. They express despair of real sacrifice, and utter hopelessness of discovering a real atonement. So deep and strong in the religious consciousness of man is the sense of the impurity attaching to human life, and the want of sufficient atonement and sanctification, that to attain these blessings, nothing seemed too dear or too precious. But in all the wide world no object is more dear or precious than this very tainted and unholy life of man. Hence the first impulse was to surrender *one's own life* in order to obtain forgiveness and sanctification, and next to sacrifice that of *another* man as a substitute. The general religious basis of both these acts consists in the consciousness of unholiness, the need of forgiveness, the knowledge that death is the wages of sin, that man's life was forfeited by sin, and also in a deep sense that while no real equivalent could be offered, what is most elevated, dear, and precious, was not too great a substitute for it. But the terrible error and the satanic self-delusion of the first-mentioned kind of these sacrifices consists in this, that so far from attaining a *new* and holy life by surrendering one's unholy life, all hope of such a change is thereby completely taken away. Still more dreadful and abominable is the other kind of sacrifices in which the life of another is substituted for one's own. In that case the personality of the substitute, which is to give to the sacrifice its high and only value, is most iniquitously trampled upon, and the person treated as matter, while the fact that the life which is substituted is as unholy as that whose place it is to take is purposely kept out of sight. Heathenism could not in-

deed wholly ignore this fact, but the sense of felt want imperatively called for some such satisfaction. This was not obtained by substituting animal sacrifices, of which the insufficiency was self-evident. In despair men resorted to human sacrifices; only when the earnestness of religious life more and more gave place to indifferentism animal sacrifices were again exclusively resorted to. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks: "This circumstance should not be regarded as constituting a real progress; it was only the progress of a refinement which found it more easy to get rid of the sense of sin. The Erinnyes (Furies) were appeased, but not satisfied." The substituting of animal sacrifices had no objective warrant among the heathen; it was merely the result of subjective choice.

Viewed from this point, we regard our history in a new light, and that both in respect of its *subjective* and *objective* import. An important truth, which may not be lightly passed over, lies at the foundation of the statements of *Winer* and of *Bertheim*—however inadmissible in other respects they may be—that the attempt to sacrifice Isaac had been occasioned by the Canaanitish custom of the same kind, and that the Divine command presupposed that Abraham's knowledge and sense of God had, through frequent contact with such sacrifices, become somewhat dim. If human sacrifices embody a genuine religious element, however perverted it may have become, the sensorium of Abraham, which was so susceptible for everything religious, must have been affected by it, and that in proportion as both the self-denial of heathenism which appeared in such acts was great and energetic, and Abraham himself felt conscious that his faith could not be perfected except by renunciation and self-denial. These Canaanitish sacrifices of children, and the readiness with which the heathen around him offered them, must have excited in Abraham a contest of thoughts accusing and excusing one another, and induced him to examine himself whether he also was capable of sufficient renunciation and self-denial to do, if his God demanded it, what the heathen around him were doing. *But if this question was raised in the heart of Abraham, it must also have been brought to a definite settlement through some outward fact.* Such was the *basis* for the demand of God so far as Abraham was concerned, and such the educational *motive* for this trial. The obedience of Abraham's faith must in energy and entireness not lag behind that which the religion of nature demanded and obtained from its professors. Abraham must be ready to do for *his* God what the heathen nations around him were capable of doing for their false gods. In every respect Abraham, as the hero of faith, is to out-distance all others in self-denial.

Viewing it *objectively*, we add the following remarks:—Human sacrifice was the climax of worship in the religion of nature. As this contained an element of truth, and covenant-religion had absolute truth for its aims, it was necessary that true and false religion should in this respect also from the very first diverge. That which was *true* must, therefore, be *recognised*; that which was *false* and *lying* must be *condemned* and *denied*. Human sacrifices had originated in a sense of the insufficiency of animal sacrifices. But the command to sacrifice Isaac is a recognition of the truth of the feeling that human life must be given up and sacrificed, inasmuch as it was unholy and undedicated. The interposition on the part of God was a refutation and a condemnation of the horrible misrepresentation of this truth in heathenism. Lastly, by the ram whom God substitutes, Abraham is again directed to offer animal sacrifices as substitutes and symbols of the offering up of human life, and the divine acceptance of the animal sacrifice sanctions, and, for the time being, solemnly acknowledges the sufficiency of animal sacrifices, which in themselves would have been quite inadequate. The circumstance that in themselves animal sacrifices are inadequate, and that God, nevertheless, accepts them as sufficient, is a type and guarantee (comp. *the Author's* "Mosaic Sacrifice," p. 40) that full, genuine, and sufficient satisfaction and sanctification of human life shall really and absolutely be obtained, even as then it was symbolically represented. By the restitution of the life which in thought and intention Abraham had already offered up, the despair of heathenism is, in the case of the covenant-people, entirely removed. Thus in its very commencement the religion of the chosen race has overcome the principle of the worship of nature, and left far in the back ground its development, even where it contained an element of truth. The human sacrifices in the worship of nature are the fearful cry of need and anxiety, elicited from man seeking salvation in his own way—a dreadful dissonance which only Christianity can resolve into hymns of joy and praise; it is a human device, neither approved by God nor man—to solve the problem of all religion, the enigma of a religious struggle and enquiry continued during forty centuries, and which *God* alone solved on Golgatha. We subjoin an apt remark of *Baumgarten*:—"The sacrifice of the ram on the part of Abraham is not an ἐθελοθρησκεία [worship of his own desire or choice] but of divine appointment. Hence the substitution of the ram does not diminish the former solemnity of the event, but establishes the purpose which the promised seed was to serve by placing its fulfilment in the future."

Before closing we must refer to the peculiar locality chosen for the sacrifice. In verse 2, one of the mountains in the land of

Moriah is pointed out as the place to which Abraham was to journey. According to verse 4, the patriarch arrives there (with an ass and some servants) on the third day after leaving Beersheba; and according to verse 14 he designated that place: *Jehovah-Jireh*, "Jehovah Sees." As the name itself (land of Moriah), so the distance mentioned leads us to suppose that it was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. From Bir-es-Seba, *Robinson* took twenty hours and twenty-five minutes to Jerusalem, travelling by the straight way, and with camels—a distance, therefore, which Abraham could easily have made in three days. *Bleek*, and after him *Tuch* and others, propose to read *Moreh* instead of *Moriah*, and refer it to that height near Sychem, where Abraham had formerly (chap. xii. 7) been honoured with a theophany, and where he had built an altar. But this cannot be reconciled with the distance mentioned in the text. *Robinson* took fourteen hours and thirty minutes to travel with mules by the straight road from Jerusalem to Sychem (Nabulus), so that the entire distance from Beersheba amounted to thirty-five hours, which Abraham could not have made in three days. But even the name points to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The designation *Moriah*, applied in verse 2 to the whole district, was at a later period confined to that particular mountain where this remarkable event had taken place. There afterwards the temple was built (2 Chron. iii. 1; *Joseph. Antiq.* i. 13, 2). We now perceive why Jehovah chose that particular mountain. The object in view was to give Divine sanction to the substitution of animals in sacrificing. But for the sake of the idea and of the plan pursued in the history of the covenant, it was necessary that this sanction should be given in *that* very place, where afterwards the only central point of all worship and of all sacrifices should be fixed. A *mountain* is the most natural place for a sacrifice—it is an altar of nature's own making. Its height indicates that it is destined for Him who dwelleth on high. The journey to Moriah was to occupy three days, so as to make the trial greater, as it would have been much more easy for Abraham to obey the command of God immediately after it had been given, and during the freshness of first impressions, than after three days' interval and reflection.

The name "*Moriah*" seems to have been derived from the event recorded in our history; hence that designation is used in verse 2, *per prolepsin*, for, according to verse 14, Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-Jireh (Jehovah Seeth), and the writer adds: "whence it is said to this day in the mount where Jehovah is seen." Hence *Hengstenberg* (*Contrib.* ii. p. 263) explains the name as composed of the *part. hoph.* of the verb רָאָה, and of an abbreviation of the name Jehovah = that

which is shewn of Jehovah, His apparition. *Keil* rejects this interpretation because it confounds the *Hophal* with the *Niphal*—the former meaning “to be shewn,” “to shew himself,” or “to appear.” But from 2 Chron. iii. 1 we infer that this argument is not conclusive. If that passage is translated by: “In Mount Moriah, which was *shewn* to David,” it proves that the difference between the *Hophal* and the *Niphal* is not so decided as *Keil* had supposed. But if it is rendered by “In Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David,” it will scarcely be possible to ignore the etymological allusion of יהוה to מוֹרְיָה. It is not difficult to reply to the enquiry of *Keil*, “by whom was Jehovah to have been shewn?” We answer, by that Angel of the Lord who was the representative of Jehovah (§ 52), i.e. by whom He showed Himself. For the sake of his peculiar interpretation of Exod. vi. 3, *Ebrard*, who thinks that the name Jehovah had not existed at the time of the Patriarchs, derives the word from the Arabic Hamara = aqua fluxit (comp. Psalm. cxlix. 11) and attaches to it the idea of a country rich in springs. But irrespective of the fact that this interpretation of Ex. vi. 3 is erroneous (comp. § 96, 1.), the above view is contrary to the Masoretic punctuation which regards the ה at the commencement of the word as the article, while *Ebrard* has to punctuate הַמְּוֹרְיָה, and to regard it as part of the root. Besides *Keil* declares that the derivation of a word הַמְּוֹרְיָה with dagesh in the Jod is a grammatical impossibility. We therefore regard it as most advisable to retain the view of *Hengstenberg*, nor do we see our way to agree with *Keil* that “as much uncertainty attaches to this name as to that of Moreh in Gen. xii. 5.”

DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH. MARRIAGE OF ISAAC. LAST DAYS OF ABRAHAM.

§ 66. (Gen. xxiii.)—It is uncertain how long Abraham may have continued in Beersheba after this event. By and by we find him again in Hebron. There Sarah died at the age of 127 years (1.) Abraham who, as yet, did not possess a foot's breadth in the land of Promise, in public assembly purchases for 400 shekels of silver from Ephron the Hittite, the cave of Macphelah near Hebron, together with the field connected with it, to be a burying place for his family (2.) There Sarah is buried. In the land, which his descendants are to possess, the bones of Abraham and those of his wife are to rest undisturbed. A testimony

this of his faith in the promise, an admonition also and a call to his descendants during their 400 years of foreign servitude (comp. § 56) (3.)

(1.) *Lightfoot* (Opera i. p. 14) remarks about *the age of Sarah*: "sola inter mulieres, cujus ætas in scriptura commemoratur." As Isaac was a boy when he was offered up, and thirty-seven years of age when Sarah died, a considerable interval must have elapsed between these dates. But the text passes rapidly over this period to the close of the history of Abraham, as the temptation on Mount Moriah was the climax and the completion of God's leadings with him.

(2.) The name Macphelah (double, double cave) is a *nomen proprium*. The place in Hebron to which tradition points as the exact spot of the patriarchal burying ground is at present occupied by a mosque surrounded by high walls, and is called the Great Haram. The jealous bigotry of the Mussulmans of Hebron precludes Jews and Christians from entering this sanctuary. Hence no reliable account of its interior has as yet been given. Compare the interesting statement of *Robinson* (vol. ii. p. 72). This traveller remarks: "The outer structure evidently belongs to a high antiquity; and the resemblance of its architecture to that of the remains of the ancient temple of Jerusalem, seems to point to a Jewish origin. . . . I know of nothing that should lead us to question the correctness of the tradition which regards this as the place of sepulchre of Abraham and the other patriarchs, as recorded in the book of Genesis. On the contrary there is much to strengthen it. *Josephus* relates (Antiq. i. 14; Bell. Jud. iv. 9. 7) that Abraham and his descendants erected monuments over the sepulchres in question, . . . and that the sepulchres of the patriarchs were still seen in Hebron, built of marble, and of elegant workmanship. In the days of *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, the monument of Abraham was yet pointed out (Onomast. Art. *Arboch*) and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, in A.D. 333, describes it as a quadrangle built of stones of admirable beauty. His description appears to me, without much doubt, to refer to the exterior structure as we see it now; and I venture to suppose that this existed already in the days of *Josephus*, and probably much earlier." After mentioning later accounts *Robinson* continues: "Thus it appears to me we may rest with confidence in the view, that the remarkable external structure of the harem is, indeed, the work of Jewish hands, erected long before the destruction of the nation, around the sepulchre of their revered progenitor. . . . The cave of Macphelah is described in Scripture as at the 'end

of the field' over against Mamre, the same as Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 9, 17—19; xxxv. 27); and all the later writers speak of the sepulchres of the patriarchs as *at* or *in* Hebron, not near it. . . . Just at the left of the principal entrance of the harem is a small hole in the massive wall, through which the Jews are permitted at certain times to look into the interior, . . . although the whole was now closed by a shutter from within." On the value of the purchase money, FOUR HUNDRED SHEKELS OF SILVER, "current money with the merchant," comp. especially *Böckh's* Metrological Investigations, 1838, p. 56, and *Bertheau*, Contrib. to the History of Israel, p. 17. *Böckh* supposes that coined money was unknown to the Hebrews before the time of the Persians. Others again deem it probable that even before the exile they used coined, or at least stamped pieces of metal. The explanation in v. 16, "current with the merchant," shews that, even in patriarchal times and in the age of Moses, definite pieces of metal, which somehow or other indicated their own value, were employed in commerce or interchange. It is more difficult to ascertain what was the exact value of the shekel. This question depends on a comparison with the well-known Maccabean shekel (274 Parisian grains), and on determining whether the common shekel or that of the sanctuary (which was double the weight of the former) had been the original coin (comp. *Winer*, Real-Lex., and especially *Bertheau*, l. c.).

(3.) *Ranke* remarks (Investigations i., p. 46): "Even in his death Abraham wished to shew his *faith* in the truth of the promise received, just as at a much later period Jeremiah, immediately before the exile and when the approaching fall of Jerusalem had been revealed to him, with all due formalities, purchased the field of Hamameel in Anathoth, in order to shew his firm confidence in the promised return of his people to their own country." It is strange that some critics should regard this event as a myth, invented to establish the claim of the Israelites to the country. On the contrary it proves that the patriarchs had no right or claim to the land (comp. *Br. Bauer*, Criticism, i. 94).

On the difference between the account in verses 9 and 17 and the speech of Stephen in Acts vii. 16, comp. the various Commentaries.

§ 67. (Gen. xxiv.)—Three years after the death of Sarah Abraham resolves to fill the gap made in his own family and in the heart of Isaac (comp. chap. xxiv. 67), by seeking a wife for his son. He had some time before obtained tidings that his

brother Nahor in Mesopotamia had been blessed with numerous descendants (chap. xxii. 10, &c.). He could not give to the son of promise a wife from among the Canaanites around him. He therefore despatches his oldest and most confidential servant (1) to Mesopotamia, thence to bring a wife for Isaac. But first he binds him by a solemn oath (2) not in any case either to bring a Canaanite to his son or to suffer him to return into Mesopotamia. The servant departs with camels laden with rich presents. In a miraculous manner God, to whom in prayer he had committed his mission, brings him into contact with her who was destined to be Isaac's bride. Before he has finished his request, the beautiful and affable maiden offers to him water from her pitcher, and, of her own accord, proposes to draw for his camels also (3.) This had been the sign which the servant had requested from the Lord. Still, he keeps silence, though rejoicing in anticipation he presents her with golden chains and bracelets. But all doubt disappears when he is told that she is Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, and the grandchild of Nahor. He now introduces himself as the servant of Abraham. The maiden hastens to communicate the discovery to her friends, and her brother Laban hospitably receives the stranger into the house. But before partaking either of food or of drink, the servant introduces the object of his mission, which fills the whole household with joy, as they also recognised the finger of God in the matter. To the enquiry "wilt thou go with this man," the maiden unhesitatingly replies, "I will go." The blessing of her relatives accompanies her. Isaac, who had gone forth at eventide in order to meditate without disturbance, met her by the way, and brought her into the tent of his mother Sarah. She became his wife; he loved her, and was comforted after his mother's death (4.)

(1.) It is commonly supposed that the servant here spoken of, "who ruled over all that Abraham had," was *Eliezer of Damascus*, the steward of Abraham (chap. xv. 2). There is no express warrant for this view, but great probability attaches to it. As formerly the steward was introduced as the presumptive heir of his childless master, so here the oath which Abraham demands from him implies that if Abraham died this servant would occupy an influential position towards Isaac.

(2.) Abraham, when making his servant swear, causes him to put his hand under his THIGH. This custom is only mentioned in the case of the patriarchs, in this place and in chap. xlvii. 29. The ecclesiastical fathers and later interpreters regarded it as bearing reference to the promised seed; the Rabbins (and *Delitzsch*, p. 386) refer it to the covenant-sign of circumcision; *Grotius* to the sword which was attached to the thigh, and by which the party who broke the covenant was to perish (comp. *Valkenaer*, de ritibus jurisjurandi caput vii., in *Oelrich's Collectio Dissert.* i., p. 264). It is most natural to explain the symbol as referring to the thigh as the seat of firmness and of strength.

(3.) *Robinson* (vol. ii., p. 22) describes a similar scene by a well as follows:—"There was an ancient well in the valley, exhibiting quite a pastoral scene of patriarchal days. Many cattle, flocks of sheep and kids, and also camels, were all waiting round the well, while men and women were busily employed in drawing water for them. These people at once offered and drew water for us and our thirsty animals, without the expectation of reward."

(4.) The great importance attaching to the marriage of Isaac, which appears from the fulness of its pictorial descriptions, does not merely proceed from the idyllic and typical character of the event, but from the general importance attaching in the history of the covenant to marriage as the means and the condition for the fulfilment of the promise.

§ 68. (Gen. xxv. 1—10.)—After the death of Sarah Abraham took Keturah (whose descent is unknown) for his concubine. She bare him six sons, who became the ancestors of Arabic tribes (1.) Having constituted Isaac his sole heir, and given to the sons of his two concubines rich gifts, Abraham died, 175 years old and full of years. His sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Macphelah, by the side of Sarah his wife.

(1.) The descendants of Abraham by Keturah were in part a fulfilment of the promise that Abraham was to become the father of many nations. Their names cannot always be traced with certainty. The best known race among them were the Midianites, who settled along the Elamitic gulf, and afterwards repeatedly came into contact with Israel. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks: "As the marriage with Keturah and its issue was entirely within the sphere of nature, it differs from the

connection with Hagar, when Abraham sought to obtain the promised seed, and from his marriage with Sarah, in which this seed was both promised and given. Hence there are no promises for the sons of Keturah." Abraham begets six sons after his body had before been as good as dead for many years, since his vigour had been restored, at the time when Isaac was begotten.

SECOND STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY.

ISAAC.

THE SONS OF ISAAC.

§ 69. (Gen. xxv. 11—26.)—Abraham seems to have spent the latter years of his life in peaceful retirement, having settled along the southern borders of Palestine (v. 11 and chap. xxiv. 62). There, by the well La-hai-roi (§ 57), we also find Isaac. This quiet, solitary district, far from the busy haunts of the Canaanites, is adapted to his retiring disposition. As formerly Abraham, so is Isaac now called upon to hope and to wait. For twenty years *his wife is barren* (1), and during this lengthened period he has sufficient occasion to exercise his faith in the promise. At last God hears his prayer, and Rebekah conceives. But the children struggle together within her. In deep-felt anxiety she takes this circumstance as indicative of evil; nor was her apprehension ungrounded. She went *to enquire of Jehovah*, and the *Lord said unto her* (2)

“Two nations are in thy womb,
And two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels;
The one people shall be stronger than the other people,
And the elder shall serve the younger.”

And when her days to be delivered were come, she gave birth to twins. The first born was rough and hairy, and was called *Esau*. The second held by the hand to the heel of his brother, and was called *Jacob* (3.)

(1.) Here also the fact that the seed of promise was to be gotten *παρὰ φύσιν* again becomes apparent. It is indeed true that among the ancient Hebrews many eminent men, destined to

form an era, were born of mothers who had reached a more advanced age, and whose natural barrenness seemed to preclude any hope of descendants. But this view is neither an illusion, a popular fancy, nor a phantom without reality; it results from experience as well as from the nature of the case. Even in common life it is a fact, which perhaps may admit of physiological explanation, that frequently persons born under such circumstances are specially gifted. The religious feeling of all ages considers such persons as the gift of Divine mercy, and we shall not therefore deem it strange if this view was strongly held among the chosen race, whose history was meant to illustrate that Divine mercy, and whose calling and purpose was distinctively *παρὰ φύσιν*.

(2.) Commentators have hazarded various conjectures as to the manner in which Rebekah had ENQUIRED OF JEHOVAH. *Luther* supposes that she went to the patriarch Shem, who had still been in life; others that she had enquired of Abraham or of Melchisedec, just as in later times the prophets used to be consulted. This supposition is confirmed by a reference to 1 Sam. ix. 9, where "to enquire of the Lord" through prophets or seers is characterised as a very ancient custom in Israel. *Hävernick* supposes that of the three modes of enquiring at the Lord mentioned in 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 (by dreams, by the Urim, and by prophets), the first was chiefly characteristic of the earlier periods of Jewish history. But the expression "*she went*" can scarcely be reconciled with the idea of a dream. Others again suppose that Rebekah had simply turned in prayer to the Lord, and obtained from Him a direct answer. Although this would so far agree with the expression "*she went*," the whole tone of the narrative seems to point to some special and peculiar manner of enquiring of the Lord, such as through some prophet. We do not indeed in this respect attach any importance to the title "prophet," given to Abraham in chap. xx. 7 (comp. §. 63, 3). But we suppose that as among all the nations of antiquity, so at the commencement of the Jewish race also, and before in the Theocracy the regular order of prophets appeared, there had been *seers*, who divined and gave oracular answers to questions proposed to them. Only we must not forget that as the whole religious life of the chosen race, so any such oracle was given not in dependance on idols, but on Jehovah, and that these predecessors of the prophets prepared the way and formed a transition for the manifestation of God by His prophets in after times. For, "before time in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come let us go to the seer; for he that is now called *a prophet*, was before time called *a seer*" (1 Sam. ix. 9). "*De Wette* indeed thinks that instead of asking Jehovah,

Rebekah would have only required to have consulted a midwife. If Rebekah would have been satisfied with an answer such as that, then *De Wette's* suggestion were in place. But we suppose she did not much care for that which a midwife could have told her."—*Baumgarten*.

The reply which she obtains confirms her apprehensions. The struggling of the children in the womb points to future hostile feelings, and the contest which is to ensue when both shall have become nations. Hence both cannot be destined for divine covenant-purposes. The purposes of the law of separation (§ 49) and of selection, in virtue of which Abraham was taken from his kindred and friends, and which manifested itself when Ishmael was cast out, have not yet been wholly met and fulfilled. For their completion it is necessary that one of Isaac's children should be separated. But on the other hand, the fact that the two sons are the fruit of the same generation, and born at the sametime, shews that this process of separating the wild branches of nature from the vine which God hath planted, had now reached its goal. The contrast between the sons of Abraham arose from the circumstance that they were the children of different mothers, and that the one was begotten in uncircumcision the other in circumcision. (Comp. § 58.) Hence, the difference between them was external and manifest. But the separation which was now to take place, would be between two sons of Isaac who in external position were equal to each other. Nay more, to shew how thoroughly the divine call and grace differ from nature, the younger would be preferred to the older, who, according to human arrangements, should have had the pre-eminence. Here, as throughout the whole history of salvation, it becomes manifest that God chooses for his purposes "the mean things of the world and things which are not." As Abraham was to shew his faith in casting out Ishmael, and surrendering his paternal affection to the divine choice, so here also, and for similar purposes, were the parents to surrender their parental affection to the great purposes of this history.

(3.) With reference to the *struggling of the children* in the womb, even the circumstance that the second held by the *heel* of his brother is significant, and obtained for him the name of *Jacob*. *Tuch* indeed declares that the narrative "runs counter to all physical possibility." This however, is, only the random statement of a theologian who, on such a question, should scarcely venture to give a decisive verdict, especially when those who understand the matter do not find any difficulty in it. Honest *Rosenmüller* contented himself by saying: "de qua re judicium esto penes artis obstetriciæ peritos." From numerous testimonies of medical writers we select one of the latest. *Trusen*

("the diseases of the Bible and the passages of Holy Writ bearing reference to Medicine," 1843) observes (p. 59): "We account for the circumstance that the arm of the second child should have fallen forward, by this, that generally twins are smaller than when there is only one child. In those cases the delivery is generally rapid, and certain parts of the second child fall forward."

When we read that the first born was covered with *reddish hair* we must not think that he was a monstrosity, however uncommon and striking his appearance may have been (comp. chap. xxvii. vv. 11 and 16). Nor is it necessary to suppose, with *Friederich* that this was a case of hypertrichosis. *Steffens* (Relig. Phil. i. 228) remarks that the want in man of a covering envelope, such as animals have, indicates that he is destined for a supersensuous sphere. Its presence, therefore, in the case of Esau would typify that the tendency of his life would be in the direction of the sensual. *Lengerke* i. p. 296 suggests that the myth of Esau's hairy appearance was devised because the Edomites inhabited the wooded mountains of Seir! Even *Winer* marks this discovery only with a sign of exclamation (Real-Lex. i. p. 345 note 2).

Both sons obtained their name from circumstances connected with their birth. The oldest is called *Esau*, or the hairy, the younger *Jacob*, or he that holds by the heel. For, the verb זָקַב is the denominative of זֶקֶב, a heel, and means to hold by the heel. (Hosea xii. 4.) From this, the other meaning "to supplant," Gen. xxvii. 36, has probably been derived, since taking hold by the heel was regarded as a type of cunning by which it is proposed to throw down another. (Comp. Gesenius in the Thes. 1060.)

§ 70. (Gen. xxv. 27, &c.)—As the boys grew up, the difference in their character and tendency appeared more and more clearly. It manifested itself even in the choice of their occupations. The wild disposition of Esau finds pleasure in the roaming, free life of a hunter. Jacob is quiet and retiring, and continues the peaceful avocation of shepherd which his fathers had pursued. Strange to say, the wild Esau is the favourite of his quiet father, while the quick Rebekah loves the retiring Jacob. On one occasion Esau returned from hunting, faint and hungry, just as Jacob had prepared a mess of pottage. Unaccustomed to, and incapable of, controlling the desires of the moment, he impetuously demands the dish, while the cunning and calculating

Jacob takes advantage of the opportunity to get his brother to concede to him his rights as first born (1.)

(1.) The narrative presupposes that what the divine oracle had formerly declared, was known to all the parties interested. Only under this supposition can we understand and appreciate the conduct not only of Isaac and Rebekah, but also of Esau and Jacob.

The ground for the opposite *preference* of the two parents must mainly be sought in a very common drawing towards an opposite pole. Instead of leading husband and wife, according to divine arrangement and direction, to seek in each other the opposite counterpart, it manifested itself in analogous preference towards their children. Isaac, quiet, retiring, and timorous, discovers in the impetuous and wild Esau that strength and resoluteness, the want of which he had often painfully felt in himself. He overlooks, however, all the godless excrescences, the perverse wildness, and the incapacity for receiving higher and spiritual impressions, of his first born. He hopes to find in him the support of his old age, and instead of looking to God for protection against outward enemies (comp. § 71) he expects it from his son. The quiet, retiring, and timorous Jacob does not inspire him with the same confidence as Esau. If once the simplicity and sincerity of his spiritual vision had become dim, how readily might not the divine oracle be overlooked, and Isaac persuade himself that there might have been some mistake or error of persons about it! Besides the text seems to indicate that the preference of Isaac was partly due to the savoury venison which Esau brought. On the other hand the quick, impetuous, and decided Rebekah, who sometimes is even hasty and passionate, feels herself drawn towards the quiet and outwardly timorous but cunning and astute Jacob. Although her preference also arises from natural and carnal reasons, she can at least plead in her favour the coincidence of the Divine promise. As strong-minded women generally make up by intriguing for their want of external strength, so Rebekah finds the astuteness and cunning of Jacob a welcome assistance; and thus it is again the ungodly element in Jacob which she takes into alliance.

Tuch acknowledges that the narrative "does every justice to the character of Esau, who is otherwise placed in the background, and especially portrays him as an upright, straightforward, and honest man." This acknowledgment is the more valuable as coming from one who continually objects that narrow-minded, natural hatred appear in the descriptions furnished by Holy Writ. At the sametime we must remark that in this instance his admission is in a certain sense as erroneous as usually his ob-

jections are. The description in the text does, indeed, shew that Esau was straightforward, open, and honest. But it also brings out the dark sides of his character and life, and it does so in order to shew his incapacity for the divine purposes of salvation, and to indicate the reasons why he was rejected by God. For example, how sarcastic is the verdict implied in the words with which the account closes: "He did eat and drink and rose up and went his way; thus Esau despised his birth-right." This is especially noticeable when we think of the infinite importance which the text attaches to the right of primogeniture on account of the blessing commonly connected with it. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which in one word paints the character of Esau as that of a "profane person," has certainly given the meaning of our passage much better than *Tuch* with his well-meant praise.

V. Lengerke (Canaan i. 302) admits that, "*in this legend the CUNNING with which Jacob gains the right of primogeniture from his honest brother*, and at last even deprives him of the blessing of his father, is represented as a *wrong*." *Tuch*, however, objects that in the text: "the cunning and calculating conduct of Jacob, which might appear objectionable to a stricter moralist, is represented as wholly blameless." But in the same manner it might, for example, be maintained that the text represented the iniquitous conduct of the sons of Jacob towards the inhabitants of Sychem (chap. xxxiv.) as "perfectly blameless." And yet what a sweeping condemnation of it is casually expressed in chap. xlix. The truth is that here, as in other places, the record neither praises nor blames, but simply relates without disguise or embellishment what has happened, and how it has taken place; but at the same time lays peculiar emphasis on those events in which the divine Nemesis, so to speak, has pronounced judgment. Hence, in the present instance, the conduct of Jacob is not expressly blamed. But how very distinctly and unmistakeably does it appear in the sufferings, in the want, in the labour, in the trials of Jacob, that God had visited and condemned his ungenerous cunning as an iniquitous perversity.

It is more difficult to ascertain what Esau and Jacob supposed were surrendered with the RIGHT OF PRIMOGENITURE. We know that the external rights of primogeniture gave at least a double inheritance (Deut. xxi. 17), if not more (Gen. xxv. 5 and 6), and implied primacy over the family (Gen. xlix. 3). With the latter a third advantage was connected in the family of the patriarchs, viz., the transference of the promised blessing. We can readily understand that Esau attached no value to the latter, and hence did not much care for its loss. But it is all the more surprising that, for a worthless mess of pottage, he should so readily have given up the two first-named material advantages. But on the

one hand daily experience shews that light minded persons will, for the sake of a momentary enjoyment, even cast aside and dissipate future material advantages and temporal possessions. Besides, we have to bear in mind the urgent want and the impetuous desire of the moment in one who was so little accustomed to control or to deny himself the satisfaction of any lust. Lastly, the after-course of this history (chap. xxvii.) proves, whatever may be said of Esau's former uprightness, straightforwardness, and honesty, that from the decided preference of his father for him, he had some latent expectation that the *actual* possession of the rights to which he was entitled by his birth, would not be injured by this private bargain.

Tuch (p. 421) and *Lengerke* (i. p. 296) suppose that the NAME OF THE EDMITES "was undoubtedly connected with the Red Sea," and that, therefore, the statement in the text that the name of their ancestor (Edom) was derived from the exclamation of Esau (v. 30), "Let me swallow of the *red*, even this *red*," was a poor etymological myth. But their derivation of the name is anything but certain. Indeed, it is highly improbable—first, because the designation *Red Sea* is not of Shemitic but of Greek origin, and then, because in ancient times that name included the whole southern sea, the Persian as well as the Arabian Gulf, while the land of the Edomites only in one place touched the bay of one of the gulfs of this immense sea. Those who watch the origin of such names even in our own times will find it the less strange that Esau should have derived a byename from such an exclamation, since it disclosed at once the unbridled impetuosity and thoughtlessness, the haste and rudeness of his character. In general, it is very remarkable how frequently such byenames, apparently derived from trivial and accidental circumstances, characterise the inmost tendency of life, whether by some strange concurrence, or through an unconscious power of divination—and how frequently therefore they, perhaps sometimes oddly enough, determine in after life the direction of the inner man and the history of the individual.

We do not, indeed, approve of the attempt of so many interpreters in ancient and in modern times, to *whitewash the conduct of Jacob*, or at least to represent his motive as being merely a spiritual desire after the rights of primogeniture, even though the mode of his conduct had been ungenerous and carnal. But neither can we assent to the opinion which would discover nothing but the mere desire after material advantages in his conduct. It was impossible that spiritual desire after the right of primogeniture and an anticipation of the promise should have been wholly wanting in Jacob, whatever admixture of the carnal

mind and tendency there may have been along with it. The influence of his mother, his own retiring disposition, and the bright form in which his character afterwards appears, all warrant this inference. Despite his carnal devices, despite his ungenerous cunning, Jacob is and remains called and chosen. True, much suffering, sorrow, wretchedness, poverty and want; much labour, care and anxiety, and much grace and pity on the part of God, are necessary to purify such a character from its impure admixtures, and to sanctify it for divine purposes—but the more glorious does such a character appear after the gracious working of the Spirit of God. The conjecture of *Lightfoot* (Opera i., p. 16), who connects this event with the *rise of* prices mentioned at the commencement of the following chapter, may perhaps deserve notice: “Ex textu verisimile est, famem eam, quae causa Esavo fuit, communicandi primogeniti jus, causam quoque fuisse Isaaco ex sede propria exeundi et proficiscendi aliorum, quaesitum vitae necessaria. Apparet magnum tunc victus penuriam fuisse, redacto Jacobo ad hoc lentium jusculum, Esavo autem ad eas angustias, ut nisi potiretur isto edulio, fame videretur defecturus.”

THE PILGRIM-LIFE OF ISAAC.

§ 71. (Gen. xxvi.)—A famine more grievous than that in the time of Abraham had visited the land of Promise. Following the example of his father, Isaac journeyed southward to Gerar (§ 63, 1), intending thence to pass into Egypt, which was considered the granary of the ancient world. But Jehovah appears unto him (for the first time). He prohibits him from leaving the land of his pilgrimage, and formally and solemnly transfers to him the blessing and promise given to Abraham, in all its threefold bearings (the outward increase of his descendants, the possession of the land, and the salvation of all nations through him). Isaac therefore remains in Gerar, and, finding his wife, and, on her account, himself also in danger from the violence of the people, like Abraham under similar circumstances, he passes Rebekah as his sister. But being less strong than his father, he is spared the trial with which the former had been visited. Unnoticed by Isaac and Rebekah, Abimelech, the king of the country, had observed the intimacy between them, and at once inferred their real degree of relationship. Accordingly, under

pain of death, he interdicts any of his subjects from interfering with them. The continuance of the famine induces Isaac to attempt combining tillage with his former occupation of rearing cattle. He is blessed with an hundredfold harvest, and he learns that even in a year of scarcity and famine, he will not require from the land of Promise to have recourse to Egypt. His riches increase to a degree that the envy of the Philistines is highly excited. Even Abimelech is no longer able to protect him against the ceaseless annoyances to which he is exposed. By his advice, Isaac leaves the city and settles in the Valley of Gerar. But here also the envy of the shepherds of Gerar leads to incessant quarrels about the wells which Isaac had digged. Incapable of commanding respect by his appearance, and only great in the elasticity of his endurance, Isaac again gives way, but the persecutions continue, and he is at last obliged wholly to leave that district, and to remove to Beersheba. There Jehovah appeared to him a second time, to comfort and to encourage him. Strengthened by this communication, and enjoying a season of external rest, he now erects, in his character of Patriarch and Prophet, an altar, and establishes the worship of Jehovah. Abimelech visits him in order to enter into covenant with him, to which proposal Isaac agrees. Again Beersheba becomes a witness as of the former, so of the present covenant (§ 63, 8). But scarcely is Isaac free from the external troubles which had hitherto followed him, than domestic troubles overtake him. Esau, who had long before mentally lapsed into heathenism, now takes two daughters of the Canaanites to wives, which are a grief of mind unto his parents.

(1.) It is the MAIN PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER which sums up every thing recorded about the life of Isaac (so far as it is not subservient to or absorbed in the history of Abraham or of Jacob) on the one hand to sketch in those events the character of Isaac, and on the other to exhibit the peculiar guidance of this patriarch as occasioned by his moral and spiritual wants.

Elasticity of endurance, which does not resist evil nor contend against it, but by patience and yielding overcomes it, constitutes the FUNDAMENTAL TYPE of the character of Isaac, and in this lies his real claim to greatness. It does not take from this greatness that it is not recognised, indeed that it is cried down by men

generally, nor that in Isaac also it is not wholly free from an impure admixture of weakness and instability. All this only proves that as the divine strength so the divine weakness (1 Cor. i.) does not manifest itself in all its purity and elevation in any man. On the character of Isaac compare also *Krummacher's* Notes on Sacred History, Berlin 1818.

It is certainly striking that the *events of Abraham's life*, and even *the resolutions which he took in consequence* of them, repeatedly recur in the history of Isaac. In the one and in the other case there was famine in the land of Promise. In the one case the patriarch *actually passed* into Egypt, in the other *he intended* to do so; in both cases recourse is had to the same *falsehood* by which a wife is passed as a *sister*; in the one case the wife is *actually removed*, in the other this danger is *happily averted*; in one and in the other case *a covenant is made with Abimelech*; in one and in the other case, we read in part of the *same stations*, of the *same wells*, of the *same origin* of the name Beersheba; while lastly the *manifestation of God* and the *promises* appear in both cases to have taken place in the same manner and with the same tendency, and in consequence of them each of the two patriarchs erects an *altar* and *serves Jehovah*. Criticism has "long ago" "recognised" the unity of these facts, which professedly had taken place on two different occasions in the history of different personages, but which in reality "are only different forms of one and the same event." But if these facts, which legend has borrowed from the life of Abraham, in order to hide its lamentable poverty and impotence in reference to the life of Isaac, are taken away, nothing almost remains to attach to the life of our patriarch. Under these circumstances we cannot wonder that *v. Lengerke* should maintain that we "have no manner of guarantee for the historical existence of his personality" (Canaan i., pp. 290, 291), the more so as this kind of criticism does not attempt to trace the deeper bearings and the natural points of connection in this similarity of accounts. Still there are such points, and they are quite sufficient to remove anything that may at first sight appear incongruous and strange. First of all, the events in which the life of Isaac resembles that of Abraham, are not as they may appear merely accidents, but, in so far as they depend on the Providence of God, form the substratum in the divine educational process repeated because of the continuance of the reasons which had at first occasioned them. So far as they were the result of man's self-determination or of the collision of existing circumstances, they arose from similarity in their position and in their character, or from the continuance of certain circumstances (comp. *Winer's* Real-Lex. i., p. 615, 3d edit.: "These events are so simple and so natural, con-

sidering that age, that it is impossible to think of fiction in regard to them.") But secondly, we may not overlook that in most of the events recorded, this similarity exists side by side with a deeper dis-similarity which even amounts to contrariety, so that if both were weighed not only according to their outward appearance, but also according to their inward meaning, the balance would incline towards the side of dis-similarity. This difference is in itself perfectly sufficient to set aside the doubts as to the existence of Isaac, which criticism derives from the deficiency in distinctive sketches of his character and history.

The more deficient Isaac was in outward energy and independence, the less was he capable and *called* to form the commencement of a new development; again the more glorious and splendid the mighty example of his father must have appeared to him, the more would he feel himself also warranted to follow in the footsteps of Abraham as opportunity offered. Still, although the tendency of God's leadings remained the same in both cases, how different were these leadings themselves and their results, and however similar the aspect of his life to that of Abraham, how different was his inward and outward position, owing to the difference of character between the two patriarchs! As at the time of Abraham, so now also there is famine in the land, which had been promised as a great gift of mercy to them for their descendants. In so far as this is a trial of their faith, the agreement in the two histories is perfect. Abraham takes refuge in Egypt, and Isaac is about to imitate him. But Abraham learns only by the complications and dangers in which he is involved that this device was contrary to the will of God. On the other hand, Isaac, whose greater weakness of character would not have been equal to the dangers which there threatened him, or whose softness could not have resisted the peculiar attractions of the land, is by Divine intervention preserved from following the device which he had at first conceived. What Abraham could not experience, Isaac learned by the hundred-fold harvest which he reaped, viz., that even in a year of famine and failure the land of promise would yield a blessing, and manifest the reality of the promise given him. Analogous and not less apparent is the difference between Abraham and Isaac under those circumstances which had led to another fall of Abraham. That patriarch loses his wife. The protection of God does not preserve him from this trial, although it delivers him from dangers which might thence have resulted. The weaker Isaac is spared this trial, and the protection of God manifests itself in this, that the falsehood of his pretence appears before it is too late.

The similarity of their nomadic occupations, and the con-

tinuance of former circumstances, account for the fact that in both cases we read of the same stations and wells, and of another alliance with Abimelech. But what a contrast between the personality of Abraham, who commands respect, and the patient yielding of Isaac. People do not interfere with the rights and privileges of Abraham, but Isaac must give place before continual hostilities and interferences, &c.

(2.) We add some explanations on *special points*. Most of those interpreters who believe in the historical reality of the events here recorded, suppose that the ABIMELECH of Isaac was another person from the cotemporary of Abraham (§ 63). The equality of name does not militate against this supposition, as it is well ascertained that "*Abimelech*," and chief captain "*Phicol*" are not the names of persons, but of offices. Thus it will scarcely be supposed that the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who lived at the time of Joseph, was the same person as he who, at the time of Moses, is designated by that name. Still, we believe with *Tuck* that the Abimelech of Abraham was the same as that of Isaac, because a careful examination will shew that the chronological reasons urged for their non-identity are not conclusive. If we bear in mind that Abraham died at the age of 175, Sarah at that of 127, Isaac at 180, and Jacob at 147, we shall infer that their cotemporaries also may have attained an age extending beyond one century. The meeting of Abraham with Abimelech took place shortly before the birth of Isaac. From that period sixty years elapsed to the birth of Esau and Jacob, and seventy-five years to the death of Abraham. The meeting of Isaac and Abimelech therefore must have taken place about eighty years after that between the latter and Abraham. If Abimelech was from forty to sixty years old at the first meeting, he would have been between 120 and 140 at the second. This appears the more probable, as on the former occasion Abimelech himself had purposed taking the wife of Abraham, while on the latter he is only afraid that one of the people might do injury to Rebekah. He appears therefore to have been very old at that time.

It is very remarkable how the name RENOBOTH, which Isaac gave to one of the wells he had digged (verse 22), is preserved in the *Wady er-Ruhaibeh*, which *Robinson* (vol. i., p. 196) discovered about mid-way between Wady Jerar (Gerar) and the Wady es-Seba' (Beersheba), at that very point in the wilderness where the roads to Gaza and Hebron diverge. Here that traveller also found the ruins of a city which must anciently have been of some note. However, *Robinson* does not identify these two places, because he thinks that Isaac's well must have been farther north, and because there is no mention in Scripture or

elsewhere of a city connected with Rehoboth.¹ But as, according to verses 22 and 23, Isaac is already on the journey from Gerar to Beersheba, the situation of er-Ruhaibeh agrees very well with that of Rehoboth.

Similarly, *Robinson* discovered (i., p. 204), in the northern portion of Wady es-Seba', near to the ruins of the ancient Beersheba, two deep wells, which agrees with the statement that the servants of Isaac had digged a second well beside that of Abraham. "These wells are some distance apart; they are circular, and stoned up very neatly with solid masonry, apparently much more ancient than that of the wells at 'Abdeh. The longer one is twelve and a half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a half feet deep to the surface of the water; sixteen feet of which at the bottom is excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies fifty-five rods W.S.W., and its five feet in diameter, and forty-two feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance; the finest indeed we had found since leaving Sinai. Both wells are surrounded with drinking troughs of stone, for camels and flocks, such as were doubtless used of old for the flocks which then fed on the adjacent hills. The curb stones were deeply worn by the friction of the ropes in drawing up water by hand." From the *prolepsis*, "therefore the name of the city is Beersheba unto this day," it is by no means clear that at the time of Isaac, as at that of Joshua (Josh. xv. 28), a town had stood in that valley. The very value attaching to these wells may have been the occasion for building a city there.

(4.) The circumstance that *Esau* married two CANAANITISH WIVES shews (comp. chap. xxiv. 3 and xxvii. 46) how much he had become estranged from the religious hopes and views of the chosen family. If anything, this should have opened Isaac's eyes to the perversity of his preference for Esau.

THE BLESSING OF ISAAC.

§ 72. (Gen. xxvii. 1—29.)—Meantime old age and its troubles have come over Isaac. His eyes have become dim, and thoughts of his approaching departure fill his soul. He therefore feels impelled, in the exercise of his patriarchal and paternal power, formally and solemnly to transfer the right of primogeniture to

¹ The Author has omitted to mention that *Robinson* argues against the identity of these two places, also on the ground that in Ruhaibeh there was no well, "the inhabitants having been apparently supplied with rain water by means of cisterns." However, the balance of probabilities seems to us in favour of *Dr Kurtz's* view.—THE TR.

his favourite (1), and so to bring this important and still dubious and unanswered question to a definite and unchangeable decision, thereby making an end to all farther machinations on the other side. The patriarch requests Esau to go out to the field to take some venison, and to make him such savoury meat as he loved, that his soul might bless him before he died. But the prudent and watchful Rebekah, who had long apprehended something of that kind, had been an unobserved witness of this interview. Her faith, her hope, and love induce her to stake everything in order to prevent the purpose of her husband from being carried out. Another hour, and, humanly speaking, the fairest hopes of her life are destroyed—her beloved Jacob is cast out, the wild and careless Esau blessed, and the promise which she had obtained from the Lord set at nought. The only human hope now lies in quick resolution, and in equally decided action, and Rebekah is equal to such an emergency. She has neither the time nor the inclination closely to examine her faith and love, her hopes and fears, or to sift the suggestions of her carnal wisdom. The moment is pressing, and her plan is ready. Jacob is to take advantage of the dimness of his father's sight, he is to pass himself for Esau, and thus to take away the blessing which otherwise had been denied to him. Jacob hesitates to enter into his mother's plans. To his timorous and calculating mind the deed appears too bold and too dangerous. How easily might the deceit be discovered, and he bring a curse instead of a blessing on himself. But Rebekah quiets his doubts. She readily takes the curse upon herself, for she feels certain that she only carries out the will of God, and in her mind the ungodliness of the means employed disappears in view of the importance of the object which to her seems in accordance with the will of God (2.) In haste two kids of the goats are made savoury meat, such as Isaac loves; Jacob is arrayed in the garments of Esau, and his neck and hands are covered with the skins of the kids, that the smoothness of his skin may not betray his identity. Thus disguised, Jacob brings the savoury meat to his father. But he has a difficult part to play. Various circumstances make the old man suspicious. His commission has been too quickly executed, and then the voice is that of Jacob. But the lies of Jacob, his boldness, the roughness of his hands, and the raiment

of Esau, mislead the old man. In truth another, whose honour is also concerned in the matter, effects it that Isaac gives up his well-grounded distrust. The Patriarch eats of the supposed venison, he drinks of the wine which Jacob brings him, he kisses him (3), and when he smelled the smell of his raiment he blessed him, and said:

"See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Jehovah has blessed!

God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth.

Plenty of corn and of wine!

Let people serve thee,

And let nations bow down to thee!

Be thou lord over thy brethren,

And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee!

Cursed be every one that curseth thee,

And blessed be he that blesseth thee!" (4.)

(1.) This is one of the most remarkable complications of life, shewing in the clearest manner that a higher hand guides the threads of history, so that neither sin nor error can ultimately entangle them. Each one weaves the threads which are committed to him according to his own views and desires, but at last when the texture is complete we behold in it the pattern which the master had long before devised, and towards which each labourer had only contributed one or another feature. We first direct attention to the IMPORT OF THE BLESSING, which Isaac feels impelled to pronounce. There is something peculiar and mysterious about the *blessing and the curse of parents*. Each word of blessing and of curse into which the whole strength and fulness of the Psyche, the seat of personality and of will, descends, has a kind of *magic* power (comp. *Lasaulx* on the curse among the Greeks and Romans, 1843). It is the magic attaching to the image of God in man, imparted to him in creation, and which sin has only weakened and darkened but not wholly effaced, as language is the royal sceptre of man. The blessing or the curse of *parents* approximates the creative power from which this magic at first originated. For, as generation is a representation of the Divine creative power, so is education and the ruling of children, of the Divine governing and judging power, and so long as the world shall continue

will this word of the ancient sage prove true: "The blessing of the father builds the children's houses, but the curse of the mother pulls them down." But the blessing of the *patriarchs* in the chosen family leads us beyond the sphere of nature to that of grace. In virtue of the covenant-relation, which in this case pervades and determines everything, the pneumatic power of the Divine counsel of salvation is here joined with the psychical power of a father's blessing or curse. Human freedom is here allied with Divine necessity. Here man is not suffered to act arbitrarily, but the capability of the human will, now purified, is endowed with the strength of Divine omnipotence; and thereby the blessing or the curse becomes irrevocable and unchangeable. What Jehovah said to the prophet (Jeremiah i. 9 and 10) applies also to the prophetic blessing or cursing of the patriarchs: "Behold I put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant." Abraham was called to become the ancestor of the chosen race, and as such God Himself invested him with the fulness of blessing, which was to be gradually unfolded through his descendants. According to § 49, 2, the law of separation was to exercise its sway until in the course of development the pure kernel should, as it were, be set free from all husks, *i.e.*, until *that* ancestor would appear *whose entire posterity* should, without any separation from among them, become the medium for preparing salvation. Hence until this goal was attained, the formal investiture with the Divine calling and blessing, *i.e.*, the selection and setting apart to become the ancestor of the promised seed, had each time to be expressly transferred from father to son, that so one should be always fixed upon (as the chosen), and the other set aside (as separated or excluded). But as the whole of this development depends on the covenant-relation, the investiture must equally be made *by both* parties to the covenant, *i.e.*, the patriarchs as the possessors of the calling at the time must ratify the investiture as well as Jehovah. *Abraham* had *per factum* done this when Ishmael was cast out (chap. xxi.), and when the whole of his inheritance was given to Isaac (ch. xxv. 5). After that any further investiture *by words* was needless. But *Jehovah* expressly invests Isaac (ch. xxvi. 2 to 5). Again, as one of the two sons of Isaac was to be separated, it was necessary that both parties should again bestow this formal investiture. In the account under consideration this is done by Isaac, and soon after it is ratified by *Jehovah* (ch. xxviii. 13—15). If it is objected that the formal investiture was invalid because the intention and the thoughts of Isaac were directed towards another, we answer that Isaac afterwards ex-

pressly repeated it (ch. xxviii. 3 and 4). Besides it requires to be borne in mind that even when Isaac first gave the blessing, his inmost spiritual tendency was in the right direction, and that the ray of his intention would have fallen upon Jacob, if, in passing through the dark medium of his carnal preference, it had not been broken and thus diverted from its real aim. This unhealthy divergence on the part of Isaac was counteracted by the deceit of Jacob, who placed himself where the *diverted* ray fell upon him. Thus wrong is punished by wrong, and the positive appears through the medium of two negatives. So far from any interference with the freedom of Isaac, this circumstance set him free from the bonds in which he was held; for when properly viewed, his carnal intention was as much opposed to his own as to Jacob's interests. When this carnality is circumvented, what in him had been merely *arbitrary* is sanctified and elevated into real and true *freedom*. Isaac deceived to appearance is *not* deceived in deed and in truth.

(2.) Entering more particularly into the SHARE OF EACH PARTY IN THIS TRANSACTION, we gather that all four were guilty of sin and of error. But the more clearly appears from this both the firmness and the security of the divine counsel, as despite these hindrances, that which God had intended actually took place. *Isaac* feels disposed and impelled to bless, and this is an evidence of his faith, and position within the covenant. He must bless, but he is mistaken in him whom he is about to bless. His carnal preference gives a peculiar taint to his view of the circumstances, and his mind is averted from the proper to a wrong object. Viewed in this light, the right of nature which is in favour of Esau, appears to him as outweighing every other consideration. The Divine oracle which, even before the sons were born, had decided the question, the rule and profane disposition of Esau, the careless sale of his right of primogeniture, the religious indifferentism which he had displayed in the choice of his wives, and all the grief of mind which the latter had caused to him, could not, in the opinion of Isaac, take away the *right of birth*. He had put his heart into the scale, and therefore this right appeared to him invested with an indelible character. Thus his *faith*, which shews itself in the desire to bless, appears in the garb and under the form of a carnal intention. Still it existed, and the flesh having been humbled, it ultimately obtained the victory. Esau had no right, either divine or human, to claim the patriarchal blessing. The outward right which his birth might have given him, had from the first been taken away by Him who rules the course of nature, and Esau himself had, by a formal sale, ceded it. Hence, the blame of circumventing their father for the inheritance attached to Esau more than to

Jacob. But the issue places him in the right position which God had destined for him. He storms and threatens, but soon submits to what cannot be altered. *Rebekah* was, indeed, in a difficult position. She knows that God had destined the blessing for her younger son. This consciousness had hitherto been her hope, her joy and her support, but now all this was to be swept away. Under these circumstances she is ready to try anything which promises to secure her object. She attempts the only possible, although extremely precarious, means which offered. It is a proof of her faith, of her trust in God's assistance, and of her confidence that God would not allow His promise to fail, that she raises her plans on so dangerous a foundation, exposes herself and Jacob to such peril, and boldly undertakes a venture which, according to human calculation, it was ten to one must *miscarry*. Had she, indeed, possessed *that* power of faith, which on Mount Moriah could lift the knife against that only son with whom all promises were connected, without in the least doubting either the promise or Him who had given it—had she taken counsel of God instead of her own carnal wisdom—had she, instead of attempting to deliver herself, committed her cause to Him who had undertaken it, no doubt, as on Mount Moriah, so in Isaac's closet, a miraculous interposition on the part of God would have averted the danger and established the promise. But it was not Rebekah's way, in quiet faith, to wait for help from without and from above, so long as she could help or counsel herself. If God does not interpose with His power, she is ready to assist with her wisdom and strength. This perverseness and unbelief arose from the circumstance that the glory of God was not her only aim, and the fulfilment of His will not her sole object, but that she sought also her own honour and the gratification of her own desire. The moral state of *Jacob* was similar to that of Rebekah. *Tuch* remarks: "Truly it needed a great deal of impudence to reply to the question of his father, manifestly prompted as it was by real anxiety, '*Art thou my very son Esau?*' by a bold '*I am.*'" And *Luther* remarks on verses 20 and 21, "I should probably have run away from terror and let the dish fall." But what, we ask, gave to Jacob, who was naturally so timorous, and who clearly realised both the greatness of the danger to which he exposed himself, and the improbability of success, according to human calculation (verses 11 and 12)—the needed strength to stand this close examination, on the part of the distrustful old man, without betraying himself, either by anxiety or by want of confidence? Certainly only faith in the divine promise, which could not fail. But Jacob also is wanting in full strength of faith, and in unconditional confidence of trust. He also thought

that he must assist the Lord, lest His counsel should perish, and in his case also this arose from not seeking the glory of the Lord alone. In this instance also the text expresses neither approbation nor disapprobation. But the Nemesis of history apportions to each of the four parties concerned their punishment. Isaac and Esau immediately feel the consequences of their conduct; Rebekah and Jacob soon afterwards. Just because her plan had been successful, Rebekah must send away her favourite during the dark of the night, destitute and helpless, nor will she *ever* behold his face again. The deceit of Jacob is repaid him in the same coin (§ 76), and much sorrow, anxiety, labour, and want, are the consequences of his godless cunning.

(3.) With reference to the PREPARATIONS FOR THE BLESSING, it appears strange why, before pronouncing the blessing, Isaac should have demanded MEAT such as he loved. It will not do to set it down to the score of Isaac's liking for good living (chap. xxv. 28)—the meat demanded must somehow have had some essential connection with the blessing. This would be the case if it were possible to regard the meal as a *covenant-feast*; and, explaining it (*Bähr* Symb. of the Mosaic Worship, ii. p. 273; The Author's Mosaic Sacrifice, p. 103), as a representation of joyous communion, and as thus offering a symbolical basis for this blessing. But if this had been the case, both parties, he that blessed and he who was blessed, must have joined in it, while the record only bears that Isaac had eaten and drunk (v. 25). Nothing, therefore, remains but, according to the analogy of similar circumstances, to suppose that Isaac had wished to excite his animal spirits, and to predispose himself for pronouncing a blessing, by partaking of savoury meat and drinking wine; in a manner similar to that in which Elisha wished to encourage and to excite himself for prophetic inspiration by music (2 Kings iii. 15; comp. 1 Sam. x. 5, 10; xvi. 15—23). This appears the more likely as, irrespective of its acceptableness, the gift desired was one of *love*, an expression of the attachment of the son to his father; just as the blessing was an expression of the tenderness of the father for his son. Hence, the transaction represents, that reciprocity which is characteristic of love: the son gives to the father what *he can* give, and what is pleasant and dear to the father, that in turn the father may feel the more impelled to give to the son what *he has* to give to him and what is pleasant.

To prevent, if possible, the discovery of the deceit, Rebekah clothes her favourite with the GARMENTS OF ESAU. The older interpreters regarded this as a peculiar or *priestly* dress, inasmuch as Esau, the first born, had administered priestly

functions in the family of Isaac (Gen. xlix. 3). But the text does not give the slightest hint to warrant such a supposition. Besides, it should be remembered that such an arrangement would have been calculated for the *sight* of Isaac, while the actual device was solely resorted to with a view to his *smelling* (v. 27, "he smelt the smell of his garments"). *Michaelis* thinks that it refers to the custom among the Arabians of perfuming their dress. But although this practice is referred to in Psalm xlv. 9, and in the Song of Solomon iv. 11, it cannot have been alluded to in the circumstances under consideration (see v. 27). We must therefore agree with *Tuch*, that an aromatic smell of the herbs, flowers, and other produce of the field, must have been felt off the garments of Esau, who was "a man of the field" (chap. xxv. 27); a supposition this which involves no difficulty, considering that the country was so rich in aromatic and smelling herbs. Equally apparent was the propriety of covering the hands and the neck of Jacob with the *SKINS* of the kids, where, however, we must bear in mind that they were not such goats as are common in Europe. "The text refers to the Eastern Camel-goat, the black and silky hair of which was also used by the Romans for false hair—Martial. xii. 46." *Tuch*.

But it is altogether mistaken to suppose with *Tuch* that "Isaac demanded a *kiss* (v. 26), in order thereby to distinguish the shepherd who would smell of the flock from the huntsman who would smell of the field." After Isaac has partaken of the meal, he has given up all distrust (v. 25). The kiss is only the expression of paternal love, excited by having partaken of the savoury dish; it is the acme of his now overflowing emotions and the transition to the blessing.

(4.) The difference apparent *on comparing this blessing GIVEN BY ISAAC to Jacob, with the blessing given by Jehovah to Abraham and to Isaac*, is both remarkable and characteristic. The two former contain a threefold reference (§ 71). In the present instance only the two first promises—the possession of the land and political power—are here repeated. The third point, that of being the medium of salvation to the nations, is only alluded to in the words "*Blessed is every one which blesses thee*"—words, it will be remembered, which, when the blessing was first given to Abraham (chap. xii. 3) formed the transition to the highest point in the promised blessing. It would, therefore, appear as if Isaac had not as yet reached that purely spiritual elevation in the promise, and as if he had, therefore, clung in preference to the more concrete and material aspect of it, or else, as if in his view, the two had been inseparably identical. Although the blessing of Isaac is prophetic,

it is limited in expression by that stage of knowledge and of religious consciousness which he himself occupied. The main point in the mind of Isaac was the future relation between the two brothers, and this gives to the blessing its peculiar form, contents, and limits.

§ 73. (Gen. xxvii. 30—40.)—Scarcely had Jacob gone away after obtaining the blessing, than Esau came with the venison which he had prepared. Isaac trembled exceedingly. But his heart does not revolt against Jacob's cunning deceit, nor does he change the stolen blessing into a curse—he rather says: "*I have blessed him and he shall remain blessed.*" The darkness which had gathered around his inward sight was now being dispelled. He recognises the finger of God who had averted the danger threatening from his error and his sin. He sees that without knowing it he had blessed, not according to his own will, but by the authority and according to the will of God. Now for the first time also Esau seems to have some apprehension of the greatness of that salvation which he had so lightly despised. He almost becomes sentimental, he cries, and says: "Hast thou but *one* blessing, my father? Bless me also, O my father!" And the soul of Isaac once more wings itself to the heights of prophetic vision, and he says:

"Behold thy dwelling shall be without fatness of the earth,
And without the dew of heaven from above. (1.)
But by thy sword shalt thou live and shalt serve thy brother;
Yet it shall come to pass that as thou shakest it thou shalt break
his yoke from off thy neck!" (2.)

(1.) The word בֶּן in THE PROPHETIC DECLARATION OF ISAAC may be rendered by "*without*" or "*far from*." This rendering is grammatically correct, and demanded by the context (comp. *Ewald's Larger Grammar*, § 217. b. p. 408). For, in verse 37, Isaac complains that he had no more corn nor wine to give, and in the prophecy itself, emphasis is laid on the circumstance that Esau is to live by his sword. The authorised version (as well as that of *Luther*) renders בֶּן, as verse 28, "thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above." But although this view is defended by modern critics, it neither agrees with the context, nor is it grammatically correct, as in that case a ל would have stood before בֶּן (as in verse 28).

But the point in the blessing lies in this, that so far as possible the same expressions as formerly are chosen to designate an opposite state of matters. For an analogous instance we refer to chap. xl. 13 as compared with verse 19. If it is objected that, according to our interpretation, the words of Isaac would imply a *curse* rather than a blessing, we allow that this statement is at least in part correct. But the text does not anywhere designate this as a blessing, nor if it did would such a designation have been wholly incorrect. For, the promise that Esau was to live by his sword, and that, although he was to serve his brother, he should at a future period throw off the yoke from his neck, implies that the curse changes into a kind of blessing. Again, the remark of *von Gerlach* that our rendering is opposed "to philology, to history, and geography," is partly ungrounded and partly based on evidence which is not to the point. It may, indeed, be true, as *Burkhardt* has it, vol. ii. p. 702, that "the declivities of Mount Seir are covered with corn fields and orchards," and, as *Robinson* remarks, vol. ii. p. 154, that "the mountains on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The Wadys, too, are full of trees, and shrubs, and flowers; while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated, and yield good crops." But it is equally true that *Seetzen* (*Rosenmüller*, Antiq. ii. 1, p. 156), from personal observation, describes the country as "perhaps the most desolate and sterile mountain in the world." And *Robinson* himself expressly states that the western mountains "are *wholly desert and sterile*." And this must have been the general impression produced by a sight of the country, as the prophet Malachi says in the name of Jehovah (chap. i. 3): "I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness." Under the circumstances, Isaac is only disposed prophetically to regard the sterile aspect of the land of Esau. But this does not imply that the country had not its fairer and more fertile districts. This very one-sidedness and this partial incongruity between the blessing and its fulfilment is an evidence of the authenticity of the event recorded.

We shall, therefore, not adopt the new interpretation proposed by *Delitzsch*, according to whom the בְּ in בְּשֶׁמֶן is not a preposition but a letter used for transforming the word into a *nomen*. He translates: "Behold, fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling, and of the dew of heaven from above shalt thou live." Against this view we not only urge our former observations, but also this, that we do not anywhere meet with such a word, and that the parallelism between בְּשֶׁמֶן and בְּחֵלֶב , demands that in both cases the בְּ should be taken as a preposition.

(2.) *Delitzsch* rightly observes, that although the blessing of

Esau seems only a diminished curse when compared with that of Jacob, it still introduces an element of diminution into the latter, so that thereby the improper means used for obtaining that blessing were punished. For it will be noticed that it implies a continuous and not unsuccessful, though ultimately vain, reaction on the part of Esau against the blessing of Jacob. And, in point of fact, the historical relation between Edom and Israel was one of continual alternation of submission, of rebellion, and of renewed subjection.

§ 74. (Gen. xxvii. 41 — xxviii. 10.)—In his wrath Esau threatens to slay Jacob. Rebekah, ever watchful, obtains tidings of this purpose, and knowing her son sufficiently to fear his quick revenge only for the moment, she urges Jacob hastily to fly to Laban her brother, promising to inform him whenever Esau's anger had allayed. She prudently spares Isaac, and does not communicate to him the proximate cause of Jacob's journey. Hence she lays special emphasis on the other aim of his journey on which she was no less intent, viz., that Jacob should take a wife of the daughters of Laban (1.) Too keenly does Isaac feel the grief which Esau's Canaanitish wives had caused him, not at once and cordially to have seconded such a proposal; the more so as he has now perceived that in many respects he had been unjust to Jacob, and has learned to regard him as the person in whom the promised race is to be continued. As formerly, unconsciously and in prophetic emotion, so now consciously, and of set purpose he transfers the blessing of Abraham to the son whom he had erst neglected, and sends him away with the injunction not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. When Esau learned this, he takes unto the wives which he already had a daughter of *Ishmael* (2), in order to remove the dislike which his father felt towards his Canaanitish wives. A new evidence this of his kindness and yielding disposition, but also of his limited knowledge, betraying also, by his foolish mistakes in the choice of means, how thoroughly deficient he was in understanding the religious position of his family, to which he only belonged by external descent, not by inward calling.

(1.) Combining Genesis xlvii. 9, xlv. 6, xli. 46, and xxx.

22—25 we gather that Jacob was SEVENTY-SEVEN years old at the time of his flight to Mesopotamia. It must appear to us very strange that he had remained *so long unmarried*—even though we make allowance for the circumstance that at the time marriages seem to have taken place at a later period of life (Esau only married in his fortieth year). But history furnishes several data to account for this delay. From the conduct of Abraham (Gen. xxiv. 1 &c.) we gather that the marriage of sons was under the immediate supervision of the father—a custom this, to which Esau, in his careless temper, did not submit. But the indifference of Isaac towards Jacob manifested itself in this respect also, nor was the influence of Rebekah, considering the disagreement between her and her husband, sufficient to induce the patriarch to take such a step in deference to her wishes. Jacob had certainly resolved not to marry a daughter of the Canaanites, and nothing was left to him but to submit in patience, which was the more easy as the tenderness of his mother in measure compensated for the want of the affections of a wife. (A similar relation had obtained between Isaac and Sarah.) A certain kind of criticism objects to the double motive in this journey of Jacob, and infers that the narrative is the composition of two different authors, one of whom (the original record) “knows nothing of the dispute between the brothers, and derives the journey of Jacob to Mesopotamia from other motives.” In another place we have sufficiently proved that “the supplementary” as well as the “original text” represent the journey of Jacob as a hasty *flight*.

(2.) On the so-called *contradictions* IN THE NAMES OF THE WIVES OF ESAU in Genesis xxxvi. 2 as compared with xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9, compare also *Ranke's* Investigations, i. p. 245, and *Hengstenberg's* Contrib. iii. p. 273. We refer especially to the ingenious explanations offered by the latter, which have, in our opinion, removed the principal difficulties. *Tuch*, indeed, thinks (p. 429), “that it is impossible by any interpretation to reconcile these contradictory statements.” But this opinion must appear the more hasty that he himself, and *Stühelin* l. c., are obliged to refer the two accounts, supposed to be contradictory, to one and the same author (“to the original record”). The state of matters is as follows. According to chap. xxxvi. 2 and 3 Esau had three wives:

1. *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite.
2. *Aholibamah*, the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter (= grand-daughter?) of Zibeon the Hivite (Horite?)
3. *Bashemath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, the sister of *Ne-bajoth*.

According to chaps. xxvi. 34, and xxviii. 9 the following were his three wives:

1. *Judith*, the daughter of *Beer*i the Hittite.
2. *Bashemath*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite.
3. *Mahalath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, the sister of *Nebajoth*.

Except in the case of *Aholibamah*, who is once mentioned as the daughter of *Anah* and another time as that of *Beer*i, the names of the fathers are identical. *Ranke* (l. c.) and *Wette* propose to solve this difficulty by supposing that *Anah* was her mother and *Beer*i her father, in which case the apposition "the daughter of Zibeon the Hittite" (chap. xxxvi. 2) would refer to *Anah* and not to *Aholibamah*. But against this view we have the fact that the name of the mother does not anywhere occur in the genealogies instead of that of the father, except under very special circumstances. Besides, a comparison with xxxvi. 34 and the analogy of verse 3, where the expression "sister of Nebajoth" must of course necessarily refer to *Bashemath*, are all opposed to this theory. Nothing else would therefore be left but to render בַּת by grand-daughter, in which sense it also occurs in other places. But *Hengstenberg* has shewn that it is very probable that *Anah* and *Beer*i are two names of one and the same personage. In the genealogy of the Horites, who possessed Mount Seir before Esau (in chap. xxxvi. 24), the name *Anah* occurs, of whom it is said: "This was that ANAH that discovered the warm springs in the wilderness (probably the warm baths of Calirrhoe—comp. *Friedreich*, Notes to the Bible, i. 44; the *authorised version* and *Luther* translate falsely 'that found the mules in the wilderness') as he fed the asses of ZIBEON his father." Even the identity of the name of his father would be a presumption in favour of the identity of *Anah* and *Beer*i. To the same conclusion points also the name *Beer*i = man of springs, which manifestly refers to the remarkable event in the wilderness, from which he derived that name. *Hengstenberg* remarks that "in the narrative that name is used by which the man was commonly designated among his cotemporaries, since that most important event of his life was in some respects identified with him. Whoever saw him immediately thought of the warm springs. But his proper name *Anah* occurs in the genealogy in chap. xxxvi., as in a genealogical point of view it could never be set aside by any bye-name." The difficulty from the circumstance that in chap. xxxvi. 2 *Anah* is described as a Hivite, in xxxvi. 20 as a Horite, and in xxvi. 34 as a Hittite, cannot counter-balance

the above remarkable coincidence. For the name Hittite is frequently used *sensu latiori* as = Canaanite in general, and the difference between chap. xxxvi. 2 and verse 20 can easily be removed as proposed by *Michaelis* and by *Bertheau* by changing the הָרִי (of verse 2) into הָרִי, which is not only warranted but required by the identity of the names Anah and Zibeon in the two passages of that chapter. But as everything else is quite plain, the opinion that in chap. xxxvi. *other* wives were meant must be set aside as wholly ungrounded, and the difference between the names accounted for from the frequency with which especially *female* names in the East were changed (comp. *Rosenmüller*, the East in Anc. and Mod. Times, i., p. 63, and *Jahn's Arch.*, ii., p. 281). Probably the change of names took place when they were married. *Hengstenberg* also rightly points out that in chap. xxxvi. *all* the wives of Esau bear different names, and infers that the change in all the names shews that it proceeded not from any mistake on the part of the writer. He concludes that all the three had got new names on the occasion of their marriage, when they left their own families.

(3.) Thus by his own choice as well as in the development of history, ESAU is removed from *connection with the history of the covenant*. His communion with the chosen family had always been only external. He had always been, and he remained a stranger to its higher interests, to its calling and destiny. *He went his own ways*, and that even while he remained in his father's house, and was yet invested with the outward and natural claims to be the head of his family. His total exclusion from the chosen family is only the completing of his former tendency. But, like Lot and Ishmael, he thereby becomes really a heathen. From the first, and even before we have studied the life of Jacob, we can fully understand the choice of Jacob and the rejection of Esau. *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 538) has aptly shewn this: "Any one capable of deeper views will certainly not dream that Esau would have been better adapted than Jacob to become the medium of Divine revelations. Esau is the representative of natural kindness and honesty, but these qualities are joined to rudeness and to a want of susceptibility for what is higher. He is void of all anticipation and longing. He is satisfied with what is visible; in short he is a profane person (Heb. xii. 16). Such persons, even if grace reaches their hearts, which was not the case with Esau, are not adapted for heading a religious development. For the latter purpose not only is such faith necessary, to which any individual may attain, but faith also as a *χάρισμα*, which presupposes a natural substratum not found in characters such as that of Esau. The natural disposition of

Jacob is much more complex than that of Esau. There are many folds and corners in his heart, which himself and others find it difficult thoroughly to examine, while a man like Esau may be pretty well known in the course of an hour. Jacob is mild and pliable, sensitive and susceptible for every contact with a higher world; always disposed and ready to see the heavens opened and the angels ascending and descending. But at the same time, as in all characters in whom the imaginative prevails, he is also apt to deceive himself, he is under strong temptation to dishonesty, prone to cunning, and without sufficient openness. God took this man into his own training, to remove the many shadows always found when there is much light. Under this training alone is it possible really to learn, and in that school Jacob became Israel, while Esau, who was incapable of any such training, remained to the end only Esau."

(4.) After this event, ISAAC lived other forty-three years. But he no more appears on the stage of covenant-history, as Jacob takes up the thread of farther development, the promise having now devolved on him. The text only records that he was gathered to his fathers when 180 years old and full of days, and that he was buried in the cave of Macphelah by Esau and Jacob, whom he was privileged to see once more standing as reconciled brothers by his death-bed. When Jacob left, his father dwelt at Beersheba. The desire to be nearer to his paternal place of sepulchre may probably have been the ground of his later settlement in Mamre, where he died (chap. xxxv. 27 to 29). Rebekah, who at parting had so confidently promised Jacob to let him know whenever Esau's anger was appeased, had probably died soon after her favourite had left. At least the promised message was never delivered, nor is her name mentioned on Jacob's return.

THIRD STAGE IN THE FAMILY HISTORY.

JACOB.

FLIGHT OF JACOB TO MESOPOTAMIA.

§ 75. (Gen. xxviii. 11, &c.)—Jacob tarried all night in the open air, in the neighbourhood of Luz (§ 51. 6). Rescued from imminent danger, torn from the embrace of an affectionate mother, and far from his father's house with which the promise was connected—poor and forsaken, his prospects for the future unsettled, he laid him to rest, weary and worn with care. But in a dream, (1) he beholds a *ladder* which reached to heaven. The angels of God ascended and descended on it, and Jehovah Himself stood above it (2.) He reveals Himself to Jacob as the God of Abraham and of Isaac, invests him with the threefold covenant-blessing, and promises to keep him in all his ways, and to bring him again into the land which he was now about to leave. When he awakes, his soul is still filled with the awe occasioned by the presence of the Lord. He exclaims, "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven!" He pours *oil* on the *stone* on which his head had rested, and sets it up for a *pillar* (3.) He called the name of that place *Bethel*, and *vows* on his return to convert that stone into a house of God, and thereby, *on his part* also, to make the name which he had given to the place a reality (4.)

(1.) The dream of Jacob is not merely natural but prophetic; it is the medium of divine revelation and promise. But the inward state of Jacob at the time formed its natural basis. This dream appears much more significant when we recall to mind the feeling with which he would lay him down to rest. Thoughts accusing and excusing one another would overwhelm him and refuse to be controlled, amid the unwonted solitude and in the

loneliness of his position, as night gathered around him, and all circumstances conspired to make him look into the depth of his soul. The present weighs on him as a curse which he had drawn on himself; nor is the dark future before him as yet lit up by a single ray of divine promise. He has, indeed, obtained the blessing of his father, but only by cunning and deceit, nor has the divine sanction been as yet given to it. Consciousness of guilt, remorse of conscience, doubts, cares, and anxieties of various kinds, only tended to deepen his sense of loneliness. If he is not to despair, he requires to be comforted and strengthened from on high. And this is now done. The dream and its vision are the reply of God to the cares and anxieties with which he has lain down to rest.

(2.) THE MEANING OF THIS VISION will be evident. It embodies in a symbol that which the divine promises (verses 13 to 15), of which it is the basis, declare in words. It forms a bridge between heaven and earth. Below, is the poor, helpless, and forsaken man—a representative of human nature with its inability and helplessness. But the angels of God ever descend to bring him help, and again ever ascend to fetch new deliverance. Above, Jehovah Himself stands upon it. By the promise, "I will bless *thee*, and *in thee* (and in thy seed) shall all the families of the earth be blessed," He connects the *goal* with the *commencement* of *that* development, so that this forsaken and helpless man is to become the source of blessing and the medium of salvation to the whole world. It is thus that the ladder connects *heaven with earth*, and *Jacob* at the foot of it with *Jehovah* above it. The ladder which connects heaven with earth represents the *promise*, which equally joins heaven and earth, which brings down and imparts the powers of heaven to man, as the medium of the promise, yea, and in virtue of which, Jehovah Himself comes down in order that by His covenant and co-operation with him who is the medium of the promise, the goal might be attained and all the families of the earth blessed *in him*. All this, so far as Jacob was concerned, lay only in germ and undeveloped in the promise. But looking back on its fulfilment we know that this goal was to be attained by the descent of the fullness of the personal God into helpless and disabled human nature, through the incarnation of God in Christ. *Baumgarten* (Comm. i. 1. p. 263) is therefore right in saying that not the ladder but Jacob, on whose account the ladder connected heaven and earth, was a symbolic representative of Christ. But equally right are *Luther* and *Calvin* in regarding the ladder in the light of John i. 52, and viewing it as a representation of the mystery of the incarnation of God. Since the ladder, in the first place, represents the promise by which the divine strength, and

ultimately God Himself, is brought from heaven to earth, it is also at the sametime a representation of the manner in which God successively descends from heaven and ultimately becomes man. Thus, viewed *objectively*, the vision of Jacob becomes a grand survey and summary of the history of the Old Covenant. As Jacob now commences the course of his independent covenant-development, so Jehovah also appears standing on the uppermost step of the ladder, commencing, as it were, His descent. Again, as the last step of the ladder is by the side of Jacob, it is plain that He is descending to Jacob (as the ancestor and representative of the chosen race). But the whole history of the Old Covenant is nothing else than, on the one hand, a successive descending on the part of God, until He becomes incarnate in the seed of Jacob, and, on the other hand, a successive ascent of Jacob and of his seed, until it becomes capable of receiving within itself the personal fulness of the divine nature.

(3.) Jacob called the place where this apparition was vouchsafed (verse 19) BETHEL (the House of God). The city in the immediate neighbourhood was at the time called *Luz* (comp. § 51, 6). The descendants of the patriarchs transferred the name of Bethel to that city. Of course the Canaanites did not care for this, and continued to call it *Luz*. The heathen name was only abrogated after the occupation of the land by Joshua. Even in Joshua xvi. 2 (the boundary "goeth out from Bethel to Luz") Bethel the place is distinguished from Luz the city (comp. *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. iii., p. 200). Jacob dedicates the stone on which his head had rested, and converts it into a *pillar* or *monument* by POURING OIL ON THE TOP OF IT. The outward import of this action is to distinguish the stone, with a view to the time when in virtue of the vow it was to become a house of God. But in accordance with the views prevalent throughout the whole Old Testament, this action must also, and pre-eminently, have had an inward and symbolical meaning. The symbolical use of oil as an emblem of the Spirit of God, who enlightens, revives, and heals, is derived from the use of oil in common life among Orientals. In the East it is employed for giving flexibility, freshness, and health, for alleviating pain and healing diseases, for giving a flavour to food, and also for light. Hence to pour oil over anything symbolised its dedication to God and to Divine purposes, as also the communication of Divine strength to it necessary for such dedication (comp. *Bähr*, Symbolic ii., p. 171). The *erection* of a STONE MONUMENT (מִצְבֵּה) for religious purposes by Jacob invites a comparison of this action with the worship of such Maseboth in heathenism. In itself the erection of stones to be monuments and signs in remembrance of religious events and ideas is so natural and unimportant that

we can scarcely wonder that heathenism and Judaism shared that practice, whether independently of, or in some connection with, each other. Stone was the most lasting, unchangeable, immoveable, and imperishable material. Hence, it was specially adapted to become a witness to coming centuries. But this very peculiarity must have lent a particular religious meaning to stone in the worship of nature, which regarded all natural objects as the forms in which the spirit of nature appeared. Be it noticed that no object in nature expresses so distinctly as the stone the idea of a blind and inexorable natural necessity, not animated by consciousness, by pre-intended and rational volition, not moved by any feeling of pleasure or of sorrow, of sympathy or of pity, but following its unalterable course without regard to any other consideration whatever. But this idea is the central point in what is characteristic of the worship of nature, where free and personal will is absorbed in absolute unity with the eternal necessity of the law of nature. Thus in heathenism stone was the representation of the Deity, in so far as the latter was regarded as the dark and impersonal fate which, with inexorable necessity, presided over life. But Judaism from the first shared not in any way these views of the Deity; indeed they were distinctly and consciously opposed to the religion of the Old Testament. Hence, in making use of stone for religious purposes, Judaism could only do so on account of the adaptation of that material for becoming a lasting and unchangeable monument, and a token of remembrance—a use this equally warrantable and appropriate. It was equally natural and suitable, at least in the case of the patriarchs, that places which had been set apart by such monuments as sacred, and as standing in closer relation to God (either on account of a revelation or some other manifestation of mercy which had been there vouchsafed), should also have been specially selected by cotemporaries or descendants for the purposes of Divine worship. Afterwards, under the law, every use of the Mazeboth for the purposes of Divine worship was repeatedly, and in the most stringent terms, interdicted as a heathen abomination (Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Lev. xxvi. 1; Deut. xii. 13, xvi. 22, &c.). This prohibition was not merely directed against the heathen view, by which the stone appeared as a representative of the Deity, but also against the worship of Jehovah in the neighbourhood of these Mazeboth, which had been allowed at the time of the patriarchs—and that because any such worship was an ungodly and heathen opposition to the sole and lawful sanctuary in the tabernacle. The worship of the *Betylta*, declared to have been stones (meteoric stones?) that had fallen from heaven, among which the black stone in the Kaaba in Mecca also belongs, is a later form of this heathen

worship of stones. The name *βαιτύλια* reminds us so clearly of the name Bethel that it is almost impossible to doubt a connection between the two. But as, according to very distinct evidence, the worship of the Betylia arose among the Phœnicians (the Canaanites), we can readily conceive that as heathenism was always prepared to adopt foreign forms of worship, the pouring of oil by Jacob on the stone at Bethel may have been the *first* starting-point of the later worship of the Betylia. Hence those ancient writers (such as *Bochart*, *Vossius*, &c.) who derived it from a *κακοζήλια* on the part of the Canaanites, may not have been *wholly* in the wrong. On the worship of the Betylia generally, comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg.*, ii. 2, 2, p. 707; *Winer*, s. v. *Stones*; *De Wette*, *Archæology*, § 192.¹

(4.) The question has been raised to whom JACOB, WHEN MAKING HIS VOW, meant to *pay tithes* from all those things which he owed to the protection and blessing of God. By the law the tithes were given to the priests, and through them to God. But as in the family of the patriarchs there was no special priesthood, but themselves discharged such duties, this circumstance has been deemed an objection to the authenticity of the narrative. It is true that the reply commonly given that Jacob had meant to use it in a manner similar to that common among the Israelites every third year, when the tithes were employed in a feast (*Deut.* xiv. 28, 29), is somewhat improbable. We rather suppose that the words imply that he meant therewith to erect the promised house of God, to preserve and to maintain it, and to discharge the expenses connected with the worship there.

JACOB'S SOJOURN IN MESOPOTAMIA.

§ 76. (*Gen.* xxix. 1—30.)—At a well near Haran Jacob meets with Rachel, Laban's daughter, who was leading her father's sheep to the watering-place. With overflowing heart he falls

¹ We take this opportunity of bringing before the reader a curious discovery, for which we are indebted to the wisdom of *Mr Sørensen*, in *Keil* (*Comm.* on *Genesis*, p. 232). The history of the heavenly ladder and of the Mazebeh was only invented in order to claim for Jacob, as if *he* had introduced it into Babylon, the invention of the sun-clock, which is commonly ascribed to the Babylonians. The heavenly ladder with its steps meant the hour marks in that clock, and the setting up of the Mazebeh was nothing else than the setting up of that sun dial after the model of that visionary revelation. "From the statement that Jacob had leaned his head *on or upon* the stone, we may infer that the sun dial in Bethel had a globe or a semi globe at the top. Perhaps on this globe the degrees were marked, and this may also have given occasion to trace the marking of such a heavenly ladder to a night vision."

upon her neck, rolls the stone from the well's mouth, and waters her sheep (1.) Laban also gives him a hearty welcome, and being soon convinced of Jacob's fitness, he endeavours to secure his services as a shepherd. Jacob, for whom the first meeting with Rachel had already been of great and decisive moment, sues for her, and promises a seven years' service as her price (2.) But Laban, not less selfish than crafty, endeavours to bind him for a longer time, palms upon him, instead of the beautiful Rachel, her elder and less attractive sister Leah, and, in reply to Jacob's reproaches, pleads as his excuse the custom of the country, which did not allow the marriage of a younger sister before that of an elder. Thus Jacob, who cannot give up his love for Rachel, is compelled to bind himself for other seven years, and now also weds his chosen bride (3.)

(1.) *Robinson* informs us (i. 490), "Over most of the cisterns is laid a broad and thick flat stone, with a round hole cut in the middle, forming the mouth of the cistern. This hole we found in many cases covered with a heavy stone, which it would require two or three men to roll away." The established regulation of the well demanded that the stone should not be rolled away until all the flocks had been brought together (ch. xxix. 8). But when Jacob learned that the approaching shepherdess was Laban's daughter, he oversteps this arrangement, and, in the overflowing joy of his heart, he offers his services, and rolls away the stone. The shepherds present do not interfere, probably from a feeling of hospitality towards the stranger, who had given them to understand that he was a near relative of the rich and respected Laban, perhaps also because, when the flock of Laban had arrived, the flocks that had a right to the cistern were assembled. We are scarcely surprised that Jacob, in the excess of his joy, should, without farther ceremony, have fallen upon the neck of his near relative, whose arrival must have appeared to him as a token that God had favoured his journey and its aim. *Calvin* correctly observes: *Ex morum hujus temporis integritate manavit quod Jacob ad consobrinae suae osculum properare ausus est, nam in vita casta et modesta multo major erat libertas.*

De Wette's difficulty, who, with reference to the similar meeting of Eliezer (§ 67), observes that "change would hardly have played the suitor twice in so welcome a manner," *Baumgarten* sets aside by the remark, "first, that the correspondence of circumstances arose from a constant custom in the East, which even up to the present day has been preserved, and then, that the Supreme Director of all these things is not chance, but Je-

hovah, who for this purpose causes similar circumstances to return with similar occasions, in order fully to convince us of the connection of the sacred history."

(2.) The reason why the selfish Laban, after four weeks, himself insists on fixing the wages of Jacob lies in this, that he does not wish to concede to his nephew any claims to gratitude, which are more difficult to satisfy than the exactly defined claims of right. It is exactly in this apparent unselfishness that Laban's heartlessness comes out. The custom of paying to the father a purchase-price on a daughter's marriage is founded on the one hand in the pre-christian position of woman, and on the other hand in the loss which befel the household through the departure of a daughter, and which required compensation. Yet here also Laban's avarice appears, on a comparison with the conduct of his father Bethuel, who demanded no purchase-price at Rebekah's marriage. Laban's daughters (ch. xxxi. 15) also expressly complain of this, that their father had disposed of them as of a piece of merchandise. That Jacob, instead of the purchase-price, offers a seven years' service is possibly connected with the law of slavery (Ex. xxi. 2), which probably was already customary and afterwards was fixed by Moses as a statute, in virtue of which a fellow-countryman entering on the relation of servant was to go out free in the seventh year. The custom of the purchase-price places the value of a daughter on a par with that of a bondman. While Jacob thus undertakes the entire term of service of a bondman, he gives to Laban full compensation for the loss of his daughter. If criticism declares it incomprehensible that Jacob did not rather procure the purchase-price from his rich father, the greater convenience of this proposal could scarcely have escaped Jacob, if this history or the author of the same is to be considered as a myth. We account for the circumstance not so much from the difficulties which the still continuing wrath of Esau would have been able to lay in the way of the attainment of this end, as rather from Jacob's peculiar position both with respect to his father's house and to God's promise. As Jacob had himself occasioned the circumstances by which he was separated from his father's house, he is *cast upon his own resources*. In as far, however, as through the appearance of God at Bethel, he has entered into covenant-relationship with God, he is also *cast upon Jehovah*. Had he now appealed to his father he would have been guilty not only of mean cowardice, but of blameworthy unbelief.

(3.) *Usseus* (Annales V. et N. Test., p. 7), and after him among others *Hess* (History of the Patriarchs ii., p. 87), suppose that the MARRIAGE had taken place during the first year of Jacob's servitude, and they interpret the expression used by the

patriarch in verse 21, "for my days are fulfilled," which in the connection seem to point to the fulfilment of the seven years of servitude agreed upon, by "quod uxori maturus esset plus satis." Probably this hypothesis owed its origin to the chronological difficulties in our chapter, to which we shall by and by refer, but which by no means warrant us in giving this rendering to the words. THE DECEIT OF LABAN became possible by the custom of leading the bride veiled into the dark bridal chamber. This imposition is the Nemesis that overtakes Jacob, and must have reminded him of the similar wrong of which himself had been guilty. As instead of the beloved son he had brought to Isaac him whom he had despised and neglected, so Laban now substitutes the despised Leah for his beloved Rachel. But as then Isaac had rightly blessed the son whom he had not loved, so also was Jacob's wife, though not beloved, yet destined for him by God. For it was Leah and not Rachel who became the mother of that son who afterwards inherited the most precious part in the promise (comp. § 94, 3). Even profane history and common life offer many strange and manifest evidences of a retributive Providence, but in sacred history these appear in a manner specially striking. However, Laban is at least not so unjust as to require Jacob to discharge his second servitude before the marriage with Rachel. Immediately after the marriage-week is past, he gives to Jacob Rachel as his wife. The ceremony lasted *seven days* (comp. also Judges xiv. 12 and 17), from the symbolical idea attaching to the number seven, as being that of the covenant. Thus, instead of one, Jacob had two wives, and these sisters. The remarks of *Calvin* (ad h. l.), who exclaims about the incest and the "belluinus mos," do not apply to the period before the giving of the law. Still it is manifest that in the course of this history the ungodliness of this relation is condemned, and the way prepared for the prohibition in Lev. xviii. 18.

§ 77. (Gen. xxix. 31—xxx. 24.)—The Lord now owns Leah, who was despised by Jacob. While for many years Rachel remains barren (1), Leah, in rapid succession, becomes the mother of four sons, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*. The envy of her sister increases in the highest manner. Jacob, although he reproves the expressions of her passionate complaints, yields to her impatient demand, and takes her maid Bilhah, that Rachel might have children for her. Bilhah bore him two sons, *Dan* and *Naphtali*. As Leah, in the interval, had not borne children, she also, following her sister's evil example, gave to Jacob Zilpah, her maid, who bore *Gad* and *Asher*. But Jacob neglected Leah

in so unjust a manner, and fixed his affections so exclusively on Rachel, that the former had to buy from her sister the favour of her husband, by *Dudaim* (2), which her son Reuben had found in the field, and which were supposed to have the power of procuring fruitfulness. But despite her possession of these *Dudaim*, Rachel remains barren, while Leah gives birth to *Issachar* (comp. *Gesenius*, Thes., p. 1331), to *Zebulon*, and then to a daughter called *Dinah*. However, in the meantime, Rachel's time of probation comes to an end, and towards the close of the fourteenth year of servitude, she gives birth to *Joseph* (3.)

(1.) *The longing to become mother* has its origin in the natural destination of woman. But this natural longing was heightened during the period when the equality of woman was not acknowledged, and the wife occupied a position of importance only when she became a mother. In religious antiquity, barrenness was considered a reproach and a punishment, and that in measure as the consciousness that children were a gift of God (Ps. cxxvii. 3) was common and deep. Lastly, to fill the measure of evils attaching to barrenness, a childless woman would, both in the chosen family and in the chosen race, regard herself as excluded from that connection in which marriage stood to the promised blessing. Nor can we be mistaken in supposing that the latter consideration may have influenced Rachel, as it is, at any rate, more than probable that Jacob had informed his wives, and especially the wife of his affections and of his choice, with his peculiar position and calling. Hence, however defective and one-sided their understanding of these subjects, the wives of Jacob had no doubt shared to some extent his views and his hopes.

(2.) About the *DUDAIM*, comp. *Tuch*, Comm., p. 446; *Friedreich*, Notes to the Bible, i., p. 158; *Lengerke*, Canaan, i., p. 133; *Winer*, s. v. "Alraun". It is now generally understood that by this term, the "*Mandragora vernalis*" was meant (comp. *Bertoloni*, Comm. de Mandragoris, Bologna 1836, folio). The small yellow and odoriferous apples of this plant were, both in ancient and modern times, in the East, regarded as capable of stimulating and exciting, and hence of exercising a peculiar influence on the nervous system. They were therefore also employed in the preparation of love potions. *Tuch* entirely mistakes the text in remarking, p. 446: "The *Dudaim* effect that Leah again gives birth, and that Rachel, hitherto barren, becomes a mother." To this *Baumgarten* rightly replies: "*Tuch* himself remarks, at p. 449, that there is no mention of the man-

dragora afterwards. Yet he will not see that the narrative is meant to show that the mercy of God, and not natural means, bestows children upon these women. Leah does not refuse to her sister the mandragora of her son. Yet Leah conceives, and Rachel remains barren, and this because the former had called upon the Lord, and He had heard her (verse 17). Again, it is when God remembers Rachel (verse 22), that she conceives. To enforce this truth, the Holy Ghost here brings before us a picture of human life, without keeping anything back." Leah considers it an act of self-denial when she gives her maid to her husband, for which she supposes herself rewarded when she bears a son, and therefore calls him Issachar, *i.e.*, "it is a reward."

(3.) Like a stream that had long been stemmed, the fruitfulness promised in the Divine blessing manifests itself at last in the abundance of CHILDREN GRANTED TO JACOB. But here also the idea that without the intervention of grace, nature is incapable of producing the promised seed, appears, at least in part, in the long-continued barrenness of Rachel. As Joseph was born before the fourteenth year of servitude had elapsed, and as the marriage had taken place in the seventh year of servitude, twelve children must have been born during the seven intervening years. However, if, as some have maintained, the text meant to convey that these children were born in succession, it would imply the most curious and manifest impossibility. But even older interpreters and chronologists (for example, *Petavius*, De Doctr. Temp., 9, 19, and *Heidegger*, Hist. Patr., 2, 253), and, after them, later writers, as, for example, *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 351), *Baumgarten* (i. 1, 272), *Lengerke* (Canaan, i., p. 308), *Reinke* (Contrib. to the Expl. of the Old Test., p. 95), have satisfactorily removed this difficulty. The alleged contradiction arises from the mistake of supposing that the Vav consequ. in a narrative always implies continuous progress in the order of time. (Against this, comp. *Ewald's* Larger Grammar, p. 614, § 332, *a*: *Lengerke*, Canaan, i., p. 310, note 1; and *the Author's* Unity of Genesis, Berlin, 1846, pp. 7 to 12.) "The fact in such case related does not necessarily connect itself with what immediately precedes, but, as in many other cases, with the whole context, and implies a succession indeed, but in the whole narrative, not in its individual parts" (*Hengstenberg*, l. c.). *Lengerke* rightly remarks (l. c.): "If we consider the passionate character of Rachel, and the light in which the narrative represents her position towards her sister (chap. xxx. 1), it does not appear credible that Rachel had given Bilhah to her husband only when Leah had ceased to bear, as the text in chap. xxx. seems to imply. inasmuch as her jealousy would, under these circumstances, not have been so much called forth." The first

four children of Leah were born within the shortest possible intervals of time. Before Leah felt her temporary barrenness, Rachel had already given Bilhah to Jacob, and whenever Leah imagined that she was to bear no more children, she followed the example of her sister, by giving Zilpah to her husband. Considering how rapidly she had formerly borne children, and the jealousy existing between the sisters, we can readily understand that this was done after the lapse of a very few months. Soon afterwards she again conceived, and before the seven years were elapsed bore other three children. Nor is it necessary to suppose with *Lightfoot* (i. 18) that Zebulon and Dinah had been twins. The occurrence connected with the mandragora took place immediately before Leah conceived for the fifth time, and Reuben, who found the plant, was at the time about four years old. It does not appear either remarkable or improbable that a child of that age should have been taken to the fields, and "have been attracted by the beautiful flowers and fruits."

§ 78. (Gen. xxx. 25, &c.)—Jacob is now anxious to return home, in order to provide for his own family. Laban, who had experienced how remarkably the blessing of God had rested upon all that his son-in-law had done, endeavours by all means in his power to retain his services. With selfish readiness he agrees to the apparently foolish demand made by Jacob, that all the young of the flock which shall be *speckled* or spotted were to become his hire. But here also the cunning and calculation, which formed an element in Jacob's natural character, appear as strikingly as formerly in his relation to Esau. As then, so now, the purposes of God coincide with those of Jacob, notwithstanding the improper means by which he seeks to attain his ends. Jacob meets cunning with cunning, and returns the deceit of Laban with deceit; but Jehovah allows success to follow his cunning, in order to punish one wrong with another. By clever tricks, which he has learned during his experience as a shepherd, Jacob seeks to effect it, that the strongest cattle should bear the colours agreed on (1), while a vision assures him that even *without* any such artifices, God would right him in his cause with Laban (2.) Thus it happens, that however frequently Laban changed the conditions of agreement, eventually the advantage is always on the side of Jacob (3), and within six years, the flocks which by agreement became his increased very rapidly.

(1.) The AGREEMENT between Jacob and Laban depends upon the fact that, in the East, the sheep are commonly white and the goats black, while speckled and spotted animals are rarely seen. All spotted and dark sheep, and all speckled goats, are removed from the flock entrusted to Jacob, and led over to the flocks entrusted to the sons of Laban, so that only sheep of pure white colour, and goats of pure black colour remain. All in that flock which should bear different colours were to become the hire of Jacob; and as in the ordinary course of nature, anything of the kind expected by Jacob was scarcely to be anticipated, Laban agrees to his demand, selfishly rejoicing over what he supposes the folly of his nephew. And yet Laban comes off worst in a compact which apparently seemed so very advantageous to him. Jacob makes use of an observation which as yet seems to have escaped the shepherds of Mesopotamia, viz., that any impression on the imagination at the time of conception, or during pregnancy, has frequently the effect of showing itself on the fœtus. This is a fact, the reality of which has been placed beyond doubt, by innumerable instances at all times, both among animals and in the human species, but which specially applies to sheep. Comp. *Bochart*. Hierozoic. ii., 49, pp. 543—547; *Rosenmüller*, the East, i., p. 150; *Tuch*, p. 452; *Lengerke*, Canaan, i., p. 152; *J. D. Michaelis*, Miscellaneous Works, i., p. 61; *J. B. Friedreich*, Contrib. to Bible, Nurenberg, 1848, i., p. 37; *Trusen*, Diseases of the Bible, p. 52; and *Winer*, s. v. Jacob, p. 523 (3d ed.), and the authorities there adduced. Accordingly Jacob, at the time of conceiving, put rods of various trees, strakes of which he had pilled away, and the white wood of which was peculiarly bright, into the watering troughs to which the flocks came to drink, that so the imagination of these animals should be impressed with the speckled rods while they conceived. The event proved that the device was well contrived. Again, when speckled animals appeared in the flock, Jacob adopted another and similar plan, the more certainly and fully to attain his object. He separated those animals which were of one colour from those which were spotted, and so placed them towards each other that the former were always obliged to look toward the latter, while the latter never saw the former. However, Jacob was just enough only to apply these artifices in spring and not in autumn, so that the second produce of the year always belonged to his father-in-law. It must, however, be admitted that the text expressly remarks that the animals conceived in spring were stronger and better than the others, as the mothers were better fed at that season of the year. (*Bochart*, l. c., ii. 46, p. 514; comp. *Tuch*, l. c., p. 453, and *Lengerke*, l. c., p. 151.) The conduct of Jacob must be viewed in the same light as the

falsehood of Abraham (§ 52, 2), and the former manifestations of cunning and deceit on the part of our patriarch. So far as Laban's heartlessness and selfishness was concerned, he was right. He considered himself, as it were, on his defence, and regarded his deception as simply necessary for protection. As formerly, so now, his faith was too weak, and he was naturally too much disposed to have recourse to cunning and methods of self-deliverance, wholly to commit his cause to the Lord, and, if necessary, to expect even a miracle, as Abraham had done on Mount Moriah. The vision which the Lord had granted him, and to which we shall immediately refer, might indeed have taught the patriarch that such faith would not be disappointed, any more than the confidence of Abraham had been vain. Indeed, the position and the character of Jacob lead us to expect that in his history self-deliverance and Divine deliverance shall always meet. We cannot therefore agree with *Tuch*, that the report of Jacob's artifices arose from "a kind of rationalism on the part of him who wrote the supplementary portion of Genesis," and who, in opposition to the original document (comp. our work on the Unity of Genesis, p. 164), always attempts to account by natural means for *the manner* in which miraculous events had taken place, in the fashion in which afterwards *Eichhorn* and *Paulus* of Heidelberg had done it. But if we are to speak of rationalism, we would rather ascribe it to rationalism on the part of Jacob, who, despite his experience of miracles, felt it very difficult to expect any such interposition. *Drechsler* (Unity of Genesis, p. 237) is entirely mistaken as to the meaning of the passage, when he attempts to convert Jacob's self-deliverance into an *evidence of simple faith*.

(2.) It seems that immediately after Jacob had made the agreement with Laban, he beheld a VISION (chap. xxxi. 10, &c.), in which all the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ring-straked, speckled, and grisled, and the angel of God at the same time testified that "he had seen all that Laban had done unto him." Manifestly this vision must have been prophetic, and meant to announce that the rams of the flock, which were of one colour, should have the same progeny as if they had been speckled or grisled. Again, the fact that while the artifice of Jacob was designed with a special view to the *sheep*, while the vision especially refers to the *rams*, shows that it was intended to teach him the difference between *his own device and the help of God*, and that the latter alone was quite sufficient to vindicate his rights against the selfishness of Laban. In his conversations with his wives, Jacob refers only to the deliverance of God, while he passes in silence over his own device, showing that his conscience had reproached him, that his cunning was ungenerous, and had

better be concealed, even from his wives. From the connection between v. 13 and 14, *Baumgarten* and others infer that this vision was repeated at every time of conception, but this supposition is very improbable. In his narrative to his wives, Jacob does not pay strict attention to the question of succession of time, and therefore connects together the two visions that had been vouchsafed to him, one of which had taken place at the commencement of his last six years of servitude, and the other at their close.

(3.) When Jacob says that Laban had CHANGED his wages TEN TIMES, this is manifestly a round number, which, from its symbolical meaning, as that of completeness, is intended to indicate that Laban had changed the conditions of the compact so frequently, that it was impossible to change them any farther. It is not expressly stated wherein these changes consisted, but they probably refer (v. 8) to modifications of colour, and to the changes from the speckled (dotted) to the ring-straked, and again to the grisled (chap. xxx. 39). All these changes brought out the more clearly, that the artifices of Jacob alone would have been insufficient, and that the effect produced was rather due to the assistance of God. It was perhaps also on this ground that, in his narrative of the circumstances to his wives, Jacob laid exclusive emphasis on the assistance of God.

RETURN OF JACOB TO CANAAN. HIS WRESTLING WITH JEHOVAH.

§ 79. (Gen. xxxi.)—The prosperity which equally attended Jacob under all circumstances, excited the envy and hatred of Laban and of his sons, and their bitter remarks made him desire to put an end to the relations subsisting between them. This wish is met by the call of God to return into the land of his fathers. But Jacob, always accustomed to prefer crooked ways to straight, resolves to fly by stealth, and his wives, embittered by the unworthy and careless manner in which they had been treated by their father, readily consent to his proposal. The desired opportunity for executing this design offers when Laban goes to *shear his sheep*. Without the knowledge of Jacob, Rachel takes away the *Teraphim* of her father (1.) But on the third day Laban is informed of the circumstance. Succoured by his kinsmen, he pursues the fugitives, and on the seventh day overtakes them on Mount Gilead (2.) But the

night before this, the God of Jacob had, in a vision, solemnly warned Laban against using any violence. He therefore only reproaches the patriarch about his secret flight, hypocritically adding that thereby he had even been prevented from kissing his daughters, and from sending away his son-in-law with all proper formality. But he is most concerned about the stolen Teraphim. Jacob himself insists upon a search being made for them, which, of course, leads to no result, as Rachel, pretending to be after the custom of women, keeps her father from her person and her seat, under which she had concealed the Teraphim (3.) The reconciliation of Jacob and of Laban is solemnised by a covenant, by an oath, by a sacrifice, and by a covenant-feast. A stone monument erected on the spot was to be at the same time a witness of this covenant, and the boundary-mark of nomadic excursions to them and to their descendants (4.)

(1.) On the TERAPHIM, comp. *Michaelis* "de Teraphis"; *Winer*, s. h. v.; *Tuch*, Comment., p. 457; *Hengstenberg*, Christol., ii., p. 177; iii., p. 129; *Hüvernich*, Ezekiel, p. 347; *Lengerke*, Canaan, i., pp. 256 and 306. Probably they were statues bearing the form of man, but of smaller size (comp. Gen. xxxi. 34 with 1 Sam. xix. 13), which were worshipped as house- and family-gods, as the givers and disposers of domestic happiness (Gen. xxxi.; Judges xviii. 24). Probably they were also consulted as domestic oracles (Ezekiel xxi. 26; Zech. x. 2). Their worship passed from the Arameans to the Israelites, where it repeatedly appears, up to the time of the captivity, although it is always stigmatised as idolatry (Gen. xxxv. 4; 2 Kings xxiii. 24; Zech. x. 2; Hosea iii. 4). We cannot therefore agree with *Hengstenberg*, who supposes that they were intermediate beings, which might find a place in any system of religion, and the consulting of whom did not necessarily imply idolatry, as they were always enquired at in the name of Jehovah (comp. *Hüvernich*, l. c.). *Michaelis* regarded them as a kind of satyrs or sylines, according to the statement of *Pausanias*, 6, 24, 6 (Ἰνὴτὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος τῶν Σιληνῶν εἰκάσαι τις ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων χώρᾳ Σιληνοῦ μνημα), with which, as he supposes, the statement in Genesis xxxv. 4, according to which Jacob buries the Teraphim under an oak, near Sychem, remarkably agrees. But even if this strange statement of *Pausanias* should have any connection with that in Genesis xxxv. 4, which is conceivable, since Judges ix. 6 and 37 shows that the

remembrance of this event had become settled in popular tradition, it still rests on a vague and arbitrary combination. We do not discover a trace of the name or of the worship of Teraphim in any but in Aramean or Hebrew idolatry. Allied to this is the opinion of *Creuzer* (*Symbolic*, 2d ed., p. 340), according to whom they were Penates, and popularly supposed to bestow children. This view is again propounded by *Lengerke*, but is entirely ungrounded. For, the statement that Rachel had taken with her "those sylines", as a last resource, in order to obtain children, and that Michael, the daughter of Saul (1 Sam. xix.), had, on account of her barrenness, also worshipped them unknown to David, is the more unwarranted, as at the time Rachel was no longer barren, and Michael had been married too short time to conclude that she would not be mother. (Nor can this opinion be supported by the analogy of the Greek designation *τοῖς* with the corresponding Hebrew word.) The intention of Rachel in stealing the Teraphim is evident. She is anxious to preserve or to gain for *her own* household the happiness which she connects with the possession of the Teraphim. In reference to the etymology, we agree with *Hofmann* (*Script. Demonstr.*, i., p. 328) in regarding the word as the Aramean form of a Hebrew word, and in explaining it, according to the Arabic root شرف, "*altus, excelsus, nobilis*," *that which is elevated and above the earthly*. In the heathen Aramean mode of expression, it is equivalent to אלהים (Gen. xxxi. 10; xxxv. 2), with which it also has in common the meaning attaching to its plural. We cannot attach importance to the derivation from قرف (*bonis commodisque vitæ effluxit*), propounded by *Hävernick*, l. c., far less to that of *E. Meier*, *Dict. of Roots*, p. 382 (תרק, as derived from תרה = ترك, to *leave behind*, hence "undoubtedly תרפים *those that are left behind*, as it were the relics, the portraits of departed ancestors"). *Sörensen* (*Comm. on Genesis*, p. 248) informs us that the Teraphim were corpses covered with resin or gum, and that the name must be derived from שֶׁרֶף = *gum, resin*. The statement that Rachel had concealed the Teraphim under the saddle of the camel does not in the least disturb our ingenious and sagacious commentator. For, "manifestly the Teraphim are here also a symbol of something greater, and are not merely family mummies. They are in this case also the representatives of the tribes of Israel. . . . If Rachel conceals them, and withdraws them from the view of Laban, the camel, with its two humphs, is at the same time a pictorial representation of Mount Lebanon, under and behind the declivities of which Rachel hides her robbery from the eyes of Laban, who lives on the other side of Lebanon."

(2.) The SHEEP-SHEARING of Laban was in many respects a favourable opportunity for Jacob's flight. It necessitated, in the first place, that the sheep of Laban and of Jacob should be separated. It withdrew Jacob from the supervision of his father-in-law; it removed Laban and his family several days' journey from the vicinity of Jacob, while the duties and festivities connected with it (1 Sam. v. 24; 2 Sam. xiii. 23) would engage the attention of the suspicious Laban in another manner. However, in this latter respect, Jacob seems to have been mistaken, as, on the third day, Laban receives tidings of his flight, whence it appears probable that, with his wonted suspiciousness, he had left spies in the neighbourhood, who at once informed him of the flight of his son-in-law. It is just as we should have expected, when the text, as *Tuch* remarks, "does not explain how the son-in-law and chief superintendent of the flocks of Laban could have been absent from the festivities of the sheep-shearing, to which commonly relatives and friends were invited (v. chap. xxxviii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 23)." This circumstance is quite natural, as every reader can, without any statement of reasons, easily imagine them. The dissension between them had reached its highest point, so that the absence of Jacob would appear desirable to both parties, nor could Jacob be at any loss in finding excuses for declining an invitation.

(3.) On the arrangement of the *couch on the camel*, which may have served also as a bed for Rachel, comp. *Tuch*, p. 459, and *Gesenius*, Thes. p. 715. The pretext of Rachel presupposes that the Levitical law (Lev. xv. 19—24), according to which any contact with woman under such circumstances rendered unclean, must have been in force at that time, and even among the Arameans. Considering that the view upon which this law was based, was not exclusively Jewish, but also shared by many other nations of antiquity (comp. *Bähr*, Symb. ii., p. 446, and *Sommer*, Bibl. Discuss. i. 271), this circumstance cannot be urged as an objection to the historical credibility of Genesis.

(4.) *Baumgarten* aptly remarks, i. 1., p. 279, about the erection of this *Mazebah*: "The heap of stones is intended to serve as a ratification of the covenant. For, a thing is completed by becoming an outward reality, perceptible by the senses." On Mount Gilead, comp. § 42, 1. The name of the heap of stones גִּלְעָד *hill of witness*, (Laban gives it the equivalent Aramean name גִּלְעָד שְׂדֵה־וִידּוּתָא) was chosen with allusion to the name Gilead, which already attached to that mountain.

§ 80. (Gen. xxxii.)—The gracious providence of God has delivered Jacob from the dangers that threatened him by the pursuit of Laban. But before him are other perils from a meet-

ing with his brother Esau. On his arrival at the boundary of the Holy Land and host of angels now meets him as a guarantee that there also the protection of God should not be wanting him. "This is God's *host*," exclaims Jacob, and he designates that place *Mahanaim* (double host) (1.) Thence he sends messengers to Mount Seir to inform Esau of his return, and to dispose him to be friendly toward him. But when the messengers return with the tidings that Esau was coming to meet him, at the head of 400 men, Jacob apprehends some hostile design (2.) He cautiously prepares for the worst issue of the meeting about to take place, and divides his people and his flocks into two bands, that if the one company should be slain by Esau, the other at least might escape. In this hour of anxious anticipation, when he is cast upon the help of God alone, he reviews his former life so full of aberrations on his part, and yet so full of mercy and of gracious provision on that of the Lord. Now at last he casts away all confidence in his own strength and wisdom, and ascribes to God alone all glory, confessing: "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant: for with my staff have I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands." This confession is followed by earnest prayer for deliverance, full of believing reference to the promise of God (3.) He then sets apart rich presents for Esau, which he sends to meet him in droves at certain intervals, next brings his family over the ford Jabbok, and remains behind on the other side by *himself alone*. There a man wrestled with him until the breaking of day. It was the angel of the Lord. He from whom alone Jacob could look for help and deliverance, meets him as an *enemy*. Before meeting with Esau he must first have completely settled his concerns with God. Jacob had, by his own attempts at deliverance, disturbed the covenant-relationship subsisting between himself and his God. This must first be settled before Jehovah can be wholly on his side and entirely assist him in his approaching contest with his brother. And Jacob, although he succumbs, yet prevails in this wondrous contest. For when the angel saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the joint of his thigh, and in wrestling the joint of his thigh was dislocated. Thus rendered incapable for continuing the contest, and

thereby probably realising who it was that contended with him, Jacob takes up those weapons with which alone God is overcome. He betakes himself to prayer and entreaty, and he prevails. In reply to his continuous prayer: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me!" God declares that Jacob had prevailed. His own strength is now broken, but he is born again after the inward man, and thus Jacob comes out of this wrestling with God, with a new name, indicating his victory, and with the blessing of Him who had erst threatened him with destruction. Jacob calls the name of this place of contest, *Pniel*, "for," says he, "I have seen God face to face, *and my soul has recovered.*" Then the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh (4.)

(1.) "Mutatis mutandis" THE MEETING WITH THE HOST OF ANGELS answers to the vision of the heavenly ladder which twenty years before had conveyed comfort and strength to his heart. At that time the angelic apparition had conveyed him on his departure from the Holy Land. It now welcomes him on his return as the possessor of the country who at last comes back after a long absence. Then the vision merely betokened peace and blessing; now the hosts of God point also to a contest, and imply a promise of assistance and of defence. Then the promise was conveyed in a dream; now while waking, which implies a more immediate and strong assurance. On this ground we cannot agree with the view of *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 51): "The appearance of the angels at Mahanaim *must* have been only internal, analogous to that vouchsafed to Jacob when he *departed* from Mesopotamia, Genesis xxviii. 12, and of which it is expressly stated, that it had been in a *dream.*" However, we have not the slightest indication that this transaction was internal. In general we cannot sympathise with *Hengstenberg* in always supposing a state of ecstasis, whenever apparitions of a higher world are granted to a person. We admit that in the view of sacred historians, divine revelations were equally trustworthy, whether sent in vision and in *dream*, or in a state of wakefulness (Numb. xii. 6). But as it is equally clear that they sometimes represent these apparitions to have taken place in one and at other times in the other of these two states (for example, Gen. xviii. 19), we do not see why we should have recourse to the supposition of an ecstasis, when the sacred writers do not expressly state so. That a similar apparition of angels (2 Kings vi. 17) had taken place in vision

does not necessarily imply that such had been the case with that under consideration. The same apparition was equally trustworthy, whether beheld in vision or in a state of wakefulness, and took place under either of these circumstances, according as the peculiar circumstances of the person for whom it was designed demanded.

(2.) Jacob despatches his messengers to *Mount SEIR*. *Tuch* remarks, p. 464, on this subject: "Esau then appears already as an inhabitant of Seir, who, with his companions in arms, in Bedouin fashion, roams as far as Gilead, while according to chap. xxxvi. 6, when special purposes require it, he still remains in Canaan, and only afterwards separates from his brother." But it is a mistake to suppose that these two statements are wholly irreconcilable. There are many ways of solving the difficulty. Among the various suggestions that have been offered, the following appears to us the most probable. In the first place it does not necessarily follow from Genesis xxxii. 4 that Mount Seir was then the permanent dwelling place of Esau, but only that *at the time* he had been there. The statement that the messengers had found him at the head of 400 men, seems to afford the means for removing the apparent contradiction. In our opinion it implies that he was there engaged in a warlike expedition. It was probably at *this* very time that, at the head of a warlike band, Esau conquered that country. But if this supposition is correct (and it will not be denied that this is not only possible but even probable), it quite agrees with the circumstances of the case, that his wives, children and flocks (to whom alone ch. xxxvi. refers) should still have remained in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, and only afterwards, when the Horites were driven out, have passed into Mount Seir. Compare also *Ranke Investigations* i., p. 248, who accounts for the notice in chap. xxxvi., from the peculiar structure of Genesis. No doubt the FOUR HUNDRED MEN, who were in company with Esau, joined him in a manner similar to that related in Judges xi. 3, and in 1 Sam. xxii. 2. Since the patriarchal blessing originally designed for him had, by a remarkable concatenation of circumstances, been transferred to Jacob, his relation towards Isaac will probably not any longer have been so close and cordial as before. His profane and heathenish disposition, which his mother had long disliked, must also have more and more alienated his father, when once his eyes had been opened to his real conduct. All prospect of obtaining the promised land was now taken away, for it cannot be doubted that even Esau ascribed implicit power to the blessing of his father. He therefore freely chooses that, which from the first God had destined for him, and the more readily, that he felt increasingly ill at ease in his

father's house, and that the quiet and peaceable pastoral life did not agree with his rough and martial disposition. By his relation with the Canaanites, but especially with the house of Ishmael, he obtained auxiliaries for carrying out his plans. Otherwise also, persons of equally rough and martial disposition with himself, may have readily flocked to his standard. We can only venture on a suggestion, in reply to the enquiry, why Esau should have met his peaceful brother at the head of 400 men. One of four solutions of this difficulty can be adopted. 1. He either came with decidedly hostile intention, in order now to execute the long intended vengeance upon his brother, which Jacob's flight had delayed for twenty years; or else, 2dly, to enjoy the cruel and indelicate sport of causing anxiety to Jacob; or, 3dly, to bring out the strong contrast between present circumstances and the promised future, so far as the relation of the two brothers was concerned, and thus to humble Jacob; or, lastly, it may have been due to an accidental co-incidence of circumstances, since Esau had been at the head of these 400 men, with other purposes in view, when the messengers of Jacob met him, and, unwilling to dismiss them, had taken them along with him, without, however, intending anything hostile against Jacob. The latter view agrees best with the character of Esau. Considering his light-mindedness and his sanguine character, we can scarcely believe that he had for twenty years cherished and nourished his former thoughts of vengeance, the more so as, content with his position, which was outwardly more happy and honoured than that of Jacob, he had no occasion to revive his former animosity. In point of fact, when Esau met Jacob, his conduct displays only studied kindness, honesty, and openness. The same reasons of course render the second supposition impossible; but the third is not incompatible with these views. We admit that the whole context, the report of the messengers returning, the fear of God, and the connection between the appearance of the angel, the wrestling with God, and the approaching meeting with Esau, are in favour of the first hypothesis; in which case the friendliness of Esau towards Jacob would have to be regarded as the effect of divine influence, bringing about a change in the disposition and intention of Esau. But we decide in favour of the fourth supposition, taken in connection with the third, since the divine protection and assistance indicated by the appearance of the angels and the wrestling with God has, objectively and subjectively, in this view also, its full meaning. For, considering the subjective position of Jacob, the danger was real and not merely imaginary, while, objectively viewed, the change in the disposition of Esau is equally the result of divine guidance, whether occasioned

by natural causes, or by the special influence of Him who turns the hearts of men, as streams of water.

(3.) The remark of *Tuch*, p. 466, about the beautiful and fervent PRAYER OF JACOB, v. 10—13, is more than “a little inapt.” He says: “The writer of the supplement represents Jacob as *somewhat inaptly* reminding God of His commands and promises, in verses 10 and 13, thus calling upon Him now to keep His word.” But from the time of Jacob to that of *Luther* and our own days, those who have experienced the power of prayer have done the same, and therein lies the greatest strength and the highest blessing of prayer.

(4.) In Hosea xii. 3, &c. we read about THE WRESTLING OF JACOB WITH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD:

He took his brother by the heel in the womb,
And by his strength he had power with God,
Yea he had power over the angel and prevailed—
He wept and made supplication to him.

From the text it would appear that this contest was the *turning point* in the life of Jacob. Before that we notice halting on both sides, continual attempts at self-deliverance, lying and deceiving, artifices and cunning, weak and defective faith; *afterwards*, we descry humility and resignation to the will of God, confidence and trust in God and in His leadings. At last, the catastrophe, long preparing, takes place, by which old Jacob is to become a new man, and the wild excrescences of a richly endowed nature are to be removed. It is only now that we can understand how God had borne with all his perversity and so visibly blessed him, notwithstanding his cunning and his artifices. All this tended, through the mercy of God, to lead him to repentance. Much labour and sorrow, many trials and chastisements, and much pity and patience, were required before Jacob, so strong and wise in himself, was humbled and broken in heart. But the more glorious also was the fruit of this long and difficult training.

The former stages in the life of Jacob were only preparatory to that great and striking event to which they pointed. All along it had been a struggle on the part of a clever and strong, a self-confident and self-sufficient person, who was only sure of the result, when he helped himself—a contest with God, who wished to break his strength and his wisdom, in order to bestow upon him real strength in divine weakness, and real wisdom in divine folly. The life of Jacob had been a continuous struggle carried on by the patriarch with the weapons of his own strength and wisdom, and by God, with the weapons of grace, of

patience, and of long-suffering. This stage in his life closes with the fervent prayer uttered by the ford Jabbok, in which his oppressed heart found relief. The new direction of his soul, which now appears, expresses itself in the full *confession*: "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shown unto thy servant"—and in the confident *entreaty*: "Deliver me from the hand of my brother, for thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, &c." In this *confession* he gives to God alone the glory, as formerly he had taken it to himself, and in this *prayer*, he casts away all confidence in his own strength and wisdom, which hitherto had been the anchor of his life, and he implicitly throws himself upon God and his promise. But this new direction, and with it the result of all his former contests, victories, and defeats—which in this prayer appeared as yet only as the longing of his heart—was to become matter of full and clear consciousness. Thus the import of all his former leadings was to be opened up before him, as if a sealed book, written by the hand of God, were now broken open, that so even the last remainder of self-confidence and self-deliverance might be removed. For this purpose, the whole course of his former life, with all its contests and its final victory, is now repeated and concentrated into one pregnant fact; and in bringing before him such a fact, God presents to the soul of Jacob, as it were, in the glass of self-contemplation, a clear representation of the important bearings of his former life. Such is the purpose and meaning of the wrestling with which the first stage of Jacob's life closes; and the declaration: "I have seen God face to face, and *my soul has recovered*," proves that he had understood the transaction in this manner.

Jacob's apprehension of an impending contest with Esau, forms the basis of the event here recorded. The fountains of his own strength, wisdom, cunning, and artifices, which had hitherto flowed so plentifully, are wholly dried up in view of the power of Esau. Besides, he feels and knows that in many respects he had been in the wrong towards his brother, and that his attempts against him were, at the sametime, and chiefly, attempts against Jehovah. Hence the great and important truth which was now to become matter of clear consciousness to him, was that he had not only to apprehend the wrath and vengeance of Esau, but also that of Jehovah. Indeed, his wrong towards Esau was no longer of such importance as in many respects it had been counterbalanced by Esau's wrong against Jacob. The "*restitutio in integrum*" had already taken place in reference to his relationship towards his brother, and the Nemesis had fully completed in the life of Jacob, anything which, in this respect, might yet have been awanting. But Jehovah, on whom he has placed

his sole dependance against Esau, is now his real, his chief, and his first enemy. The "restitutio in integrum" is yet awaiting in his relationship towards Jehovah; the ungodly artifices and cunning, the lying and deceit, whereby he has desecrated God's holy work, and the great purposes which He had in view, are yet unatoned. His guilt towards Jehovah consists in this, that in virtue of the covenant Jacob has, as it were, involved Him, who on account of the covenant could not give him up, in the degradation of his own trickeries—and this guilt is *not yet* removed. God is, indeed, *willing*, in virtue of the covenant, to help him against Esau, and on account of the irrefragable promise given He will certainly come to his assistance. But Jehovah will not make common cause with Jacob, in a common contest against the common enemy, until that which had disturbed the relation between them has been settled, and that relation itself restored to its full purity. Therefore, while Jacob is chiefly concerned about the dangers which continually threaten him from Esau, God meets him as an enemy, and wrestles with him till the day breaks. By this hostile encounter he virtually says: "I am thy real and most dangerous enemy, prevail with me and thou shalt have nothing to apprehend from a contest with Esau." But there is a second consideration also, which had something to do in this contest. Jacob is about to re-enter the land of promise. That he is allowed to return laden with rich blessings, is the result of the covenant-assistance and the blessing of God. But the perverseness manifested in the former life of Jacob, which had drawn upon him the wrath of God, renders him both unworthy of and unfit for entering into the land of promise. Hence, in this respect also, must the difference obtaining between them be settled; and on this ground also must Jacob prevail against the wrath of God and the covenant-relationship be restored "in integrum."

It is of great importance for understanding this transaction to ascertain whether Jacob had, from the first or only during the progress of the contest, recognised the person who met him in hostile encounter as the angel of the Lord. It cannot be doubted that he had become aware of the fact when he said: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me." But similarly the manner in which he meets the attack of the man, seems to imply that he had not from the first, at least not distinctly, recognised the character of his opponent. This is also conveyed in the expression: "There wrestled *a man* with him." Hence we shall have to fix upon a period *between* the two limits above indicated, when Jacob became quite certain of the character of him with whom he contended. This we suppose took place when the man, having touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, said to him: "Let me go, for the day breaketh." That moment

seems quite adapted for the purpose in view. Even the proximity of that heavenly apparition must have filled the soul of Jacob with anxious expectation. This feeling must have increased during the wrestling, and attained its climax when his thigh was out of joint, and all hope of prevailing in the contest was taken away. But then, instead of destroying Jacob, who was incapacitated for prolonging the contest as a human adversary would have done, the man utters those strange words which so clearly pointed to a mysterious and unearthly apparition; and by these words the anxious anticipation of the patriarch became certainty. In this decisive moment he collects himself and seizes the weapons of prayer and of entreaty by which alone it is *possible* to prevail with God, and *he does prevail with him*, so that he yields, and, as he had entreated, blesses him.

Above we have seen that this wondrous transaction, the progress and result of the contest, was intended to convey to Jacob a concrete representation of the bearing of his former life. As in the first place he had contended against "the man", with all the might of his natural strength, without clearly and distinctly knowing that he really contended with God, so had he formerly, through the whole course of his life, while imagining that he contended against human opponents, in reality contended with God, and that with all the might of his own carnal strength, with deceit and with cunning. For a long time, even till the breaking of day, the issue of the contest remained undecided. But when the man saw that he could not prevail against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him. So had God, all through Jacob's life, wrestled with him and not prevailed against him, because the strength and wisdom in which Jacob withstood God had not been broken. But when a new day is about to dawn, it appears that God is stronger than he, and that the endurance of God had borne the victory over the resistance offered by the old man in Jacob. As with the thigh the seat of the natural strength in which he had contended was paralysed, and he has now to betake himself to entreaty and prayer, so on the last day of his former life, all confidence in his own strength which he had hitherto cherished, all trust in his natural cunning and cleverness, is cast away. He acknowledges that he is overcome (chap. xxxii. 11) and only appeals to the grace and the promise of God (chap. xxxii. 13). Our interpretation of this wrestling differs from that hitherto common in this, that we do not find the reason of the victory of Jacob over Jehovah, in the continuance of his bodily wrestling as a symbol of spiritual wrestling, but that, on the contrary, we regard this very bodily wrestling as representing the perversity which had characterised

his former life. Manifestly the dislocation of his thigh constitutes the turning point in the history. Formerly his wrestling had been bodily, but its continuation had become impossible when his thigh was out of joint. He now betakes himself to other weapons, and his wrestling becomes spiritual. These two kinds of wrestling, the one in his bodily strength, the other in the spiritual strength of prayer, are evidently opposed to each other; and Jacob prevails through the latter and not through the former. Hence the contest in which he succumbs cannot be a representation of spiritual wrestling which, under all circumstances, has the promise of victory. On the contrary, as bodily strength forms the contrast to spiritual strength, it must rather be the representation of carnal, non-spiritual and ungodly wrestling in the strength of unsanctified nature.

Not less clearly and distinctly than from the account in Genesis does this interpretation appear to be correct on a comparison with the explanation of the narrative in Hosea. Comp. especially *Umbreit*, Pract. Comm. iv. p. 82, who thus points out the connection and the meaning of the prophetic declaration in verses 1—3. "Again, is the address of the prophet levelled against faithless Ephraim. The latter is charged with cunning against God, as if he had surrounded Him with the meshes of lying and deceiving. And Judah also still walks in the ways of unfaithfulness, seeks here and there after strange gods besides Jehovah, who as a husband keeps inviolate the covenant which He had once made with his people. . . . Therefore, the everlasting justice of the living and jealous God must manifest itself to shake Judah and Ephraim from this vanity, . . . verse 4 to 7. The prophet makes apt use of what the sacred legend records, about the typical cunning of their ancestor and the meaning of his name. That which attaches to the people as its special guilt—*deceit and a contest against God*—had already appeared from the commencement in their ancestor according to the flesh. Even in his mother's womb, and before he had attained consciousness, Jacob held his brother Esau by the heel to prevent him as the first-born; and when he had attained to the age of maturity he contends with God. But nothing can thus be gained from God. If man is to prevail with him, he must weep and entreat; thus Jacob also attained his pre-eminence only in the way of humiliation and of sincere prayer. Thereby only became he the blessed friend of the living God, &c." While the prophetic application of the history of this wrestling shews that Jacob's carnal contest with God was entirely parallel with the perversity of Ephraim and of Judah, who also contended against God with the carnal weapons of cunning and deceit, we are at the same time directed to the typical

meaning of this transaction. We learn that this contest, which formed the high-point in the life of Jacob was, in virtue of a real but mysterious co-relation between the ancestor and his progeny—the prototype of the history of that nation of whom Jacob was the father. Throughout the whole of their history Jehovah wrestles with the chosen people, in order to gain and to prepare them for his own purposes. But throughout their whole history, this people contend in almost all their generations against God, by their own works and their own devices, by cunning, lying, and deceit, until in the contest God touches and puts out of joint the thigh of their own strength, when, like their ancestor, they exclaim: “I will not let thee go except thou bless me,” and like him they are blessed.

From the above statements it will sufficiently appear that we suppose the contest of Jacob to have taken place, neither *in dream*, nor *in vision*, nor in the *ecstatic state*, but in *outward reality*, and in a *state of wakefulness*. Even the halting which was the consequence of this wrestling could only have been the result of a real and outward contest. The supposed observation that any powerful excitement of the inner life (whether in dream or in the ecstatic state) may lead to analogous bodily effects, which continue ever afterwards in the “wakeful state,” is by no means certain. On the contrary, in most instances of that kind it is rather the bodily ailment which gives to the dream its peculiar and analogous form.

But it is quite decisive on the point that the text contains not the slightest indication that this wrestling had been different from the passage over Jabbok (v. 23), and from the breaking of the day (v. 26 compared with v. 31). Again, it is not more difficult to believe that the angel of the Lord should, under certain circumstances, have really wrestled with Jacob than that he should outwardly and perceptibly have entered the tent of Abraham, have allowed his feet to be washed, and condescended to partake of the feast which the patriarch had hospitably spread for him (Gen. xviii. v. 1, 4, 8). The remark of *Hengstenberg* (Balaam p. 51) “that in an external contest and wrestling it would have been impossible to prevail by prayer and tears,” requires not refutation. It falls to the ground when we bear in mind that the outward contest of bodily wrestling and the spiritual contest by prayers and tears, were distinct and even opposite transactions.

Jacob obtains the new name Israel = “Wrestler with God,” because something new has been attained by the issue of this contest. At first sight it appears indeed strange that his former name does not henceforth wholly disappear, but continues along with the new, and is even more commonly employed, so that the

name of Israel only occurs when something peculiarly solemn is intended to be conveyed. This circumstance must appear the more striking as the former name of Abraham had entirely disappeared when he had obtained his new designation. Besides, the name Israel is afterwards again conferred upon Jacob (chap. xxxv. 10), as if he had not before borne it. But here we remark that these two circumstances (the use of the old name along with the new, and the repetition of the bestowal of the name) are connected with and support each other (comp. our remarks on chap. xxxv.). But even after the name had in chap. xxxv. been again given, the two designations still occur. It would not in the least explain the difficulty if we were to suppose that chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii. were written by two different authors (as is proposed by *Stühelin*, though *Tuch* feels constrained to ascribe them to the same writer, comp. our "Unity of Genesis", pp. 166 and 170), because both the supposed authors employ the two names side by side with each other. *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. ii., p. 279) rightly observes that this question cannot be answered by a merely external consideration of the names. His reply satisfactorily shews why the use of the old name may have been retained along with the new. He observes: "The name Abraham indicates his destination by God. After the promise had been given, that name must have continued along with the object which it indicated. But the name Israel only indicates a subjective state, or is at least based on it. Hence the old name continues along with the new, and because the name stands in closest connection with the object indicated by it, it always re-appears when the object is again brought forward." Again the name *Israel*, and not the old name Jacob, is selected for the chosen race, manifestly because the latter was given by man, and is that of *nature*, while the former was given by God, and is that of grace and of the *Divine calling*. By taking the name of Israel, the people indicated that only through God's gracious leading they had become what they were. But if the name Israel was used to indicate the nation and its ancestor *as the representative* of the whole race, it was natural that by way of distinction the name Jacob should have been used to designate more especially this ancestor as a *single individual*; hence the author of Genesis, who was conscious of *this* distinction, so frequently employs the name Jacob in tracing the individual history of this ancestor.

Although Jacob feels already certain that it was God Himself with whom he had wrestled, he still asks "the man" for his name. The angel of the Lord evades any reply to this question (just as in Judges xiii. 16—18). The novelty and strangeness of the manifestation of God in this contest awakens the desire in

Jacob to fix it in his mind, and to recall it by attaching to it a new and corresponding name of God. But, as the angel does not satisfy his request, this desire seems to have been precipitate. The time had not yet arrived when that mode of Divine manifestation, of which the Maleach Jehovah was the representative, should attain to that perfectness and maturity in history which rendered a specific name necessary in order to exhibit its character. Jacob says: "I have seen God face to face," whereby, according to the measure of his knowledge, he designates, as it were, the angel as "the face of the Lord", and he perpetuates this for all future generations by calling the place "*Pniel*."

Before passing from the consideration of his event, we must glance at the contrast, and the opposition between it and the angelic apparition in Mahanaim. There God meets Jacob with an heavenly embassy who, at the entrance of the promised land, are to welcome him as its proprietor and heir, and to assure him of Divine protection and assistance against all enemies and opponents. Here—almost immediately afterwards—the same God meets him by the way as an enemy and opponent, and is about to prevent him from re-entering the Holy Land. This relation between God and Jacob bears the same double aspect as that between Jacob and God, and the former is occasioned by the latter. Viewed objectively Jacob was the friend of God and the heir of promise, and in this respect the angels appeared to him in Mahanaim. Viewed subjectively, there was much in Jacob which was contrary to God, and hence the contest in Pniel.

§ 81. (Gen. xxxiii.)—Jacob who, in his contest with the angel of the Lord had, by prayer and entreaty, prevailed against his most dangerous enemy, now also prevails by humility and modesty against Esau, who comes to meet him with 400 men. Overcome by the humility of Jacob, and by the kindliness of his own heart, Esau falls upon his neck, embraces, and kisses him (1.) It is with reluctance that he accepts the rich presents of Jacob, and he offers to accompany him to the end of his journey with his men of arms—a proposition which Jacob declines in a friendly spirit. Thus the two brothers, long separated in friendship and affection, are reconciled to each other. Their good understanding remained undisturbed till the day of their death. Jacob continued his journey northward along the valley of the Jordan to the neighbourhood of *Succoth* (2), where probably he remained for some time. Thence he passed over Jordan, and through the plain Jezreel into the highlands of Ephraim, where he settled in

the neighbourhood of *Sychem*. The purchase of a field, and the erection of an altar, which, to designate all his leadings in life, he called El Elohe-Israel, indicate his joy in having, after his long pilgrimage, once more found a home in the land of promise (3.)

(1.) On this account of their reconciliation, *Tuch* remarks (p. 470): "*The openness and the honesty of Esau* form an agreeable contrast to the *cringing of the timorous Jacob*." But however willing we are to acknowledge the good parts in the character of Esau, and however little we desire to conceal the defects and weaknesses in that of Jacob, we cannot call his conduct timid cringing, but rather real and genuine humility. The conduct of Jacob shews the prudence and submission of one who understands the present circumstances, and readily bows to the arrangement. Any rebellion against them or want of consideration would only have been a piece of mad fanaticism. In the meantime, and whether he deserved it or not, Esau possessed external advantages, and was the more powerful; and, although his future destiny assigned to him a higher position, Jacob was at the time under outward disadvantages, and the circumstance that in this he must have recognised a well-merited retribution, only makes it the more his duty really and readily to submit to the present contrast. On the other hand, while we do not deny the openness, honesty, and kindliness of Esau, we must not forget that the consciousness that his brother was not equal to him in prosperity and power, rendered his friendliness and yielding more easy, and gave greater assurance to his conduct. For the character of the two brothers, and their conduct to each other, comp. also *Drechsler* (Unity of Genesis, p. 231).

(2.) *Succoth*, where afterwards a city was built, lay in the valley of the Jordan, on the eastern bank of that river, and within the possession of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27, Judges viii. 5), "civitas trans Jordanem in parte Scythopoleos" (*Hieronymus*, ad Gen. xxxiii. 17). It is therefore a mistake in *Winer*, 2d ed., and before him in *Raumer* and others, to identify our Succoth

with the ruins of a place سَقَط (which name in Hebrew would at any rate be שָׁקַט), which *Burkhardt* (ii., p. 595) discovered on the western bank of Jordan, to the south of *Beisan* (Bethshean) or Scythopolis. *Tuch* (p. 471), without any reason, supposes that the city had been built on both banks of the Jordan. *Delitzsch* suggests that Scythopolis had derived its name from an erroneous combination of Succoth with the Scyths. We may confidently infer that Jacob had for some time remained in Succoth from the circumstance that he had there built him an house, and made booths for his cattle. The hurry and the toil of his

flight, and the consequent disorder and fatigue of his journey, may have made a longer stay necessary, when once he had reached a secure resting-place.

(3.) *Luther* and our *authorised* version translate verse 18: "Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem," a rendering of which even *Robinson* approves, because he had found a village called *Salim* in the neighbourhood of Sychem. But without doubt שָׁלֵם is here an adjective = "untouched, unharmed". For in verse 18 Shechem is expressly mentioned as being the first station in the land of Canaan reached by Jacob, and the word שָׁלֵם is manifestly intended to point back to the שְׁלָמָה in the vow of Jacob (chap. xxviii. 21). What at the time Jacob had, in virtue of the promise in verses 3 and 13, mentioned as the condition of his vow, had now become fulfilled. To this points both the use of the word שָׁלֵם, and the addition of the terms, "in the land of Canaan," which would else be wholly useless. On the position and neighbourhood of the city of Sychem, comp. § 51, 6. Having arrived at Sychem, the place where Abraham had first felt himself in the Holy Land, and where he had erected an altar to the God who there appeared to him, Jacob realised that he was again at home in the land of promise, and at the end of his pilgrimage. This happy consciousness he now expresses by the purchase of a piece of ground, and by the erection of an altar. THE PURCHASE OF LAND from the Shechemites may perhaps have been occasioned by the circumstance that at this time the country had already been more fully inhabited than when Abraham entered it; and, while the latter buys an inheritance only for a *burying-place*, the former must procure one also for a *dwelling-place*. The purchase price amounted to a hundred KESITAH. The more ancient translators all rendered this term by "lambs", but the Jews understood it to refer to a piece of money (comp. also Acts vii. 16: "A piece of money"), and later writers (*Bochart*, *Münter*, &c.) combined these two opinions by suggesting that it was a piece of money bearing the impress of a lamb. It is impossible to ascertain anything about its value, not even from a comparison with Genesis xxiii. 16 (compare *Gesenius*, Thes., p. 1241; *Wiseman*, Connect. between Sc. and Rev. Rel.; *Bertheau*, 2 Dissert., p. 24). On the well near Sychem, which tradition identifies with the well of Jacob (John iv. 5), and ascribes to the patriarchs, so that it would at the same time indicate the situation of the field purchased by Jacob, comp. *Robinson*, ii. pp. 283—287. This well lies at the southern debouchure of the valley of Shechem. *Robinson* defends the authenticity of this tradition. As Abraham (chap. xii. 7), so Jacob also erects an ALTAR near Shechem, which he calls El-elohe-Israel (God the God of Israel). In Mesopotamia

he had not been allowed to erect an altar. This was only lawful in the land of promise, which God had chosen as His peculiar place of worship. The name attaching to the altar would recall to his posterity the result of those leadings in his life by which Jacob had become *Israel*. In reply to the question sometimes raised, why Jacob should not have immediately gone to his father to Hebron (where probably he resided at the time, chap. xxxv. 27), we would say that Jacob may have paid one or more *visits* to his father, either from Shechem or even from Succoth, without the circumstance being expressly mentioned in the narrative. From chap. xxxv. 8, compared with chap. xxiv. 59, we gather at any rate that soon after his return Jacob must have come into immediate contact with the house of his father, for, according to chap. xxxv., we find the nurse of Rebekah, who in chap. xxiv. had been in the house of Isaac, now in that of Jacob. But Jacob no longer subordinated his own household to that of his father, because in virtue of God's leadings HE had now been constituted the representative of the promise, while after Isaac had bestowed the blessing upon Jacob, his work, so far as he was the representative of the promise, was finished.

JACOB A PILGRIM IN THE HOLY LAND.

§ 82. (Gen. xxxiv.)—During the stay in the neighbourhood of Shechem, *Dinah*, the daughter of Jacob by Leah, was tempted to go out to see the daughters of the land. Her presumption was soon punished. Shechem, the son of Hamor, prince of the country, carried her away and defiled her (1.) But his heart clave to the girl, and he sought by every means to gain the consent of her relatives to his marriage with her. At his request, Hamor goes to the tent of Jacob to ask for her. Jacob, deeply grieved by the tidings of this disgrace, was silent, waiting for the return of his absent sons, the brothers of Dinah by the same mother. But they were incensed to the utmost, and had resolved on taking bloody revenge. However, they cunningly dissemble any manifestations of their resentment, and, when Hamor and Shechem, ready to make any sacrifice, in friendly and cordial suggestion insist that their two families and tribes should intermarry, they appear to consent to the proposition. They only make the condition that all the men of Shechem should be cir-

cumcised. Affection lends Shechem eloquence, and by an exaggerated representation of the advantages resulting from such an alliance, he succeeds in inducing all the citizens of Shechem to undergo circumcision. But on the third day, when the fever connected with the operation rendered them incapable of defending themselves, Simeon and Levi, at the head of a troop of their servants, fall upon the city, and, without the knowledge or consent of Jacob, slay all the males, spoil the city, and take all their wives and children captives (2.) In reply to the apprehensions, the complaints, and the reproaches of Jacob, they only say, "should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?" (3.)

(1.) *Bohlen*, in his Comment., p. 327, declares that according to the chronological data of the text, *Dinah* could, at the time of this occurrence, have only been *six or seven years old*. But the gross mistake of this statement is evident (comp. *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. iii., p. 352, and *Reinke*, Contrib., p. 98). According to chap. xxx. 31—34, *Dinah* and *Joseph* were about the same age. Again, from chap. xxxvii. 2, it appears that *Joseph* was at least seventeen years old when he was sold into Egypt. But the only transaction intervening in point of time between the seduction of *Dinah* and the selling of *Joseph* was the journey from Shechem to Bethel, and from thence to Mamre (chap. xxxv). We may therefore, without any difficulty, assume that *Dinah* was fifteen or sixteen years old when carried away by Shechem (a statement with which *Lengerke* also agrees, v. Canaan i., p. 320). Further, it tallies with these dates that between the birth of *Dinah* and her seduction, six years of servitude on the part of Jacob, a protracted stay at Succoth, where Jacob had built him an house, and at Shechem, where he had purchased ground and regularly settled, had intervened. It is also well known that in the East the puberty of females takes place in their twelfth year, or even earlier (comp. *Niebuhr*, Description of Arabia, p. 72). The statement of *Josephus* (Antiq. i., 21, 1) that a feast of the Shechemites had been the occasion of the thoughtless and blameworthy excursion of *Dinah* is not improbable. The city of Shechem had not existed at the time of Abraham, as in chap. xii. 6 we only read of "the place of Shechem." Hence it is probable that Hamor had founded the city, and called it after his son Shechem (comp. Genesis iv. 27). Its inhabitants were by descent Hivites.

(3.) Even from the relation between Laban and Rebekah as described in chap. xxiv. v. 50, 55, &c., we gather that besides the father, the sons by the same mother had a decisive voice in

the marriage of their sister. Hence Jacob awaits the return of his sons, and leaves the decision to them. *Michaelis*, in his Notes ad h. l., p. 152, very properly reminds us of an opinion still entertained in the East, as applying to the case under consideration. "In those countries it is thought that a brother is more dishonoured by the seduction of his sister than a man by the infidelity of his wife: for, say the Arabs, a man may divorce his wife, and then she is no longer his; while sister and daughter remain always sister and daughter" (comp. *Niebuhr*, Descript., p. 39). It was this view which also led to the murder committed by Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 28). We account for the readiness with which the men of Shechem submitted to the rite of circumcision by supposing that this religious symbol had at the time been generally known and recognised among the heathen. Of course it is understood, without any express mention to that effect, that the two brothers Simeon and Levi had attacked the city, not by themselves alone, but at the head of a number of their servants. Hence, the remark of *Tuch* (p. 476) is, to say the least, trifling. "Imperceptibly the narrative introduces here the idea of a tribe as connected with Simeon and Levi, as the sack of a city could not have been accomplished by two men." Even if the author of Genesis had composed or elaborated only myths, we could scarcely imagine that he would have so wretchedly forgotten his part. In order correctly to *understand* and *judge this deed of vengeance* it is not enough to measure it by abstract moral principle; it must be regarded in its relation to the calling of Israel and of his sons. For manifestly the vengeance of the sons is not merely excited by *that* wrong which would have called forth the indignation of any brother whose sister had been dishonoured, but their speeches and conduct clearly show that they were conscious that a peculiar dishonour had been brought upon Israel. Besides the violation of the natural right of hospitality, they felt as if a wrong had been committed against the calling and the peculiar position of their race, which, in their opinion, deserved a punishment much more sharp and relentless than any ordinary offence (comp. verses 7, 14, and 31). Regarding themselves and their family as the chosen of God, as distinguished from all other nations, and as the representatives of the promise, even the proposal of the Hivites, who placed themselves on the same level with them, would offend, while the wrong committed would call forth every feeling of injured pride. Besides, we have to remember the passionateness of their natural character, the thoughtlessness of their youth (they would probably be between nineteen and twenty-one), which is the age when man first becomes self-conscious, and when his impetuosity is most violent, and lastly the help-

lessness of their father, who seemed to be wholly absorbed by grief, and ready humbly to bow under this severe discipline, a circumstance which in their passion would excite them the more to take vengeance into their own hands. It should not be forgotten that a generous indignation, and a praiseworthy zeal for the honour of the house of their father and of his high calling, had no small share in their resolution. But in measure as this zeal was laudable must we reprobate the wicked stratagem and the abominable cruelty which they displayed in manifesting it. Here we descry, in the sons of Jacob, the same unholy mixture of spirit and of flesh, as formerly in their father Jacob—the same ungodly attempts at self-deliverance—the same lying and deceit by which, as being apparently connected with the interests and purposes of the Divine calling, God himself is dishonoured and as it were drawn into partnership with human perversity. As, when by low trickery Jacob had gained the blessing of his father, so here also there was "*periculum in mora*," and the danger appeared even more great and imminent. How were they to avoid complying with the requests of the Hivites to become one people with them, since the first decisive step to it had already been taken? It was impossible to regain Dinah by open contest and to take from the Hivite prince all desire after a connection with the house of Jacob. Under these circumstances they have recourse to a stratagem. And, as formerly the deceit of Jacob, so now the iniquity of his sons, is, in the hand of Him who directs all things and knows to subordinate to His purposes even the sins of man, made the means for cutting the knot which human perverseness had made. As the cunning of Jacob forms a prototype of the future national character, so now also the carnal pride of the sons in their pre-eminence over the heathen indicates one of the main characteristics of the Jewish people at a later period. In this respect *Gerlach* aptly remarks (ad h. l.): "A history like this brings typically before us all the aberrations caused during the course of history, when the belief in the high pre-eminence of Israel was in a carnal manner cherished by carnally-minded men. The feeling that they were the sons of Jacob, the chosen race, that any violation of their honour must be more terribly revenged than in the case of others, and that not even submission to the rite of circumcision could atone for it, appears to have mainly influenced the conduct of the sons of Jacob." Especially does it manifest itself in the later history of the tribe of Levi, how this mixture of holy and of carnal zeal had descended from the ancestor to his posterity, and at the same time most strikingly does it appear how successfully the training of God tended towards converting the natural character of this tribe, sanctifying the fire of its calling,

and consuming the dross by discipline and punishment, by patience and mercy (comp. Exod. ii. 12, xxxii. 26—28; Levit. x. 3; Numb. xvi.; Deut. xxxiii. 9). Nor should we lose sight of the circumstance that the text impartially represents the contrast between the natural amiability, trustfulness, and friendliness of Hamor and Shechem on the one hand, and the fanaticism, the cruelty, and the deceit of Simeon and Levi on the other. Thus, the sin of the latter appears only the greater, while the Divine mercy and wisdom also becomes more manifest. The outward amiability of those who were inwardly destitute and empty of grace could not impose on Him, nor did the fearful perverseness of them who had been inwardly endowed induce Him, in the development of salvation, to turn away from those that had been called and chosen. The contrast in this transaction is similar to that formerly observed between honest Esau and cunning Jacob.

Lastly, it is also necessary to remember that it was doubtless one of the *secondary purposes*, in the narrative of this transaction, to account from the first (comp. Gen. xxxv. 22) for the later exclusion of the brothers Simeon and Levi from the rights of primogeniture (Gen. xlix. 5—7).

(3.) The circumstance that Jacob could not, even to the day of his death, get rid of his deep abhorrence of the fanatical cruelty of his sons, and that, in his prophetic inspiration, it breaks forth even at that time like a river long pent up (Gen. xlix. 5—7), shows how deep the impression must have been upon his mind. *Hengstenberg* very properly explains (Contrib. iii., p. 535) why the text only mentions (verse 30) that Jacob had reproached his sons rather for the supposed dangerous consequences of their deed than for its moral deserts. He notices that the text is specially intended to show the protection of God (chap. xxxv. 5), through which Jacob escaped the evil consequences of their conduct. In our objective view of the transaction, it must be remembered that this misdeed was treason against the calling of the chosen race, according to which Israel was to be the *medium of blessing and salvation for all nations*.

§ 83. (Gen. xxxv.)—While Jacob was full of apprehension about the consequences of the iniquity committed by his sons, and in his helplessness did not know what to do, God admonished him to journey towards Bethlehem, in order to pay his vow (1.) Having first purified his household, the patriarch obeyed this behest (2.) The terror of God was upon the cities round about, and under this protection he reached, unharmed, *Bethel*, where,

in fulfilment of his vow, he built an altar. There God again appeared to him, and once more gave him the name *Israel*, at the same time renewing the threefold promise contained in the patriarchal blessing (§ 71). In the place where God had appeared to him, Jacob set up a pillar of stone, and again called the name of it *Bethel*. Here Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, died (3.) But a more heavy loss was to befall him, when on the journey from Bethel to Ephrath. Rachel died in giving birth to her second son, whom *she* called Benoni, but *his father* Benjamin. Jacob erected a monument in the place where the remains of his beloved wife were laid to rest. Thence Israel journeyed towards *Migdal-Eder*, where he was afflicted by the incest of *Reuben*, his first-born, with Bilhah. Jacob heard it, and was silent (5.) From there the patriarch journeyed to his father Isaac, to Mamre, where he settled. Soon afterwards his *father died*, and Esau came to bury him in company with his brother (6.)

(1.) Jacob was now in circumstances similar to those under which, thirty years before, he had to flee from the vengeance of his brother Esau. As then, so now, he had to *escape*, for he could only have *remained*, in the face of the dangers threatening him, if they had not been occasioned by his own conduct. But the mercy of God changed the *flight from Sychem* into a *pilgrimage to Bethel*. In itself the Divine command (to go to Bethel) implied a Divine assurance in this danger; for if God calls him to Bethel, He would surely bring him safely thither. But the *place* to which he was directed to go conveyed even more fully this assurance, for *in Bethel* he had found a refuge with God at the time of his first trouble, and to render his faith the more easy, God reminds him of the mercy hitherto shown him, by adding, in verse 1, "when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother." In Bethel Jacob is to pay the vow, which, thirty years before, he had made in the same place. It seems, indeed, strange that the patriarch should not have done so before, since the conditions of the vow had been fulfilled ten years ago. Although some external and internal impediments might have stood in the way, we can scarcely acquit Jacob from guilty dilatoriness in this matter. From verse 2 we gather that Jacob clearly understood that before making the promised *positive* dedication in Bethel, it was necessary that it should be preceded by a *negative* dedication in Sychem, in the way of instituting an energetic and thorough reformation in his household. But he

wanted the joyousness and strength necessary for this, till it was imparted to him in consequence of the call of God. The patriarch now expressly founds the demand which he makes upon his household to purify themselves, by appealing, in verse 3, to a Divine command.

(2.) In his present *dangerous position*, Jacob and all his household were entirely cast upon the help of God. It was then also that he felt how necessary it was wholly to dedicate himself and his family to that God who was now to be his sole stay, and to remove, root and branch, all the remainder of heathenism, all that was left of the idolatry which, secretly carried along with them from Mesopotamia, had probably been increased through some of the spoil taken at Sychem (chap. xxxiv. 29). The purification demanded, consisted in the giving up of the Tera- phim, and of the charms which Jacob buried under an oak (a Terebinth), which, on that account, ever afterwards bore the name of "the oak of the magicians" (Judges ix. 6 and 37). The washing and changing of garments by which this was followed, negatively and positively, indicated a separation from the past and a dedication to something new.

(3.) THE THIRTY YEARS OF PILGRIMAGE WHICH INTERVENED BETWEEN THE TWO VISITS OF JACOB TO BETHEL were now fulfilled. His *first* stay at Bethel stands to his second, as it were, in the relation of the commencement to the (relative) end, and of prophecy to (relative) fulfilment. The counsel of salvation, so far as it was meant to manifest itself in the life of Jacob, had now reached its acme; and when brought into connection with the departure from that city, the return to Bethel forms a harmonious close. *Then* the Lord had appeared to him *in vision*; *now*, Jacob beholds him in a state of *wakefulness* (verse 13: "God went up from him"). Even this implies a progress from prediction to fulfilment, as the dream which is the consequence of Divine influence, constitutes the prophetic type of waking realisation. Then, God had promised to protect, to bless, and to bring back *him*, who, poor and forsaken, had to flee the land; now, this prediction is richly fulfilled—Jacob has returned unscathed to the Holy Land, the rich proprietor of large flocks, the lord of many servants and maids. Then, Jacob had solemnly vowed a vow; now, he pays it. Then, God had set him apart, that salvation might be developed through him, and invested him with the threefold blessing of the covenant-promise. So far as it could be fulfilled, this promise is now fulfilled in Jacob, for the *land of promise* is open to him, and already a typical commencement of its real possession (even in the sight of man) has been made. The seed of promise has appeared in the fulness of the first stage of its development; for Rachel is about to bear

that son in whom the significant number of twelve is to be perfected, and even the development of the idea of salvation has attained its preparatory and relative fulfilment since Jacob has become Israel. But it is not less apparent that the circumstances connected with the return to Bethel, which, when compared with the departure from that place, are a fulfilment and completion, are, in themselves, not an absolute but only a relative and preparatory fulfilment, and hence that they are at the same time only the prediction of, and the substratum for, a yet higher future fulfilment. For, God here renews the former blessing of the promise in its threefold reference to salvation itself, to the land as the place of salvation, and to the promised seed as the medium of salvation. Thus it clearly appears, that the perfect fulfilment was as yet future, and that the present was only preparatory, not final. God also bestows again upon him *that* name which indicates his peculiar relation to salvation and to God, and this is done without any reference to the circumstance, that he had already before borne that name, just as if it had now been bestowed for the first time. From this we infer that the relation indicated by this name had not yet attained its final completion, and that Jacob, who, ten years before, had become Israel, was still as little advanced in his development as if he had but newly become Israel. The renewal of this name showed that the way in which Jacob is perfectly to become Israel, was far-reaching, and that, like the promise of salvation itself, it would only become reality in the succeeding generations of his descendants. Again, the circumstance that this repetition of the name now forms the basis of a renewal of the threefold promise, proves that the perfect fulfilment of this promise is co-relative, and dependent on the perfect exhibition of that which the name Israel indicates. Further, as God renews the name of Israel, which indicates the relation of Jacob to God, so Jacob renews that of *Bethel*, which expresses the relation of God to him, *the dwelling of God* in and among the seed of Jacob. The *renewal of this name* also expresses the consciousness that God is yet to become in much higher degree an El-Bethel.

In Bethel, *Deborah*, the nurse of Rebekah, died, and was buried under an oak which obtained the name of "*oak of mourning*." She had accompanied Rebekah from Mesopotamia to Canaan (Gen. xxiv. 59), and had (after the death of her mistress probably), taken up her abode with Rebekah's favourite son. Her decease is mentioned in order to shew in what high esteem this aged servant was held in the house of Jacob. The oak which indicated her grave preserved her memory to succeeding generations (comp. Judges ii. 1; iv, 5; probably also 1 Sam. x. 3. Comp. also *Lengerke* i., p. 322.)

It has been thought strange that Jacob should so soon have left Bethel, when the divine command (as recorded in verse 1) had been: "arise, go up to Bethel and *dwell there*." But the connection distinctly shews that, by these terms, it had not been meant to convey that Jacob should continue to dwell there. The "dwell there" serves only as basis for the direction, "make an altar there."

(4.) Rachel died (verse 16) after Jacob had left Bethel, and was "*a little way from Ephrath*" ("a little piece of ground," comp. *Gesenius* Thes., p. 658), and she was buried "in the way to *Ephrath, which is Bethlehem*." At the time of Samuel, the pillar, which Jacob had erected to her memory, still existed, 1 Sam. x. 2. From that period to the fourth century we have no express or independent mention of it. But since then, the place of her burial, as fixed by an unbroken tradition, has been pointed out in a spot half an hour to the north of Bethlehem, which at present is covered by a Turkish chapel, called Kubbet Rachil. Till lately this has not been called in question. Even *Robinson*, who commonly is not ready to believe monkish traditions, does not suggest (vol. i., pp. 218 and 219) any doubt, "since it is fully supported by the circumstances of the Scripture narrative." But latterly some opponents of this tradition (*Thenius* in *Käuffer's Bibl. Studies* ii., p. 143, and *Gross* in *Tholuck's Lit. Anz.* for 1846; comp. also *Lengerke* i., p. 324, note) have brought forward irrefragable arguments against this tradition. First of all, it cannot be reconciled with 1 Sam. x. 2, which places the grave of Rachel between the cities of Ramah and Gibeah, on the borders of the possession of Benjamin; for, according to this passage, it must have lain to the north and not to the south of Jerusalem. *Thenius* regards the addition of the words, "which is Bethlehem", after Ephrath, in Gen. xxxv. 19, and similarly in Gen. xlviii. 7, indeed all these geographical explanations, as so many later glossaries and attempts to shew that the situation and name of the Ephrath of Genesis agrees with the Ephraim of 2 Sam. xiii. 23, or the Ephron of 2 Chron. xiii. 19—the present Yebrud, which lies about two German miles to the south of Sinjil (according to *Thenius* = Bethel). *Gross*, on the other hand, maintains the correctness of the statement in Genesis xxxv. 19 and xlvii. 7, that Ephrath is = Bethlehem. Still he finds the grave of Rachel not in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethlehem, which is at any rate contradicted by 1 Sam. x. 2, but in the neighbourhood of Ramah (er-Ram, situate a German mile to the north of Jerusalem), as indicated by Jeremiah xxxi. 15. We agree with the conclusion of *Gross*, inasmuch as the indefinite statement in Genesis, that her grave was "a piece of ground" (longi-

tudo terrae) distant from Ephrath (= Bethlehem), implies rather a longer than a shorter distance; and the reason why the more distant Bethlehem was mentioned may have been that the Migdal Eder, near Bethlehem, was the next station where Jacob sojourned for a length of time. Besides, Jeremiah xxxi. 15 certainly implies that it had been in the immediate neighbourhood of Ramah. Against the view of *Thenius* we may urge that Yebrud is too close by Sinjil (= Bethel), and that the statement in Gen. xxxv. 19 is too readily set aside as a mere glossary. We are willing to admit that these words, as uttered by Jacob in Genesis xlviii. 7, appear to be wholly out of place, and hence merely a glossary; but this remark does not apply to Genesis xxxv. 19, whence a later copyist may readily have transferred them to Genesis xlviii. 7. Besides, Micah v. 1 prove the identity of Ephra or Ephrath with Bethlehem.

(5.) The *incest of Reuben* is mentioned in order to account for his exclusion from the privileges of primogeniture. This sin was committed in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, at Migdal Eder, "a tower of the flock," probably originally a tower whence the flocks were watched. Comp. Micah iv. 8 and *Hengstenberg's* Christol. iii., p. 270.

(6.) The *death of Isaac* is here narrated "per prolepsin," for Jacob was 120 years old when Isaac died at the age of 180. But in the following section it is related that Jacob was only 108 years old when, at the age of 17, Joseph was sold into Egypt. The death of Isaac took place ten years before Israel and his sons went into Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 9).

COMMENCEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH.

§ 84. (Gen. xxxvii. 1—11.)—Joseph, the first-born son of the beloved Rachel, was the favourite of his father. The depth of his soul, the contemplativeness of his character, and his general amiability, increased the affection of aged Jacob the more, that the passionate roughness and perversity of his other sons caused him only grief. It is more than probable that he had intended to transfer to Joseph the rights of primogeniture, as no doubt he had already resolved to punish the three eldest sons of Leah for their iniquities by depriving them of its privileges. Already was he distinguished from his brethren by a *peculiar dress*. Their hatred and envy, excited by this, only increased when the lad, who grew up among them as a shepherd boy, kept his father

informed of their many evil deeds of which he was an eye-witness. This resentment reached its climax when in childish thoughtlessness, perhaps not without some addition of self-exaltation, Joseph related to his brothers those strange *dreams*, which only too clearly declared his future elevation above them and above the whole house of their father. Even Jacob himself was induced to reprove him; still he revolved these dreams in his heart.

(1.) The idea of transferring to Joseph the rights of primogeniture, and of thus making him chief of the family, and the centre for the development of salvation, might occur the more readily to Jacob, since Joseph was really the first-born of his *chosen* wife, and he was on other grounds so much preferable to any of the sons of Leah. Probably the distinguishing *dress* (בְּתוּלָה עֲשָׂרִים, LXX: *χιτὼν ποικίλος*, Vulg. *tunica polymita*, but more correctly *Gesenius*: *tunica manicata et talaris, pertinens ad עֲשָׂרִים*, i.e., *usque ad manus plantasque pedum*—genus *tunicae* a pueris puellis nobilem et regiis gestatum, 2 Sam. xiii. 18) was meant to express this intention.

The two DREAMS are based on the rustic and pastoral life of the patriarchal family. The first (in which the sheaves of his brothers make obeisance to that of Joseph) implies that Jacob, who had now chosen Hebron (where he lived for about twenty years) for his place of residence, had, besides rearing cattle, tilled the ground also, following in this the example of Isaac. The second dream (in which the sun, the moon, and the eleven stars make obeisance to Joseph) is entirely based on the nomadic circumstances of the family. In the absence of other reliable means of judging, the result alone could show whether these dreams had been sent by God or not. *Possibly*, they might have been the effect of vanity and self-exaltation on the part of a boy whose mind was excited by tokens of external distinction. Hence Jacob may have deemed it his duty to reprove him, especially as the second dream conveyed the idea of exaltation over his father and mother also, and thus implied so much that was strange and apparently contrary to the ways of God, that, despite his likings and his hopes, Jacob could not see his way in it. Following *Tuch*, *Lengerke* suggests i., p. 332: "that the passage in question is another chronological inconsistency on the part of the writer, since, as v. 10 implies, the dream is supposed to have taken place during Rachel's lifetime." We admit that the suggestion of some interpreters who suppose that the term "mother" referred to Leah, or to Bilhah (as the substitute of Rachel) is

erroneous. But then it is well known that such chronological inconsistencies frequently occur in dreams. To make the symbol complete, it was necessary not only to speak of the sun, but of the moon; and this very reference to the departed mother must have increased Jacob's doubts about the second dream. Nor did the symbol refer to Rachel as an individual, but rather as the representative of an idea, and if the prophet could call her up from her grave, to weep on the heights of Ramah, about the calamities of her children (Jeremiah xxxi. 15), she may in this prophetic dream have in the same manner been represented as with her husband making obeisance to Joseph, who appears exalted to the highest dignity. In point of fact, we here descry for the first time a prophetic anticipation that the salvation which was to issue from this family, should be such, that its members, and even its ancestors, should bend before it and worship.

In reference to the CHARACTER of *Joseph*, even this capacity for *prophetic* dreams, discloses an internal depth, which renders him conversant with the mysteries of the life of the soul, and a heart and mind open to the influences of higher spiritual realities. Again, the artlessness and openness with which he relates his dreams, shews childlike simplicity, and the zeal with which he carries to his father any evil report that had been raised against his brothers, proves his consciousness of, and the deep interest he felt in, the honour of his house. His relation towards his father also gives evidence of an affectionate, confiding, and kindly nature. If we feel that at the time Joseph was the fairest and the purest flower in the household of Jacob, and that even at an early period his high destination manifested itself by way of anticipation, we are also fully alive to the dangers to which such a character, during its development, and in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, was naturally exposed. How easily might the well-grounded preference of his father exercise an injurious influence on the formation of his character! How readily might his confiding kindness assume the appearance of hateful flattery, or his zeal for the honour of his family change into a self-righteous love of accusation, or his child-like openness and simplicity be coupled with vain self-confidence and pride! If, on the one hand, we keep in mind how soon sin and selfishness, like a destroying canker, attack even what is noblest, and if, on the other hand, we carefully weigh the hints thrown out in the text, we shall acknowledge that, in the present instance, these dangers were not merely possible at a future period, but that they had already in part become realities, and the bright class of his childish soul already become dim by such spots. This is indicated by the serious reproof which Jacob himself administered

(verse 10) and by the remark of verse 8, that his brothers hated him, for his dreams *and for his words*, an expression which seems to imply that it was not only the dream itself, but the manner in which Joseph related it, that had deepened the hatred of his brothers. From all this we shall gather how necessary it was that Joseph should be removed from these circumstances and trained in a school where only the germ of what was really great and noble could grow, and where all weeds would be destroyed—we mean the *school of sufferings and of affliction*.

§ 85. (Gen. xxxvii. 12, &c.)—At last an occasion offered to the brothers of Joseph to give full vent and satisfaction to their ill-concealed hatred of him. While they tended the cattle near *Sychem*, at a distance from Hebron, Jacob sent him to enquire about the welfare of his brothers and about the state of the flocks. Joseph finds that they have left Sychem and are gone to *Dothan* (1.) Whenever his brothers descry him in the distance their anger is violently roused. Already they consult to kill him, in order to render the fulfilment of his dreams thoroughly impossible; but Reuben opposes this measure. Not to imbrue their hands in the blood of their brother, they follow Reuben's advice, and cast him into an *empty cistern*, with the intention of letting him die by hunger. After that they sit down to eat and to drink (2.) But lo! a caravan of *Arabian merchants* passes by that way into Egypt. The proposal of Judah to sell the lad into slavery, meets with universal acceptance. They draw him out of the pit and dispose of him for the miserable sum of *twenty shekel*. Thus the youth departs with his owners to Egypt—only a distant view of the heights of Hebron where his father, suspecting no evil, awaits the return of his favourite, is granted him on his journey to the land of his bondage (3.) *Reuben* had only given the advice to his brothers in order to rescue the lad from their bloody revenge; he had not been present when Joseph was sold. In deep grief he rends his garments when, on his return, he finds him no longer in the cistern. But the other brothers dip Joseph's coat in the blood of a kid, and send it to Jacob, who weeps over the supposed death of his son and refuses to be comforted.

(1.) The circumstance that while Jacob lives in Hebron (verse

14) he sends a portion of his flocks to pasture in the *neighbourhood of Sychem*, is accounted for on the supposition that he had purchased a part of that district. Nor can it appear strange that he should send a lad of seventeen years alone from Hebron to Sychem, a distance of about twelve German miles, when we remember that Joseph had been brought up there, and hence knew the country, that he was accustomed to a nomadic life, and would feel no apprehension in undertaking the journey. Perhaps the circumstance may also shew that now at least Jacob no longer spoiled his favourite. It is impossible accurately to determine the exact situation of DOTHAN or *Dothain* = double cistern. The fact that a caravan passed that way (verse 25), and the statement in Judith iii. 9 (*ἦλθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἐσδρηλὰν πλησίον τῆς Λωταίας*) shew that it must have lain where the mountain of Ephraim slopes into the plain of Jezreel. With this also agree the statements of *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus*, who place it twelve Roman miles to the north of Samaria (Sebaste).

(2.) The description which Diodorus Sic. xix. 94 gives of the CISTERNS common among the Nabathean Arabs may probably, in its general features, also apply to those in Palestine. He says: "This district, although destitute of water, forms a secure retreat for them, as they have made in the earth regularly built and plastered cisterns. For this purpose they dig deep caverns in the ground, which consits either of mould or of soft stones, and make them very narrow at the mouth increasing in breadth as they descend, till at the bottom they attain a width of one hundred feet at each side. These reservoirs are filled with rain water; then the mouth is closed, so that they appear equally level with the rest of the soil. But they leave some mark which they alone know, and which is not observed by others." Thus cisterns when empty, or only covered with mud at the bottom, might also serve as temporary prisons, Jeremiah xxxviii. 6, xl. 15. *Robinson* found in the neighbourhood of Safed the ruined Khân Jubb-Yûsuf—the Khan of Joseph's pit (ii. p. 418 and 419¹). Considering what we have already said of the position of Dothan, it is evident that this tradition is erroneous.

(3.) According to chap. xxxvii. 25 and 27, and chap. xxxix. 1, the CARAVAN which brought Joseph to Egypt consisted of Ishmaelites; while in chap. xxxvii. 28, they are called Midianites, and in verse 36 Medanites. In the same manner these and kindred names are confounded and promiscuously used in Judges vi. 1, &c., compared with chap. viii. 21, 24, 26. (Comp. espe-

¹ It is scarcely necessary to remark that *Robinson* does not identify this Khan with the pit of Joseph.—THE TR.

cially *Drechsler's* Unity of Genesis, p. 251.) These three races were all descendants of Abraham, the former by Hagar, the latter two by Keturah. "All these wild branches of the race to which the promise belonged, spread along the extensive plains of the East (Gen. xvi. 12, xxv. 6) and were by and by comprised under the vague name of 'sons of the East', having the same origin, living in similar relations and circumstances, and thus engaged in the same occupation, and that occupation unfavourable to settling in any one place. These continual changes and migrations only increased the common national character of all these races, which had a certain amount of wildness and restlessness, of scattering and commingling about it. Under such circumstances we are not surprised to find that they were not accurately distinguished and separated, but that individual tribes and names merged into each other." *Lengerke* (i. p. 333) supposes that if Ishmael had been really the son of Abraham, the Ishmaelites could not at that time have already been a trading nation. But one hundred and forty-five years had passed since the birth of Ishmael, during which time they may have greatly increased and spread, especially if we suppose, what is supported by other grounds, that they had received into their race the original inhabitants of the district which they occupied. But even these suppositions are not necessary; the facts of the case are simply as represented by *Hävernick*, Introd. i. 2, p. 381. The author uses the names of the most commercial people of his time, in order generally to indicate "Arabian merchants". The very confusion among the names sufficiently shews that he did not care, with diplomatic accuracy, to distinguish the origin of these races. As Joseph had not yet reached the age of manhood, the merchants did not pay for him thirty shekel, the common *price* of a slave, but twenty, which is exactly the sum mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 5 for a lad between five and twenty years. The caravan took the common *road* which led from the spice-district of Gilead to Egypt. It crossed the Jordan below the sea of Galilee, passed over the plain of Jezreel, and thence continued along the sea shore to Egypt.

(4.) In this transaction the harshness and cruelty of THE BROTHERS OF JOSEPH appeared in its full extent. Among them, however, Reuben and Judah occupy a different position, as being unwilling to consent to the murderous intention of the others. Nor should we forget that although these two brothers were equally injured with Simeon and Levi, by the seduction of Dinah, they did not join them in the slaughter of the inhabitants of Shechem. These circumstances seem to indicate that they were less rough and cruel. *Reuben* intends to deliver Joseph from the vengeance of his brothers, and secretly to send him back

to his father. But we are not warranted in assuming, with *Baumgarten*, p. 309 (who in this respect follows Luther), that Reuben had been humbled by his fall (the incest with Bilhah), and therefore was less hard-hearted than the rest. The circumstance is sufficiently accounted for by natural kindness which might have existed alongside with that sin, and by this, that, as the first born, Reuben would feel himself more particularly responsible to his father. *Judah* also wished to preserve the life of Joseph, but he agrees with his other brothers in deeming it necessary that he should be removed, so that thereby the possibility of having his dreams realised should be set aside. As they probably thought that the realisation of these dreams was dependent on his investiture with the rights of primogeniture, it appeared the most sure means of attaining their object to sell him as a slave into a distant country.

Thus, we conclude with *Ranke* (Invest. i., p. 262): "The narrative has now reached the point, when it seems as if the direct contrary of Joseph's former prophetic dreams should take place. He whose superiority his parents and brothers were to acknowledge, now lives as a slave in a foreign land. This dissonance was to continue unresolved, even as the burden of grief was for many years to weigh upon his old father without being removed. Joseph no longer exists for the house of his father. Later incidents are now most aptly inserted into the narrative."

INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAH'S FAMILY.

§ 86. (Gen. xxxviii.)—About *this time*, Judah separated from his brethren, and lived in *Adullam*, where he entered into friendly relations with a man of the name of Hirah, and married Shuah, a Canaanite (1.) His wife bore him three sons, *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. When Er, his first-born, had grown up, he gave him *Tamar*, a Canaanite, to wife. But Er was wicked in the sight of Jehovah, and He slew him. As Er had died without children, Judah, according to ancient custom, obliged his second son to marry his brother's widow. But Onan, who was anxious to secure the rights of primogeniture for himself, and for a son of his own name, frustrated the object in view by an unnatural abomination (2), wherefore Jehovah slew him also. Judah, who probably ascribed these deaths to hostile magic influence on the part of Tamar, wished to preserve his third son from the same danger, and hence, on certain pretences, delayed

the marriage with Shelah. But Tamar, to whom connection with the house of Jacob seemed of too great importance to renounce it, seeks to right herself in her own way. The son being refused to her, she knew to gain the father (3.) Meantime, Judah's wife had died. The days of mourning being passed, Judah went up unto his sheep-shearing, to *Timnath*. Hearing of this Tamar sits down, dressed as an *harlot*, at the gate of *Enajim*, by the way which Judah has to pass. Her device is successful. Judah, in payment, promises her a kid from the flock, and as a pledge leaves with her his bracelets and his staff (4.) Hirah, whom Judah sends to redeem these pledges, of course returns unsuccessful, as nobody in the place knew anything about such a harlot. But three months afterwards Judah is informed that Tamar is with child. Being the bride of his third son, she incurs the charge of *adultery*, and Judah, probably too glad to find an opportunity of getting rid of her, as head of the family, and in the exercise of strictest law, adjudges her to *be burned*. But Tamar sent him the pledges he had given her, and with them the message: "By the man whose these are am I with child." Judah then acknowledged his double wrong. He said: "She hath been more righteous than I;" but he knew her again no more (5.) Under circumstances which made the birth very difficult, she bore twin children, *Pharez* and *Zarah* (6.)

(1.) The indication of the time when this event took place—"and it came to pass at that time"—does not render it *necessary* to suppose that the MARRIAGE OF JUDAH succeeded the sale of Joseph. Hence *Drechsler* (l. c., p. 258) assumes that verses 1 to 11 of this chapter took place before the removal of Joseph; and *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 316) calculates that "Judah separated from his brethren in the thirteenth year of his age, three years after the return of Jacob, and when he lived in Sychem, five years before the seduction of Dinah, and eighth years before the selling of Joseph" (?) Notwithstanding the conclusive argumentation of *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 354), who shows that the two sons of Pharez, Hezron and Hamul (in chap. xlv. 12), had only been born in Egypt (comp. our remarks in § 92), *Baumgarten* supposes that they were born in Canaan, and is therefore constrained to place chap. xxxviii. 1 and 2 so many years before Joseph was sold into Egypt, and to assume a number of other glaring improbabilities, in order to comprise three

generations within the space of thirty years. Accordingly Judah must marry when thirteen years old, and at the age of sixteen he has two sons. Er must also have married when thirteen years old, and when his father was only twenty-seven, and Onan, only after the lapse of another year, when he had attained the same age as his brother. Again, Judah must have begotten Pharez and Zarah when he was twenty-nine years old, in order that Pharez, when in his thirteenth year, or when Judah had reached the age of forty-three years—which is the period when the family passed into Egypt—may have had Hezron and Hamul, who are supposed to have been twins (?). But we maintain that Hezron and Hamul were born in Egypt, and that the marriage of Judah had only taken place after Joseph had been sold into Egypt. The former we shall prove in § 92, 2; the latter appears, not so much from the chronological indications in verse 1, as from the context generally. In itself, it is highly improbable that at the early age of thirteen, Judah should have left his father and his brothers, have commenced a household of his own and married, the more so when we remember that in chap. xxxvii. Joseph, who at that time was seventeen years old, is described as a mere lad. But the supposition of *Baumgarten* is entirely refuted by the circumstance, that Judah could not at one and the same time have, according to chap. xxxvii., lived in fellowship with his brothers and in his father's house, and yet, according to chap. xxxviii., separated from them, and kept house on his own account. For, according to chap. xxxviii., this separation and independence continued uninterrupted, at least, till after the birth of Pharez and Zarah (comp. vv. 5, 11, 12, 20, and 24). Yet, according to *Baumgarten*, the selling of Joseph (in chap. xxxvii.) must have taken place at that very time. Probably Judah separated from his brethren immediately after Joseph's removal, and in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his life. Between that period and the time when the family passed into Egypt, twenty-two years elapsed—an interval this quite sufficient for all the events related in chap. xxxviii.

Indeed it seems to us more than probable that *Judah had left his father's house*, not only immediately after Joseph was sold into Egypt, but also on account of it. The continued lamentation of his father about the loss of Joseph (chap. xxxvii. vv. 34 and 35), would probably be most disagreeable to him, while the reproaches of Reuben (comp. chap. xxxvi. vv. 29, 30) against him, as the cause of this misfortune, and perhaps the admonitions of his own conscience would disturb him so long as he continued in his father's house. To get rid of all these disagreeable impressions, he separated, in a fit of impenitent anger, from his father and his brothers, set up by himself, and joined

the Canaanite, Hirah of Adullam. Supposing these statements to be correct, his after history appears in a peculiar and striking light. Such impenitent, wrathful, and perverse conduct could only lead to calamity. And retribution soon follows. The sins of the father are visited on Er, his first-born: "He was wicked before Jehovah, wherefore He slew him." His second son Onan is guilty of abominable sin, and also cut off in righteous indignation. Judah himself is guilty of fornication (idolatry?) and incest. Viewed from this point, the question whether his marriage with a Canaanite deserved implicit blame (*Drechsler*, l. c., p. 256), or whether it was allowable on account of his changed relation to the patriarchal family (*Baumgarten*, l. c., p. 317), loses its importance. For, even if we were to disapprove of such union, his perverse conduct, and his impenitent separation from his family, in which the promise rested, make the other sin appear comparatively small, subordinate and secondary. However, irrespective of any special aggravating circumstances, we generally agree with *Baumgarten*, who says: "Any connection between one of the first three patriarchs and the daughters of Canaan would be wholly improper, as the chosen family had in their time not been entirely separated. But now, when the house of Israel has been constituted, the union between a member of this family and a Canaanite no longer constitutes an absolute obstacle, preventing such an individual from sharing in the rights of the chosen race (comp. chap. xlv. 10); for it may readily be conceived, that, notwithstanding such marriage, the family, as a whole, preserved the consciousness of its separation. But, on the other hand, such a marriage was certainly not to be approved." *Adullam* lay in the plain of Judah (Joshua xv. 35, compared with 1 Sam. xxii. 1, &c.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13). *Chezib*, where, according to verse 5, Judah was when his third son was born, is probably the same as Achzib, which also lay in the plain of Judah (Josh. xv. 44; Micah i. 14).

(2.) THE MARRIAGE WITH A WIDOW, which was incumbent on the nearest relative of one who had died without leaving children, when the first-born son of the new marriage bore the name and inherited the rights of the deceased, appears from this passage to have been an ancient custom of the tribe, the observance of which was at that time even more stringent than as afterwards fixed by the Mosaic law. For, according to Deut. xxv. 7, &c. (compared with Ruth iii. 13; iv. 6, &c.), the next of kin might, under certain circumstances, avoid this duty. Of this privilege there is no trace in the present instance. Doubtless, it was the purpose of this ordinance to preserve the name, the family, and the inheritance of the deceased. It probably arose from the views of those times, when, in the absence of a clear knowledge

of a life after death, men were chiefly concerned about the hopes and prospects connected with this world, and regarded the life of a son, who had entered into the position and the rights of his father, as a continuance of that of the deceased. For further particulars, comp. below our remarks on the Mosaic laws.

(3.) We do not account for the tenacity with which TAMAR clung to her claims on the family of Judah either by her sensuality or by the reproach which attached to a barren woman. Manifestly she is anxious not only to have a child, but to have one from the *family of Judah*. And the less, by her birth as a heathen, she was entitled to any connection with the chosen race, the more jealously did she insist on the rights which marriage had given her. The same views, but in an infinitely higher and nobler form, appear under similar circumstances in the case of Ruth. However we may feel the deep aberration of Tamar, we cannot ignore that in it a higher faith was concealed, which *J. P. Lange* (Life of Jesus ii. 3, p. 1808) not inaptly designates as "an enthusiastic reverence for the theocratic in the family of Judah."

(4.) As Shelah could not have been much younger than Onan, Tamar must have felt that the direction of Judah, "remain a widow at thy father's house till Shelah my son be grown," was merely an empty pretext. She rights herself in a truly Canaanitish manner. Here also it appears how thoroughly Judah had, by separation from his father's house, and by intercourse and connection with the Canaanites, become entangled in their practices. We can scarcely believe that his sin with Tamar belonged to the category of ordinary sins of this kind. It implied—though perhaps unintentionally on his part—a conformity to the practices and habits of the Canaanitish worship of nature. Verses 21 and 23 represent Tamar as assuming the appearance and the dress of a Kedeshah (*i.e.* one who dedicates herself). These females were devoted to Asherah, the representative of the female principle in the life of nature, and like the Ambubajai of later times went about, or sat by the road (Jer. iii. 2), prostituting themselves for a reward, which was given to the goddess (comp. on this practice *Mövers*, Phœnicia i., p. 679; *Lengerke*, Canaan i., p. 253). This view of the disguise of Tamar is specially confirmed by the circumstance that according to v. 17 she asked *a kid of the goats* as her reward; for we know from other sources (*Tacitus*, Hist. ii. 3) that goats were chiefly sacrificed to this goddess. It may however have been, as *Tuch* supposes (l. c., p. 506), that the expression Kedeshah in verses 21 and 22 had only "been derived from the worship of Astarte, and was retained in common parlance (Hosea iv. 14), as perhaps more decent than קדִישָׁה, and that on this ground it is used in

verse 21, when Hirah questions the people of Enaim, and receives their reply." The *Enaim* of verse 14 is probably the same as the *Enam* of Joshua xv. 34, which lay in the plain of Judah. On *Tinnah*, which must not be confounded with the Timnah of the tribe of Dan (the modern Tibneh), which lay to the east of Bethshemesh, comp. Joshua xv. 57, according to which it lay in Mount Judah.

(5.) According to Deut. xxii. verses 21 to 24, adultery—whether the woman was actually married or only a bride—was punished with *stoning*. It has been attempted to trace in our narrative the existence of this law, and suggested that Tamar was to have been first stoned and then burned, and that the law in Deuteronomy implied punishment of the same kind. But as in Genesis xxxviii. we do not read anything about stoning, nor in Deut. xxii. anything about burning, we are not warranted to have recourse to such a hypothesis. In general, the punishment of stoning was only introduced with the law, and that for certain reasons, to which we shall by and by refer. The confession of Judah, "she has been more righteous than I," seems to indicate that this formed a turning point in the life of Judah. In confirmation of this view we find him afterwards re-united with his father and brothers, and in a state of mind which implies a thorough change of heart and life. It is in this light that we regard the circumstance that he had no farther connection with Tamar.

(6.) On the remarkable circumstances attending the delivery of Tamar, comp. *J. D. Michaelis* (note ad h. l., p. 165), who adduces medical evidence about the possibility and the actual occurrence of such deliveries (comp. also the professional remarks of *Trusen*, "Diseases of the Bible," p. 57, and of *Friedreich*, "Notes to the Bible" i., p. 123). The contrast between her sufferings during the delivery and her former conduct is noticeable, as shewing the special retribution of Divine Providence. Besides, the narrative is given at such length, in order to shew how, contrary to all experience and expectation, Pharez had become the first born.

(7.) *Ewald* (i., p. 433) supposes "that in this *almost jocular* (?) description of pristine events in the history of the tribe and of the race, it is impossible to mistake the real meaning. Even before the fourth narrator had thus elaborated this legend, *popular humour* may during the ninth century have taken this kind of revenge for a number of wrongs and insults on the part of members of the reigning family of David, which had sprung from this Pharez, by devising such an ancestry of the family. In direct opposition to this is the narrative in the book of Ruth, to which probably the same amount of truth attaches." Without

stopping to refute this novel discovery, we sketch the place and bearing of this chapter in the development of the history of the family. The *birth of Pharez* forms the central point of this chapter, as, according to the law, he occupied the place of the first-born of Judah. All that precedes only forms the basis for this account, and is so circumstantially narrated, only because it at the same time affords a deep insight into the personal position and the history of Judah. Again the history of Judah and of his house is of such importance, because in his prophetic blessing (Gen. xlix) Jacob assigns to Judah the sceptre of principality among the tribes of Israel; and the primogeniture of Pharez is brought out so prominently because Nahshon, the eminent prince and leader in Israel, during the journey through the wilderness, is a descendant of Pharez (Numbers ii. 3; Ruth iv. 18 to 20). "But"—we continue with *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 313)—"we may look beyond the natural horizon of Moses; for we do not merely say that Moses has written this account, but also that the Holy Ghost has written it. We therefore perceive in this narrative a glance into ages yet future. (Gal. iii. 8.) We call to mind that king David had sprung from Nahshon (Ruth iv. 18—22), and that Jesus of Nazareth, who was made of God both Lord and Christ, was the son of David. We are therefore now tracing the lineage of Jesus Christ, and looking forward to Him who is both the commencement and the end of all things." The narrative discloses the sins of Judah with the same openness and faithfulness as it details the moral aberrations of other patriarchs and kings, for the purpose of shewing that the high position assigned to them in the kingdom of God, and to which they were called and trained, was not due to their own virtue and excellency, but to the sovereign mercy of Him that had called them.

JOSEPH'S LOW ESTATE.

§ 87. (Gen. xxxix. and xl.)—The Ishmaelites had sold Joseph into Egypt to *Potiphar*, the captain of Pharaoh's guard. Here the conscientious and devout youth soon gained the implicit confidence of his master, who appointed him overseer of his whole house; for the blessing (1) of God visibly rested upon all that he administered. But the wife of Potiphar endeavoured, by her seductions, to entrap the fair son of Rachel. All these attempts are resisted by the youth who feared the Lord. These refusals only increased the passion of the woman. On one occa-

sion when she attempts violence, Joseph leaves his upper garment in her hands and flees. Her love now changes into equally violent hatred. She calls around her all the servants, and, shewing the garment, accuses Joseph of having attempted to seduce her (2.) In consequence, Potiphar casts his servants into prison; but there also the blessing of God follows him, and prepares him for the high calling formerly announced to him in his dreams. Joseph gains the full confidence of the keeper of the prison, and when soon afterwards two high officers of the court, the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers, are, by the king's command, committed to the same prison, he is, on account of his tried fidelity and ability, appointed to wait on them (3.) In one night the two officers dream each a dream, which so remarkably correspond to one another, that they are unable to conceal their sadness from not understanding what, to all appearance, were significant dreams. Joseph sympathises with them. He feels within him the prophetic gift of interpretation, and without any assumption of superior ability, requests them to communicate their dreams, and thereafter announces to the chief of the butlers his speedy restoration to office, and to the chief of the bakers his impending doom (4.)

The many references to the manners and circumstances of Egypt, which occur in the history of Joseph (chap. xxxviii. to l.) have been traced in detail by *Hengstenberg* (in his *Egypt and the Books of Moses*), and proved to be in entire accordance with the results of modern researches. Comp. also *Osborn's Ancient Egypt*, her testimony to the truth of the Bible.

(1.) The name POTIPHAR seems to be an abbreviation of the term Pothiphera, which occurs in chap. xli., verses 45 and 50. The LXX. render both by *Πετεφρής*. This corresponds to the Egyptian *HETE—OPH*, *i.e.* qui solis est, soli proprius et quasi addictus (comp. *Gesenius*, Thes. 1094), a name which, according to *Rosellini*, occurs frequently in the monuments. Potiphar is first mentioned as *סָרִיס פְּרִיעָה* (authorised version, an officer of Pharaoh). We cannot take this term in its literal acceptation (= eunuch), as Potiphar was married, and it is sufficiently ascertained that the expression was applied to all the servants of the court, many of whom were selected from among the eunuchs. *Gesenius* (s. h. v.) has indeed attempted to cast doubts upon this: "quum non desint exempla—eunuchorum ad coitum

et matrimonium non prorsus impotentium (for which he adduces evidence from ancient and modern writers), et in reliquis V. T. locis non pauci sint, quibus propria vocabuli potestas manifesto retinenda est." But we are not warranted in supposing this in the present instance; nor could we believe that a eunuch would have been chosen as שַׂר הַטְּבָחִים, which *Gesenius* himself (p. 542) renders by "præfectus carnificum, i.e., satellitum." *Hitzig* (in his "Primeval History of the Philistines," p. 19) has indeed objected to this rendering of the word טְבָחִים, and stated that, although "it was the duty of the guard to execute any condemned prisoners of state, this could not have occurred so continuously, that they should have derived from it their official title." It is argued that the טְבָחִים (properly *slayers*) of a king were in the first place to act as butchers, to kill and to divide the animals which were to be prepared for the royal table. But from a comparison of 2 Kings xxv. 8, &c.; Jer. xxxix. 9—11; xl. 1—5, &c., the common rendering of the word appears to be the only correct one. The designation of Potiphar (סָרִיס) implies, however, that the custom of having eunuchs was common at the court of Egypt. This is denied by *Bohlen*, Comment. p. 360, who charges the writer of Genesis with having transferred to Egypt "a custom of the Hebrew court" (? !). But this objection is entirely removed by what *Rosellini* remarks of the representation of eunuchs on monuments (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 22). The remark in verse 6, that Potiphar "left all that he had in Joseph's hand. . . *save the bread* which he did eat," is accounted for on the ground of the existence of castes in Egypt, and of the laws concerning meats enforced in that country. On the duties and the position of the chief stewards of Egyptian nobles, *Rosellini* furnishes some very interesting notices gathered from the monuments (vide *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 23).

(2.) At all times there have been loud complaints of the dissolute and adulterous practices common among *Egyptian women* (for example, *Herodotus* ii. 111, Bar-Hebr., p. 217), and the licentiousness of females appears also frequently on the monuments. From the monuments we also gather that in Egypt the women had not lived so retired as in other ancient countries. Frequently men and women are represented as in promiscuous company. A good deal of probability also attaches to the opinion so often expressed that Potiphar had not credited the accusation of his wife, and only imprisoned Joseph for the sake of appearances. At any rate, he was honoured with the confidence of Potiphar whilst in prison (chap. xl. 4), nor does the punishment awarded to him seem to correspond to the crime with which he was charged.

(3.) We will not in detail answer to the charge of confusion which *Tuch* (p. 508, comp. also *Lengerke* i., p. 338, note) has supposed to exist in the text, since, according to him, Joseph had had *two masters*, and we read of *two captains of the guard*. Against this comp. the author's Unity of Genesis, p. 191; *Ranke*, Investigations i., p. 263; *Drechsler*, Unity and authenticity of Genesis, p. 259. We shall simply describe the real state of matters. As captain of the guard, Potiphar was at the same time inspector of the state prison, which even in later times (Jer. xxxvii. 15), and in our own days in the East, forms part of the house of that functionary (comp. *Rosenmüller*, the Ancient and Modern East, note on Jer. xxxvii. 15). Again, it appears quite natural that one so noble, and probably so much occupied at court, should not himself have undertaken the superintendence and the care of the prisoners. These duties he devolved to a subordinate official who, in ch. xxxix. 21, bears the name of "keeper of the prison." To this person, who was properly the jailor, he committed Joseph. But when the two high officials were by royal command cast into prison, we can readily understand that he would take charge of them himself, and care for their proper treatment, as although they had, for the time, fallen into disgrace, Potiphar might have stood in friendly relation toward them. Well knowing by experience the capability and trustworthiness of Joseph, he would naturally commit these captives to the care of the Hebrew youth, the more so as the latter had already shewn his aptness for such duties (chap. xxxix. 23), a circumstance which the keeper of the prison had probably reported to Potiphar.

(4.) For additional remarks on the import of DREAMS in the *life of Joseph*, comp. *Krummacher's* Pages on Sacred History, § 67 and 68. Throughout antiquity dreams were considered as a divine or magical element, and it may readily be believed that at that time dreams were something different and something more than they are at present, *i.e.*, that the supernatural element which still appears now and then in dreams, was at that time much more common and strong. Throughout antiquity, the inner life took much more the direction of the symbolic, and descended immediately, not merely through the medium of abstraction, into the depth and fulness of the life of nature. Hence the faculty of anticipation in man was stimulated, and manifested itself more frequently. In some, who were specially predisposed to it, this manifested itself as the gift of divination, while in others it appeared rather in the lower and less developed sphere of dreams. But of all nations in antiquity this gift was most prominent and distinct among the Egyptians. "There is something night-like about the whole history of this wonderful

people. The various formations, the divine and the human, there run in curious disorder into each other, and their pyramids, obelisks, sphinxes, and immense temples overtop everything else like dream-visions. We might almost call the Egyptians the people of dreams, of anticipations, and of enigmas." It is easy to ascertain the point of connection for the dreams of these two captives. They knew that Pharaoh's birth-day was to be in three days, and from the analogy of former experiences, they would anticipate that their fate would then probably be decided. Falling asleep with such thoughts, wishes, hopes, and fears, their dreams were only a continuation of their waking thinking, when the power of anticipation, awakened while the external senses were asleep, descended into their thoughts. As *Krummacher* observes, conscience may also have had a part in giving its peculiar cast to each of the dreams.

The authenticity of the dream which *the chief of the butlers* is said to have had (he saw a vine with three branches and ripe grapes; the latter he pressed into Pharaoh's cup and gave it into his hand), as well its historical basis, has been called in question. Opponents have appealed to the statements of Plutarch (Isis and Osiris 6), according to whom the Egyptians had not cultivated or drunk wine before the time of Psammetich, having regarded it as the blood of Typhon. But even from *Diodorus* i. 11, 15, we gather that this statement was due to a mistake. The latter identifies *Osiris* with *Dionysius*, and ascribes to him the invention and introduction of the culture of the vine. This is also confirmed by similar statements in *Herodotus* ii. 42, 144; *Strabo* xvii., p. 799; *Pliny*, H. N. xiv. 9; *Athen.* i., p. 33. The circumstance that the vine was cultivated in Egypt has been ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt by the evidence furnished on the monuments, which in this respect is specially full and satisfactory. If *Herodotus* remarks (ii. 77) that the vine did not grow in Egypt, this statement must either have been an error, or have only referred to that part of Egypt (the lower lying, ἡ σπειρομένη Αἴγυπτος) of which he speaks, while the vine was cultivated in the higher regions (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c., p. 12, and *Scholz* Introd. ii., p. 188). The dream of *the chief of the bakers* (he carried three white baskets on his head, full of baked meats, for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them) is also confirmed by a comparison with Egyptian customs, as gathered from the monuments (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c., p. 25). The essential difference between the two dreams consists in this, that in the second the birds of prey take the place of Pharaoh.

THE ELEVATION OF JOSEPH.

§ 88. (Gen. xli. and xlvii, verses 13—26.)—The chief of the butlers had promised Joseph to intercede for him with Pharaoh. But in his prosperity he forgot the poor captive. Thus other two years of hopeless imprisonment passed by. Then Pharaoh himself had *two dreams*. He stood by the bank of the Nile, and seven fair and fat kine ascended from it. After them other seven kine, ill-favoured and lean, came up and ate up the fat kine, but remained as lean and ill-favoured as before. Upon this Pharaoh awoke, and when he again fell asleep, a second and similar dream shaped itself in his mind. Seven good ears of corn came up upon one stalk, and after them seven thin ears, and blasted with the east wind, which devoured the seven full ears. In vain Pharaoh sought among the wise men of his court an interpretation of these dreams (1.) Then only the chief of the butlers remembered Joseph, who was now brought from the prison, and introduced to Pharaoh. Having with child-like humility ascribed the honour not to himself but to God, he interprets the dreams as referring to seven years of great plenty in Egypt, to be succeeded by seven years of dearth and famine, and suggests that, during the years of plenty, provision should be made for those of famine. Pharaoh feels that the Spirit of God is in the youth. He elevates him to the rank of administrator of his kingdom, naturalises and makes him a member of the priestly caste, and gives him to wife the daughter of the chief priest of Heliopolis (2), of whom he has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. It soon happened as Joseph predicted. But immense stores of corn had been accumulated during the plenty of the fertile years, and when the years of famine commenced, Joseph was not only able to supply Egypt, but also those neighbouring countries which experienced similar want. At the sametime he has now the opportunity of introducing wise reforms into the administration of the State, and by giving a settled legal form to the relations between the king and his subjects, to lay the foundation of the lasting prosperity of the country (3.)

(1.) The DREAMS OF PHARAOH show genuine Egyptian habits

of thinking (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c. p. 26). The constitution of Egypt is based on agriculture, and the success of the latter depends on the inundations of the Nile. In virtue of the worship of nature prevalent in Egypt, both of these were viewed under a religious aspect. But the worship of nature in Egypt took the peculiar form of the worship of animals. Hence the *Nile* became *Osiris*, the fructifying and begetting principle in nature, and a *bull* was regarded as the symbol and representative of both. From this arose then the further view according to which *Isis*, or the female principle in nature, was identified with the country or the earth generally, and both worshipped under the symbol of a cow. The fertility of a year depended upon the due proportion of the Nile-inundation. Too much or too little of it would necessarily bring dearth and famine. Hence both the fat and the lean kine which were seen to ascend from the Nile were symbols either of years of fruitfulness or of dearth. Although the second dream is no longer connected with religious symbols, but with real appearances, it is still peculiarly Egyptian. This appears even from the circumstance that the withered ears are represented as blasted by the east wind. *Bohlen* (p. 56) objects, indeed, that the writer in this case transfers Palestinian ideas to Egyptian circumstances, inasmuch as there was no east wind in Egypt. But as the Hebrews had special names only for the four principal directions of the wind, the term קָדִים probably applies also to the south-east wind, or Chamsin, which comes from the Arabian wilderness, and by its heat destroys vegetation. As the narrative is placed in the Delta (probably in the ancient city of Zoan or Tanis, Numb. xiii. 23; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43) the mention of this wind is quite in keeping. Comp. also *Uckert*, Geography, p. 111; *Hengstenberg*, l. c. p. 9.

Pharaoh applies to the Egyptian *Chartummim* (חֲרֻטִּימִים according to *Gesenius* from חָרַט sculpsit, or חָרַט stylus and חֲרָם, sacer fuit = scriba sacer, scripturæ sacræ [hieroglyphicæ] peritus, ἱερογραμματεὺς) for an interpretation of his dreams. On this *Hengstenberg* remarks (l. c. 27): "In ancient Egyptian society we meet a class of men to whom the description here given exactly applies. The Egyptian caste of priests had the double duty of performing the outward service of the gods, and of cultivating what in Egypt passed for science. The former devolved on what are called prophets—the latter on sacred writers, ἱερογραμματεῖς. These were the learned men of the nation; and as in the Pentateuch they are called the 'Wise Men', so by classical writers they are designated as 'the initiated.' Under all circumstances, whenever anything lay beyond the sphere of ordinary knowledge or capacity, people applied

to them for direction and assistance." If it was asked how these Chartummim had not come upon so obvious an interpretation, we reply, that the dreams contained something so extraordinary and incredible that none of the priests had ventured to offer an interpretation which would almost seem ready to hand. The well-grounded apprehension that a short time would prove them to be liars and false prophets, and thus expose them to the wrath of Pharaoh, made it appear more advisable to plead ignorance. Again, we cannot overlook what *Baumgarten* remarks, i. p. 325: "It is the judgment of the wisdom of this world, that it is unable to reply when answer is most needed. For it forms part of the divine government of the world to shut the lips of the eloquent, and to take understanding from the ancient, Job xii. 20." *Hävernick*, Introd. i. 2, p. 386, attempts to combine these seven years famine with the ancient legend of Busiris, which, according to his opinion, had sprung from it.

(2.) It is further a genuine Egyptian feature that Joseph *shared* himself before coming into the presence of Pharaoh (*Hengstenberg* l. c. p. 28). Divine inspiration and not human combination and wisdom enabled Joseph to interpret the dreams. Thus he obtained the certainty and firmness, the quiet demeanour and confidence which always produce an impression on those around, and which in this case, despite the incredibleness of what he announced, gave to Pharaoh and to his servants the conviction that the Spirit of God was in him. In thinking of the ELEVATION OF JOSEPH we must remember that in Egypt a very high value was attached to this kind of wisdom, and *v. Bohlen* opportunely reminds us of the circumstance recorded in Herodotus, ii. 121, when Rhampsinit made the son of an architect his own son-in-law because he judged him to be the cleverest person. In order to elevate Joseph to his high dignity Pharaoh first naturalises him by giving him an Egyptian name, which, in the Hebrew original, and according to a Hebrew form, is called $\text{יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן-נֹחַדִּי$, but in the LXX. which keeps more closely by the Egyptian, $\psi\omicron\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\chi$. *Hieronymus* translates this by "salvator mundi", and a marginal remark to the LXX. in *Bernard* on Josephus (Ed. Haverc.) Antiq. ii. 6, 1, similarly explains the name by, $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \zeta\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$. *Jablonsky* and *Rosellini* have approved of this interpretation, but *Gesenius*, Thes. 1181, prefers rendering it by "sustentator, vindex mundi," since the above interpretation is founded on the reading $\psi\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\chi$, which is manifestly not correct, the evidence being in favour of the reading $\psi\omicron\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\chi$. *E. Meier*, Dict. of Roots, 702, renders it by "support or foundation of life."

The letters z and x being transposed and the Egyptian geni-

tive μ ($\mu\alpha$) being left out, Hebrew tradition adopted the Semitic form Zaphnath-Paneah, meaning, "revelator occultorum." The fact that Joseph was arrayed in *white linen* implied not only that he was naturalised, but probably also that he was received into the caste of priests, who always wore linen garments (*Herod.* 237), because garments made from materials derived from the vegetable kingdom, especially linen garments, were regarded as symbols of purity and holiness (comp. *Bähr*, Symbolic ii. p. 87). When Pharaoh gave to Joseph his *signet*, he invested him with the dignity of Vizier, as the possession of this signet enabled him to act in name of the king. The gold necklace which on the monuments is always worn by kings and nobles (*Hengstenberg*, l. c. p. 29) also indicates that Pharaoh had elevated him to a high dignity. After that Pharaoh made him drive in his own chariot, and caused to be proclaimed before him: אֲנִי־אֵלֶּךָ. Without doubt this word was originally Egyptian, although related to the Hebrew בָּרַךְ, *to bend the knee*. All who have attempted to derive it from the Egyptian agree that it implies "bowing down," or "falling down." Comp. *Gesenius*, Thes. 19. According to *Benfey* (on the relation between the Egyptian and the Shemitic language, p. 302) and *Meier* (Dict. of Roots, 703) it is an Egyptian imperative, and equivalent to the Coptic *bôr* = *to fall down* = *to do obeisance*. To give a firmer basis to the position of Joseph, Pharaoh unites him to Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, the high priest of On. The translation of the LXX. leaves no room for doubting that the latter was the old Egyptian name for the later Heliopolis. *Cyrrillus* ad Hos. p. 145, remarks: Ὁν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος, and *OEIN* means in Coptic light, or *light of the sun*. The ruins of this ancient city, still called عين شمس, are found near the village of Maturia. Of old a celebrated temple of the sun was there to which a numerous and learned priesthood was attached (*Herod.* ii. 3, 59) who occupied the first place in the Egyptian colleges of priests. Comp. *Hengstenberg*, p. 30. The LXX. render the name Asnath by Ἀσενέθ. Probably it is = *AS—NEIT*, "quae Neithae (s. Minervae) est," cf. *Gesenius* l. c. 130. *V. Bohlen* remarks: "It is entirely contrary to the character of the Egyptians that an intolerant priesthood should have allowed an intermarriage with a foreign shepherd." To this *Hengstenberg* replies: "The union took place in consequence of the command of the king, and the high priest of On could not refuse to obey this behest, as modern investigations have shewn that the Pharaohs had at all times occupied the highest priestly dignity, and thus exercised not a merely external authority over the priesthood. Besides, we have to bear in mind that when Joseph married the daughter of the high priest he

was no longer a foreign shepherd, but had been completely naturalised by the king. From Genesis xliii. 32 we gather that Joseph had completely left his own tribe and become one of the Egyptian people."

It is more difficult to understand how Joseph, who was a servant of the living God, should have become a member of a priesthood set apart for the worship of nature. But, collisions which would have obliged him to deny his faith in the God of his fathers, were scarcely to be apprehended, as Joseph was called, not to discharge the active duties of the priesthood, but a political office, for which his reception into the priestly caste only served as a kind of substratum. Besides, we may not forget that the religion of Egypt, in its entirely symbolical character, may, especially under its earliest forms, have been capable of such interpretation as was not absolutely contrary to the worship of one personal God. The indulgence extended by Elisha to Naaman the Syrian (ii. Kings v. 18), and the analogous position of Daniel among the magicians, may also be mentioned as cases in point.

(3.) Several pictorial representations in the monuments of Egypt, afford a correct insight into the mode of Joseph's activity in preparing STORE HOUSES FOR CORN. Comp. *Hengstenberg*, l.c. p. 32. The corn was collected in obedience to a royal decree (v. 34) in virtue of which the fifth part of all produce was demanded. *Michaelis* (Notes, p. 170) interprets the statement of the text as implying that Joseph had not demanded a tax of the fifth of all produce, but had purchased it. But this remark is unfounded. Even before the reform introduced into the administration of Egypt to which we shall immediately refer, all subjects had to pay taxes to the king, only that these were left to the arbitrary will of the monarch, while Joseph introduced a regular and fixed law on the subject, thereby protecting both the interests of the king and of the people. *V. Bohlen* has stigmatised the statement in chapter xli. v. 54 and 57, that the famine prevailed, not only in Egypt but in the adjoining countries, as unhistorical. He argues that the climate and agriculture of Egypt were wholly unconnected with those of Palestine, as in Egypt fertility depended on the overflowing of the Nile, and not on the fall of rain as in Palestine. But this writer seems to have forgotten that as the inundations of the Nile depended on the fall of rain, the same circumstances might ultimately cause fertility or dearth in both countries. *Hengstenberg* remarks (l.c. p. 34): "The inundations of the Nile depend, as even Herodotus attested, on the tropical rains which fall in the high mountains of Abyssinia." Comp. *Ritter*, Geography i. p. 835. These rains depend on the same causes as those which fall in Palestine.

According to *Le Père* (Descr. vii. p. 576) it is quite ascertained that the swelling of the Nile is occasioned by the fall of rain, due to clouds formed in the Mediterranean and carried by northerly winds at certain seasons towards Abyssinia. *Hengstenberg* mentions instances of seasons when dearth in Egypt was accompanied by similar calamities in adjoining countries.

On the *administrative reforms* of Joseph comp. *Hengstenberg*, l.c. pp. 60 to 68. In the years of scarcity Joseph sold corn to the people, first for their money, then for their cattle, and, when both were done, for their land, which they spontaneously offered. Having thus gained possession of the whole country, he again disposed of it to the people on definite principles, making them the king's vassals, and obliging them to pay annually the fifth part of the produce in lieu of ground-rent. Only the lands of the priesthood remained untouched, since their revenues from the royal treasury had protected them from the consequences of the famine. Profane writers and the monuments confirm the Biblical account, in so far as they distinctly state that the peasantry were not the landed proprietors, and that the priests possessed real property free of taxation. Herod. ii. 109; Diod. i. 73; Strabo, xvii. p. 787; Wilkinson, i. p. 263. On the other hand Herodotus ascribes the apportioning of the land among the peasants as vassals to King Sesostris, during whose reign Joseph could not have administered the affairs of state. But *Hengstenberg* rightly remarks: "It may be regarded as an undoubted result of modern criticism (comp. *Bähr*, on Herod. iv. 563) that Sesostris was a mythical and not a historical personage, to whom all the comprehensive measures and the successes of the ancient Pharaohs were commonly ascribed." Again, if Diodorus and the monuments seem to point to three classes of proprietors, the kings, the priests and the warriors, the apparent contradiction with the account in Genesis, according to which only the kings and priests were landed proprietors, is removed by the statement in Herodotus ii. 141, 168, according to whom the lands of the warriors really belonged to the kings, but were not subject to taxation, that privilege being granted to them in lieu of pay.

V. Bohlen has reiterated the grave accusation brought by others against Joseph that he had subdued a free nation and reduced it to a state of servitude. But manifestly vassalage and not servitude were the right expression; and, considering that land, if well cultivated, yields in Egypt a thirty-fold and even greater increase, a tax of one-fifth of the produce can scarcely be deemed oppressive. In point of fact we have already seen that on demand the people were quite ready to pay this impost without raising any complaint. But in defending the measure introduced

by Joseph we have also to bear in mind that in the peculiar circumstances of Egyptian agriculture both prosperity, and any partial averting of adverse circumstances, depended on a system of government centralization, and on a proper superintendence of the measures adopted for fertilising the country. This is shewn by *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. p. 543) who quotes the following passage from the treatise of *Michaud*, "de la propriété foncière en Egypte": "A careful examination of the conditions on which the fertility or sterility of the soil depends, shews first, that landed property could not have been subject to the same conditions and laws in Egypt as in other countries. In all other countries the value of landed property depends on the character and exposure of the soil, on climatic influences, and on rain; here everything is derived from the Nile, and the lands with their rich produce are, to use an expression of Herodotus, in reality a gift of the Nile. But in order to shed its blessings over Egypt the Nile required a strong hand to turn it into canals, and thus to direct its fertilizing waters; this distribution of its waters required the assistance of public and sovereign authority; it was, therefore, necessary that Government should interfere, and this necessity of interference must to some extent have changed and modified the rights of landed proprietors." ¹ The absence of any regular system of irrigation such as *government* alone could have introduced, renders the statement concerning the continuance of the dearth during seven years the more credible. Nor is it certainly without ground that even tradition ascribes to Joseph the institution of such a system. To this day the principal canal is called the Bahr Yûsef.

The remarks of *Hengstenberg*, l. c. p. 67, on the manifest care with which the text describes this measure introduced by Joseph, are equally apt and ingenious. He notices that the relation between the people and their king with respect to the proprietorship and occupancy of the soil formed the basis of the Theocratic arrangement introduced by the law of Moses. (Comp. below the Section on Tithes.)

(4.) It is impossible to ascertain with precision why Joseph should have allowed nine years after his elevation to pass without informing his mourning father about his altered circumstances. It is, indeed, true that he may have felt it desirable not personally to interfere in attempting to unravel the knot made by God Himself, but to leave it in His hands to set the matter right in His own time and in His own way. At the same time we suppose that the feelings of Joseph towards his brethren may have contributed to induce this silence on his part. If

¹ Translated from the French.

Joseph was still unable to attain perfect calm and to cherish sentiments of love and forgiveness, if every remainder of bitterness had not been banished from his heart, it was certainly on many grounds more advisable to withhold from his father tidings of his circumstances, as any such intercourse would have brought him again into contact with his family and his brethren. Probably of all the eminent believers whose lives are recorded in the Old Testament, Joseph is most likely to be regarded in the light of an almost angelic saint. Even interpreters, otherwise sober-minded, have committed this mistake. No doubt the noble heart of Joseph was incapable of low vindictiveness, or of stubborn bitterness. Still he was but a man and sinful—and hence the not reviling again when he was reviled was no light matter to him, and could not be attained without a struggle with flesh and blood. Again, the further development of the history of Joseph clearly shews us, that when in the wonderful arrangement of God, he meets his brethren, this meeting becomes a turning point for both parties, so that the heart of Joseph is opened towards his brethren and that of his brethren towards him. The internal concord of the family formerly disturbed is then again restored. Viewed in this light the divine wisdom and mercy in the direction of events in this history most clearly appears.

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

§ 89. (Gen. xlii.)—Canaan also suffered from this dearth, and Jacob sent all his sons except Benjamin into Egypt in order to purchase corn. Joseph at once recognises them, and as in lowly subjection they cast themselves down before him, he remembers his former dreams which are now visibly fulfilled. However, he speaks harshly to them, stigmatises them as spies, and when they attempt to justify themselves by explaining their circumstances, he demands that, in order to prove the truth of their assertions, they should bring to him their youngest brother. For this purpose he is willing that one of them should return, while the others are meantime to remain as hostages in prison. But, on the third day, he so far modifies his former resolution as to retain only one of them, Simeon, and to dismiss the others, furnishing them with corn and charging them to bring back their youngest brother. Then the hardened hearts of Joseph's brothers are broken. Not suspecting that the Egyptian viceroy understood their tongue, they confess: "we are verily guilty

concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we did not hear. Therefore is this distress come upon us." Joseph's heart was now also moved; he was obliged to go aside and weep. Still he continues to play the part of a severe and distrustful despot. With sacks filled but with hearts sorrowing, the nine brothers return homewards. In an inn by the way, one of them opened his sack to give provender to the beasts, and to his horror discovers his money in the sack; for Joseph had given commandment to put into their sacks their money, along with provision for the way. The tidings of what they had experienced fills their aged father with sorrow. He bursts into bitter complaints, and in most decided terms declares that he would not send away Benjamin, and that, even though Reuben offers the life of his two children as pledge for the safe return of his youngest brother.

(1.) THE CONDUCT OF JOSEPH TOWARDS HIS BRETHREN claims our attention. On first meeting them he is manifestly undecided how to deal with them. In proof of this we refer to the circumstance that he imprisoned them for three days (Gen. xlii. 17), which could scarcely be explained on any other supposition. During that period, not only they but he also have time to think over matters. On this ground also, we account for the change in his first resolution which had borne that only one of them should return to bring back Benjamin, while the others should remain as hostages, but which now is modified. From that moment he has also made up his mind about his future conduct towards them, and, notwithstanding the apparent repentance of his brothers, which might have induced him to stop short, he carries out his plan with energy and consistency. Nor can we feel any difficulty in understanding Joseph's peculiar state of mind. He had been deeply offended by his brethren, and treated by them with harshness and cruelty. All this may have left a sting in his soul, so that his thoughts, which meanwhile accused or excused, now led him to feelings of vengeance and of anger, then again inclined him to mildness, forgiveness, and love. On the other hand he recognises that God had not only called him to be the governor and deliverer of Egypt, but thereby also to become the chief and the help of his family. He realises that he now meets his brethren as it were *in the place of God*, and this circumstance imposes on him the duty of exercising both judicial strictness, forgiving mercy, and helping wisdom. Above all, it is of importance for him to ascertain the relation

between their present state of mind and that which had been manifested towards him twenty years before, as on this fact both his subjective and his objective position towards them must depend. If they were still the same as twenty years ago, then, neither in his personal nor in his political and official relation, could he cherish towards them that confidence, sincerity, and openness which was requisite for the prosperous development of their family. He clearly and unhesitatingly perceived that it would have been altogether wrong to have allowed his natural kindness to carry him away into an affectionate recognition, without having first laid the necessary basis by applying inquisitorial strictness and judicial severity. At the sametime, we do not deny that he thus acted not merely in the exercise of calm prudence, but that his affection had not yet attained perfect purity, nor had he reached that state of mind in which he could unconditionally extend to them a cordial forgiveness. Is it not so that merely human elements too frequently and readily mingle in our holiest impulses and resolutions? And can we therefore not understand that when, in the circumstances of Joseph, a holy wisdom required a certain measure of severity, some amount of vindictiveness, some latent satisfaction at their humiliation, or some such feeling, may have mingled with it?

Their hardness of heart had appeared twenty years ago, in their want of affection towards their aged father, and in their cruelty towards the favourite son of Rachel. Now Benjamin occupied the place of Joseph. Hence, the probation through which they have to pass will consist in a trial whether, as formerly, they would still be capable, for the sake of their own interest, to bring suffering and woe upon their father, and to give up Benjamin, as formerly they had disposed of Joseph. To prepare the way for this probation, he accuses them of being spies, as this charge obliges them, for their vindication, to explain all their family relations, which alone could effectually remove any such suspicion.

But the demand to bring Benjamin converts the well-deserved punishment of his guilty brothers into an undeserved rigour and apparent unkindness towards his aged and afflicted father, and toward the poor innocent youth who was the son of his own mother. We may well ask, therefore, how Joseph, whose heart was so soft and tender, could possibly have brought himself to occasion such pain and anxiety—at least for a season—to his father and to his brother. Without doubt, Joseph felt concerned for his father. This appears even in the change of his first resolution, as it was certainly from regard for his father that he allows his nine brethren to depart, retaining only one of them. He must have felt it a great trial to be obliged to involve his

father also in this probation and punishment of his brothers. But the good of his whole family, which depended on this probation, would appear to him of greater importance than a few days or even weeks of anxious concern which at any rate were so soon and so richly to be compensated.

Perhaps some may think that the penitent confession of the brethren (vv. 21, &c.) might have sufficed in the way of probation, and as evidence of their change of mind. That Joseph felt the value of this confession is shewn by the manner in which it affected him, to a degree that he was obliged to retire, in order to conceal his tears. If he had still cherished any anger or similar feeling towards them, these tears must have washed it away; and when he, therefore, still continues in a path which must have been so difficult for him, he no doubt had sufficient reasons for inferring that their confession was only the commencement, not the completion of their repentance. Above all, it was important to ascertain that their penitence could stand the test of a conflict between their own interests and those of Benjamin. Nor should we omit to notice the significant and comforting hint, contained in the words of Joseph in verse 18: "This do and live, *for I fear God.*"

Tuch (l. c., p. 525) is astonished that Joseph should himself sell the corn, and, viewing every thing as a myth, reasons: "The chief vizier himself must carry on the sale of corn and deal with simple merchants, in order that he might be brought into contact with his brethren, and see his former dreams fulfilled." We are willing to subscribe to this statement with this difference only, that we trace all these leadings to the living God, and not to a mythical invention. However, it by no means follows, that Joseph had in ordinary cases taken anything to do with the sale of corn.

On verse 24 the same interpreter remarks (p. 527): "Not to interfere with the inviolable character of the first-born, Joseph retains not Reuben but Simeon the *second* son of Jacob." *Lengerke* (p. 343) repeats this assertion. But neither of these writers observes that this interpretation, which is unsuitable, whatever view we take of the subject, runs more especially contrary to their own mode of explaining it (the mythical), as chap. xlix. 3, &c. shews how little regard "the myth in Genesis" pays to the supposed inviolable rights of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. No doubt Joseph must have had some special reason for retaining Simeon as a hostage. Probably he did so because the latter had shewn most cruelty on the occasion when Joseph was sold—a supposition this the more likely, as the cruelty, faithlessness, and selfishness of Simeon, appeared also very prominently in his conduct towards the inhabitants of Sychem.

Baumgarten remarks on the circumstance that Joseph had

ordered that their money should be restored into the sacks of his brethren: "He feels it impossible to bargain with his father and his brethren for bread." This remark is perfectly correct. But we must not forget that he also intended to increase their anxiety by leading them to fear that, besides being accused of espying the country, they might now also be charged with theft—an additional care this, which might the more readily humble their hard hearts.

Reuben's offer of security was scarcely calculated to allay the anxiety or to satisfy the mind of his father, especially considering that his abominable sin must have wholly deprived him of Jacob's confidence. No doubt the offer proves a state of mind not very elevated. But we must remember that it was made in the heat of the moment, when excited by the unbending determination of his father, who threatens to surrender them and their children to imminent starvation rather than part with Benjamin. Both in chap. xlii. v. 36, and still more clearly in chap. xlv., p. 47, Jacob hints pretty plainly his suspicion, that they may have been the cause of Joseph's death.

§ 90. (Gen. xliii.)—The small provision of corn was soon consumed, and a second journey into Egypt became absolutely necessary. But Judah declares, in name of all the rest, that it was impossible to return without Benjamin, and he solemnly undertakes to guarantee the consequences of the proposed step. His words, flowing from a warm and full heart, find their way to the heart of Jacob, and after a painful conflict, he consents to the arrangement. Laden with *presents of the best fruits of the land*, and accompanied by the blessing of their father, all the brothers undertake the difficult journey (1.) The steward of Joseph's household receives them kindly; he denies all knowledge of the money, which they confess having found in the sacks; he brings Simeon to them, takes them to the house of Joseph, and there prepares dinner for them. Joseph himself salutes them with dignified kindness, and affectionately enquires for their aged father, but the sight of Benjamin moves his heart so deeply that he is obliged to go aside, in order to conceal his tears. He again returns to dine with them, but according to Egyptian custom, he sits down *at a separate table*. Benjamin is distinguished from the rest by receiving a five-fold portion, while his brothers are astonished to find that Joseph's steward had assigned them places *exactly according to their age*. The

kindly treatment which they receive soon banishes every fear, and they give themselves up to the enjoyment, occasioned by the feast before them, and by the engaging manner of their host. But they are yet to pass through another, the last and most difficult ordeal. Next morning their sacks having been filled, they turn homewards full of joy at the unexpected happy termination of this matter. But scarcely had they left the city when the steward of Joseph's house overtakes them, and in harsh language charges them with having stolen *the silver cup* of his master. An investigation shews that the ten elder brothers were innocent of the crime, but when at last the sack of Benjamin is opened, the missing cup is found in it. Horror-struck at the discovery, the brothers rend their garments. Upon this the steward declares that Benjamin must remain behind as a slave, while the others were at liberty to return in peace to their home. But the brothers are now no longer the same selfish men as they had been twenty years before. They refuse the liberty offered *to them*, declare their resolution to share Benjamin's fate and return into the city, resolved rather to become slaves with Benjamin than to return without him to their father (3.)

(1.) The GUARANTEE which *Judah* undertakes is totally different from that of Reuben in chap. xlii. 37. He says: "I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever." His words give evidence not only of sincerity and cordiality, but also of firmness and confidence; and hence they remain not without effect. It also here appears that, among all his sons, Jacob placed most confidence in Judah, and this adds another confirmation to the suggestion which we have made in § 49, to the effect that some decided change had taken place in the life of Judah, in consequence of which his former isolation from the concerns of his family had been succeeded by a totally different state of mind.

V. Bohlen attempts to establish a contradiction between the statement that for two or three years Palestine had been visited with dearth, and the circumstance that Jacob could send to Egypt *rich presents* of the best fruits in the land (balm, grapes, honey, spices, myrrh, nuts, and almonds). But only the cereal products of the land had suffered. And as it is well known that fertility in fruit trees does not depend on the same circumstances

as that of grain crops, we can readily conceive how, along with scarcity of corn, there should have been at least a sufficient quantity of such fruits. But however small the yield of such fruits might have been, considering that they were articles of luxury, and therefore of commerce, rather than necessities for common and every-day use, the only consequence of such a scarcity would have been that they would have ceased for the time to be articles of trade. This could only have increased their value, and rendered them the more acceptable as presents to a noble Egyptian, who, whatever abundance he may have enjoyed in other respects, might have felt the want of these luxuries.

(2.) Joseph *dines at his own table*, separate both from the foreign shepherds and from the inferior classes of Egyptians. This perfectly agrees with the manners of Egypt (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 35). On the one hand, this was necessary, considering his position as Minister of State and member of the caste of priests; on the other hand, he would as yet deport himself towards his brethren only with the dignified condescension becoming a high Egyptian official.

That the brethren of Joseph were seated according to their age must have increased the mystery which they felt hanging about their relation to him. It must have made the impression on them, that the man on whom their life and happiness depended was surrounded with a halo of more than human knowledge; that he could penetrate into the most intimate relations and circumstances of their family-life. Hence this arrangement became a suitable psychological means for the further development of their history.

But the remarkable *distinction* bestowed on *Benjamin* must have appeared to them even more strange and important. In the family of his father, Benjamin occupied the position of Joseph, and it was soon to appear whether the want of affection which had characterised their conduct towards Joseph would also characterise that towards Benjamin. For the circumstance that Benjamin received a fivefold portion forms quite a parallel to the peculiar dress by which the affection of his father had distinguished Joseph. At that time, only envy, hatred, and vengeance had been the consequences of this distinction; it was now to appear whether the same would result in the case of Benjamin.

(3.) Modern interpreters have *rightly* referred the expression of the steward, when he accuses Joseph's brethren of having stolen *his silver cup* ("Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?" chap. xlv. 5), as referring to practices common throughout antiquity and especially in Egypt, and which are continued even in our days (comp. *Wiseman's Connection*, p. 460; *Hävernick*, Introd. vol. i. 2, p. 393; *Heng-*

stenberg, l. c., p. 36). *Larson* proposes indeed to translate (Gen. p. 115), "Is not this it from which my Lord drinketh? and should he not therefore have divined it?" But this rendering is equally opposed to grammar and context. However, this passage by no means decides the question whether Joseph had actually made use of the cup for such purposes, or whether the statement merely served as a pretext. If we bear in mind the peculiar relation of Joseph and that of his age, with reference to the kingdom of God generally, we shall perhaps not find it quite impossible to adopt even the former of these suppositions. But verse 15 must decide us in favour of the second supposition, as Joseph himself there states, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" (*i.e.* ascertain by divination where the cup was). Manifestly the cup could not have been the object of the divination above referred to. At any rate the steward speaks of the cup as an instrument of divination only in order to increase its value in the eyes of Joseph's brethren.

The conduct of Joseph's brethren when the cup is discovered in the sack of Benjamin shews beyond doubt that a complete change had taken place in their disposition. We feel that if they had been still capable of their former cold, calculating selfishness, all circumstances had now combined to provoke such, and to shake their love, attachment, care, and fidelity towards Benjamin. In their father's house he had in the most evident and (for them) humiliating manner been preferred to them. With his whole heart the old man had clung to him, and in his unbounded tenderness even gone so far as rather to expose his whole house, and all his children and grand-children, to inevitable death by famine, than give up his anxious and apparently ungrounded care for the favourite, shutting his mind against all entreaties and even to reflection. The same preference of the youngest child is shewn at the court of Egypt. The Grand-Vizier seems only to pay attention to Benjamin. He deals almost exclusively with him, and distinguishes him by ordering for him a fivefold portion. And now when apparently they had escaped all dangers, the fated youth round whose person mischief and destruction to themselves and their families seems to gather, once more precipitates them into circumstances more threatening than any which had yet taken place, and of which it was impossible to foresee the issue. On his account the charge of robbery now rests upon them and their father's house. Is there not sufficient ground in all this to be angry with him, and even though, despite of appearances, they themselves might have retained the moral conviction of his innocence, rather to abandon him in order to get rid of that fatality which seemed to attach to his person than to continue connecting their own fate with

his, and thus to share in the eyes of the Egyptians his disgrace and his guilt? How great must have been the temptation, since, contrary to what might have been expected, the steward offered *them* full liberty, and only wished to retain for punishment the *one* guilty person? When first the steward had brought the charge they had in righteous indignation declared: "With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen." But now they make no further distinction between the guilty and the innocent; they are weighed down by a sense of a common great guilt resting upon them all; they look away from him through whom this trial had come upon them, and in their own sin they recognise the ultimate and real cause of this dispensation. But even yet the trial is not finished, for they are to be thoroughly proved and approved. The penitent confession of their common guilt, which now affected their hearts, *had to be publicly made*, and that even before the dreaded Egyptian lord. In their bearing towards the subordinate steward they have been enabled to overcome the temptation to escape by surrendering Benjamin. But the trial through which they had yet to pass when they were to hear the final sentence from the mouth of Joseph himself was still more severe; it would have been possible that they who had overcome in the first instance might succumb before what they must have felt to be an ultimate decision.

§ 91. (Gen. xlv. and xlv.)—Joseph's brethren fall before him on the ground, but he receives them with severity and reproof. Judah now expresses, in the name of the rest, their common feelings: "What shall we say unto my Lord? What shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants. Behold, we are my Lord's servants, both we and he also with whom the cup is found." To this Joseph coldly and definitely replies that he only intended to retain as slave him that had been guilty—the others might return to their father. In mute despair all the brothers remain prostrate on the ground; only Judah, equally bold and humble, ventures to come near to the severe ruler of Egypt. His heart, full of love and sorrow, of repentance and grief, finds vent in speech, which, like a pent-up stream, breaks through the dam—artless and simple, but impressive and convincing, eloquent and irresistible, as scarce speech had ever flowed from man's lips. The vividness of his description is inimitable. Rapidly he relates the state of matters; he describes the attachment with

which his father cleaves to the youth, the anxious care with which he had dismissed him, and the wretchedness through which, in consequence of his loss, his grey hairs would go down to the grave with sorrow. Then he adds that himself had become surety for the lad, and entreats to allow him to remain as slave in his room. Joseph could now no longer restrain himself. He removed all the Egyptians who were present, and, bursting into tears, he exclaims: "I am Joseph! doth my father yet live?" As rooted to the ground, his brothers stand before him, but Joseph affectionately comforts and encourages them: "I am Joseph *your brother*. Come near to me! Be not grieved, nor think with yourselves that I am angry because ye sold me hither; for God did send me before you to preserve your life." And he fell upon the neck of his brother Benjamin, and embraced all his brethren; he kissed them and wept upon them; but he also enjoined them to haste with the joyous tidings to their aged father, and in the name of Joseph to invite him into Egypt, since other five years of famine were to be expected. He promises to provide for them a dwelling-place in his vicinity, *in the land of Goshen*, and there to nourish them. With great cordiality Pharaoh also gives his consent to Joseph's plan of transporting his family into Egypt, and, laden with rich presents, Joseph's brothers depart, carrying with them, by behest of Pharaoh, Egyptian waggons, to facilitate the removal of their families from Canaan.

(1.) On the final and the full *proof of the genuine repentance of Joseph's brethren*, *Baumgarten* remarks, p. 342: "The brothers have heard their sentence from the mouth of the dread ruler of Egypt, nor can they complain of injustice. If, in their inmost heart, they had not been resolved rather to suffer all than to forsake Benjamin, and to bring fresh sorrow upon their father, they would now have gone away, arguing that they had done everything in their power for Benjamin. Had they not their wives and children at home, and who was to sustain *them* if they had remained as servants in Egypt? Besides, what was to become of the whole house of Israel? But the thoughts and the intentions of the sons of Jacob were now only fixed upon one object, not to forsake Benjamin, nor to grieve their father—every other consideration seemed but secondary."

On the situation of the *land of Goshen*. comp. § 92, 5.

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